
INDIAN PALEOGRAPHY

BY

JOHANN GEORG BÜHLER.

EDITED

AS AN APPENDIX TO

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BY

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET,

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

PROFESSOR BÜHLER's Indische Palaeographie, consisting of 96 pages of letter-press, with a portfolio of 9 plates of alphabetical characters and numerals and 8 tables of explanatory transliteration of them, was published in 1896 as Part 11 of Vol. I. of Dr. Karl J. Trübner's "Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde," or "Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research," which was planned and started by Professor Bühler himself, and was superintended by him up to the time of his death, in April, 1898.

There was always the intention of issuing the letter-press of the work in English also. The English version was made by Professor Bühler. And his manuscript of it was on its way to the Press at the time of his death. Steps were taken towards having it printed and published under the direction of Professor Kielhorn, who succeeded to the editorial management of the Grundriss. At that time, however, owing partly to the great interruption of business in India caused by the plague, partly to the manner in which the manuscript was written, and partly to a natural difficulty in the way of doing what had been contemplated, namely, of issuing the English version in such a form as to resemble the German original exactly in type and in arrangement page by page, the preparation for publication could not be taken far, and eventually had to be abandoned.

Feeling, myself, the want of the English version, and knowing that there must be others placed in the same position, in 1902 I made some inquiries and proposals about it. The result, with the consent and help of Professor Kielhorn, was a generous public-spirited response by Dr. Trübner, who, after consultation with Mrs. Bühler, agreed to transfer the copyright of the English version on practically nominal terms, subject to certain conditions as to the method of publication. Dr. Trübner's terms and conditions were accepted in a similar spirit by Colonel Sir Richard Temple, the proprietor of the "Indian Antiquary." And thus it came to me to take the work through the Press, and to arrange the issue of it in its present form as an Appendix to the "Indian Antiquary," Vol. XXXIII, 1904.

As far as the commencement of the second paragraph of § 16, A, on page 33, the English version has been produced from an advanced proof of 1900, prepared in the circumstances indicated in paragraph 2 above, and revised by Professor Kielhorn. From that point onwards, it has been done from

Professor Bühler's manuscript, written by himself. In order, however, to set the printers fairly at work, it was necessary, because of the very numerous and sometimes rather perplexing abbreviations to which Professor Bühler had had recourse, to furnish them with a fair copy. The copy was, of course, closely compared by me with the original manuscript. And it is hoped that no mistakes have been introduced, in interpreting any of the abbreviations in passages which are not in the German original.

A perusal of a very few pages of the English work, thus issued, will suffice to shew that it is not altogether a literal rendering of the German original. It is, therefore, sent forth as an English version, not as an actual translation. At the same time, the English version does not in any way supersede the German original. In the first place, as the stones were not preserved, it has not been practicable to issue with the English version the plates and tables which form so important a part of the whole work; however, there is available, for separate purchase, a limited number of copies of the plates and tables, printed off in excess of the number required for issue with the German original. In the second place, in writing his English version, Professor Bühler made here and there certain deviations, sometimes by insertion, sometimes by omission, from the German original. But these deviations, made chiefly in connection with the second edition, published in 1898, of his Indian Studies, No. III, on The Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet, are in points of detail, and do not in any way amount to a revised edition of his Indische Palaeographie.[1] The German original is still the text-book, as much as is the English version. The latter is for the benefit of those, interested in any way whatsoever in the subject, who are not able to utilise the German text.

This work of Professor Bühler has brought to a climax, for the present, the palæographic line of Indian research. And it would be impossible to speak in too high terms of the manner in which he has handled the subject, and of the

[1] A final paragraph on page 96 of the German work mentions "some recent publications, amongst them Dr. Grierson's examination of the Gayā alphabet of the stone-masons," which could not be considered then, but were to be noticed in the second edition of Indian Studies, No. III. A treatment of them in that way explains the omission of that final paragraph in Professor Bühler's English manuscript. And it also, no doubt, accounts for the omission of the Brāhma character for the guttural nasal, *ṅ*, in line 14 of col. VI. of the table on page 11, as compared with the same table on page 12 of the German text, and for the introduction of an inset illustration of that character in an additional remark made on page 35, under § 16, C, (12), in connection with which there is to be taken an observation made on page 14, under § 4, B, (4), (*e*). In a reference to the Gayā alphabet on page 29, in line 5 from the bottom, for *ṇa* read *ṅa*.

value of the results which he has placed before us. In the palæographic line, however, as also in the historical line, on which it is largely dependent, and, in fact, in every line of Indian research, we are steadily accumulating more facts and better materials, and making substantial progress, every year. I venture, therefore, to draw attention to a few details, which already might now be treated, or at least considered, from other points of view.

A notable point, regarding which I differ from the opinions of Professor Bühler as expressed in this work, is that of both the relative order and also the actual dates of the varieties of the Kharōshṭhī alphabet, indicated on page 25 under § 10, (3) and (4), which are found in the epigraphic records and on the coins of — (following the order in which, in my opinion, they should properly be placed) — Kanishka and Huvishka, 'Suḍasa-'Soḍāsa and Patika, and Gondophernēs. Kanishka certainly founded the Mālava-Vikrama era, commencing B. C. 58. And in that era there are certainly dated, in addition to records of the times of him and his direct successors, the dated records of the times of 'Suḍasa-'Soḍāsa, Patika, and Gondophernēs, and of Vāsudēva, who was a contemporary of Gondophernēs.[2]

A similar remark applies to the order and dates of the varieties of the Brāhma or Brāhmī alphabet, indicated on page 32, under § 15, (8, 9), from records of the times of Kanishka, Huvishka, 'Suḍasa-'Soḍāsa, and Vāsudēva.

As regards the nomenclature of those same varieties of the Kharōshṭhī alphabet, it is now certain that it is erroneous to describe one of them, mentioned there and discussed on page 27 f., as a 'Saka variety. 'Suḍasa-'Soḍāsa and Patika were not 'Sakas, or Sakas, if that should be the correct expression according to the original form of the name.[3] None of the Sakas, 'Sakas, ever played a leading historical part in Northern India.

In respect of the Ēraṇ coin, mentioned first on page 8, which presents a reversed Brāhmī legend running from right to left, we must not lose sight of the possibility that the explanation is to be found, as has been suggested by

[2] See J.RAS. 1905, 232 ff. Regarding Vāsashka, Vāsushka, whom it has not been necessary to mention by name above, see *ibid.* 357 f.

It may be observed here that on page 40, line 7 from the bottom, in the words "or of the 4th century of the Seleucid era," and in the corresponding place on page 41, line 10, of the German text, there must be a slip of the pen. The alternative proposed initial date of Kanishka which Professor Bühler had in view, is certainly A. D. 89. And in that year there began the Seleucidan year 401; that is, the first year of the fifth (not fourth) century of that era.

[3] For the real meaning of the inscription P. on the Mathurā lion-capital, which has been supposed to mark them as Sakas, *i. e.* 'Sakas, see J.RAS. 1904, 703 ff., and 1905, 154 ff.

Professor Hultzsch in the "Indian Antiquary," Vol. XXVI, p. 336, in a mistake of the engraver of the die, who, like the die-sinker in the case of a certain coin of Hōḷkar of the last century, may have forgotten that he ought to reverse the legend on the die itself. We have one instance of such remissness in ancient times in a coin of Rajula-Rājuvūla, the reverse of which presents a monogram, formed of the Greek letters E and Y, facing in the wrong direction; see Professor Gardner's Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, p. 67, No. 5. And we have another in the legend on a bronze stamp for making seals, where the engraver omitted to reverse the syllable *śrī*; see J.RAS. 1901, 98, plate, No. 9.

On page 67, under § 29, B, (2), there is a statement about the strongly cursive Kanarese *kh*, which is calculated to be misleading, and on the strength of which some erroneous assertions have already been made.[4]

In the plates and tables there are some selections that might have been avoided, and some incorrect details, which are due to two causes:[5] partly to the fact, the explanation of which has been indicated in some remarks made by me in the "Epigraphia Indica," Vol. VI, p. 80, that, owing to the nature of the only available materials, the plates have sometimes been based upon reproductions of original records which are not actual facsimiles; partly to the fact, which we learn from the Concluding Remarks on page 102, that some of the details of the plates were not selected and filled in by Professor Bühler himself.

And in any revision of the work there would have to be added, in connection with § 20, D, on page 44, a notice of the more recently discovered peculiar variety of the southern alphabet which is illustrated in the Mayidavōlu plates of the Pallava king 'Siva-Skandavarman and the Koṇḍamudi plates of Jayavarman, edited by Professor Hultzsch in the "Epigraphia Indica," Vol. VI, pp. 84 ff., 315 ff.

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4 See, for the present, my remarks about them in EI. 6, 77 ff.

5 For three instances of incorrect details, see some remarks by Professor Kielhorn, in EI. 8, 38, note 1, below the introduction to his edition of the Junāgaḍh inscription, or Girnār Praśasti, of Rudradāman.

As instances of the other kind, I may mention the following. Col. IV. of plate VIII. is from a reproduction (IA. 13, 186), which is not an actual facsimile, of a record the authenticity of which is open to question. And col. VII. of the same plate is mostly from a lithograph (IA. 6, 138) which was made, at a time when our methods of dealing with the original records were still decidedly primitive, from a plain uninked estampage, made by myself, the ground of which was painted in by my own hand, with results which cannot exactly be taken as furnishing a thoroughly typical illustration of the Western Chālukya alphabet of the eleventh century A. D.

It would, however, have been contrary to the spirit of the arrangement with Dr. Trübner, to introduce any comments and additions of my own, either in the text or in footnotes. And I do not find it convenient or appropriate to present them here, beyond the extent of the indications given above. Anything of that kind must be left for other occasions.

My editorial functions in the issue of this English version of Professor Bühler's work have thus been confined to details of a formal kind: chiefly in the matter of giving more prominence to the titlings of the sections and the divisions of them; in transferring to a more convenient position, as separated footnotes at the bottom of the pages to which they belong, the notes which in the German original stand massed together at the end of each section;[6] and in marking, by figures in square brackets in thick type, the commencement of each page of the German original, as closely as has been found convenient. Following, however, an example set by Professor Bühler himself in his manuscript, I have gone somewhat further still in breaking up some of the very long paragraphs of the original. Following his lead in another direction also, I have endeavoured to present everywhere the correct spelling, as far as it can be ascertained, of all the place-names which occur in the work; but, in conformity with his practice in this work, without discriminating between the long and the short forms of *e* and *o*. And I have corrected a few obvious mistakes; for instance, under § 29, A, in line 18 on page 66, I have substituted "Bādāmi" for the "Aihole" (properly Aihoḷe) of the German original and of the manuscript translation.

In § 29, page 65 ff., and anywhere else where the word may occur, I have taken the liberty of substituting the word "Kanarese" for the "Kāṇara" of the German original and of the manuscript translation; and similarly, on page 46, line 4, and page 51, lines 21, 27 f., I have substituted "the Kanarese country" for the "Kāṇara" of the original and of the manuscript. The form "Kāṇara," with the lingual *ṇ*, is nothing but an imaginative advance upon the official figment "Kānara," with the dental *n*, for which, itself, there is no basis in the Kanarese language, nor any necessity. I had thought at first of using, like the late Rev. Dr. Kittel and some other writers, the original vernacular word "Kannaḍa,"—the source of our conventional "Canara, Kanara," which, however, do not mean the whole of the Kanarese country. And that word, which denotes both the country and its language and also their alphabetical characters,

6 In doing this, I have corrected a few wrong references which came to notice, and have added a very few new references which seemed likely to be of use.

would have been appropriate enough. But I decided eventually on "Kanarese:" partly because, though this term, also, is conventional, it is so well-established, familiar, and definitive; and partly because it was practically used, alongside of the word "Kāṇara," by Professor Bühler himself, in the "Kanaresische" and "Altkanaresische" of the original German work (*e. g.*, page 66, lines 4, 6), and in the "Canarese" and "Old Canarese" of corresponding passages in his English version.

Except, however, in such details as the above, and in the abolition of the inconvenient abbreviations of which mention has been made on page 2 above, the English version is simply a reproduction of Professor Bühler's manuscript.

In bringing this somewhat intricate work to a successful issue, I have been greatly indebted to the zeal and ability of Mr. J. S. Foghill, the Head Reader of the Bombay Education Society's Press. But for the extreme care with which he disposed of the first rough proofs before any proof was sent out for revision by me, I should certainly not have been able to take the work through, as has actually been done, on only one proof and a revise of it.

J. F. Fleet.

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I. — The Antiquity of Writing in India and the Origin of the Oldest Indian Alphabet.

II. — The Kharoṣṭhī Script.

III. — The ancient Brāhmī and Drāviḍī from about B. C. 350 to about A. D. 350.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

AR or As. Res.	...	Asiatic Researches.
B.ASRSI ...	...	BURGESS, Archæological Survey Reports, Southern India.
B.ASRWI ...	...	BURGESS, Archæological Survey Reports, Western India.
B.ESIP ...	...	BURNELL, Elements of South-Indian Palæography, 2nd ed.
B.IS ...	...	BÜHLER, Indian Studies.
BOR ...	...	Babylonian and Oriental Record.
BRW ...	...	BOTHLINGK and ROTH, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch.
BW ...	...	BOTHLINGK, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung.
C.ASR ...	...	CUNNINGHAM, Archæological Survey Reports.
C.CAI ...	...	CUNNINGHAM, Coins of Ancient India.
C.CIS ...	...	CUNNINGHAM, Coins of the Indo-Scythians.
C.CMI ...	...	CUNNINGHAM, Coins of Mediæval India.
C.IA (CII. 1)	...	CUNNINGHAM, Inscriptions of Aśoka, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I.
C.MG ...	...	CUNNINGHAM, Mahābodhi-Gayā; *i. e.*, Mahabodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha-Gaya.
D.WA ...	...	Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie.
EI ...	...	Epigraphia Indica.
Ep. Carn. ...	...	Epigraphia Carnatica, ed. RICE.
E.TSA ...	...	EUTING, Tabula Scripturae Aramaicae.
F.GI (CII. 3)	...	FLEET, Gupta Inscriptions, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III.
IA ...	...	Indian Antiquary.
IP ...	...	Inscriptions de Piyadasi, SENART.
J ...	...	The Jātaka, ed. FAUSBÖLL.
JA ...	...	Journal Asiatique.
J.AOS ...	...	Journal, American Oriental Society.
J.ASB ...	...	Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.BBRAS ...	...	Journal, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.RAS ...	...	Journal, Royal Asiatic Society.
L.IA ...	...	LASSEN, Indische Altertumskunde, 2nd ed.
MBh ...	...	Mahābhāṣya, ed. KIELHORN.
M.M.HASL	...	MAX MÜLLER, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.
M.M.ṚV^2 ...	...	MAX MÜLLER, Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā with Sāyana's Commentary, 2nd ed.
P.IA ...	...	PRINSEP's Indian Antiquities, ed. THOMAS.
SBE ...	...	Sacred Books of the East.
SB.WA ...	...	Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie.
SII ...	...	South-Indian Inscriptions, ed. HULTZSCH.
S.IP ...	...	SENART, Inscriptions de Piyadasi.
S.NEI ...	...	SENART, Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne.
W.AA ...	...	H. H. WILSON, Ariana Antiqua.
W.Ind.Str.	...	WEBER, Indische Streifen.
W.IS ...	...	WEBER, Indische Studien.
WZKM ...	...	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes; *i.e.*, the Vienna Oriental Journal.
ZDMG ...	...	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

CORRECTIONS AND REMARKS.

Page 24, line 7 from the bottom; *read* JA. 1888, II, 230.

" 25, line 5; Kaldawa seems to be a mistake for Kaldarra (WZKM. 10, 327) or Kaladara Nadī (J.RAS. 1903, 14).

" " line 19; *ḍa* seems to be a mistake (of the original) for *ḍha*.

" 29, line 5 from the bottom; for *ṇa*, read *ṅa*.

" 32, line 5, and in some subsequent places; *for* Ghasundi, *read* Ghasundī.

" " line 2 of the notes, and page 41, § 20, A; for another reproduction of the Girnār Praśasti, or Junāgaḍh inscription, of the time of Rudradāman, which is the basis of col. VI. of plate III, see, now, EI. 8, 44.

" 40, line 9; *for* Suḍasa, *read* Śuḍasa.

" " line 7 from the bottom; regarding the words "or of the 4th century of the Seleucid era," see Introductory Note, p. 3, note 2.

" 61, note 1; for another reproduction of the Vakkalēri plates of A. D. 757, which are the basis of col. XVI. of plate VII, see, now, EI. 5, 202.

" 64, note 10, end; *read* Śāntivarman (see, now, Ep. Carn. 7, Sk. 176, for one reproduction of this record, and EI. 8, 32, for another).

" 69, line 9; it may be remarked that the original identification of Kaliṅganagara with Kaliṅgapattanam (Kalingapatam), on the coast, has been superseded; the ancient city is represented by the site now covered by the villages Mukhaliṅgam and Nagarakaṭakam and the ruins between them, inland in the Gañjām district; see, *e. g.*, EI. 4, 187 f.

" 81, line 8 from the bottom; the German original (p. 77, line 35) has "50, 60, 70;" in his English manuscript, Professor Bühler wrote "50, 60, 70," and then corrected the 50 into 10.

" 86, bottom; it may be remarked that this system of numeral notation is commonly called the Kaṭapayādi system, from the initial consonants of the four lines.

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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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VOLUME XXXIII. — 1904.

JANGNĀMAH OF SAYYAD 'ĀLIM 'ALĪ KHĀN, A HINDI POEM BY SŪDISHṬ.

BY WILLIAM IRVINE, LATE OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

THE original manuscript from which my copy of this work was made, was found a year or two ago by my agent, Maulvī 'Abd-ul-'Azīz, in the library of the Mahārājah of Benares at Rāmnagar, access to which had been obtained for him through the kind offices of Leslie Porter, Esq., C.S., Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General.

The book in question is in the Persian character. From the nature of the language, 'Abd-ul-'Azīz inferred a Panjābī origin. If this be correct, possibly the author was a native of the Upper Dūābah where the Bārhah Sayyads live; and the language there used would seem to a down-country man little, if at all, distinguishable from the Hindī of the Eastern Panjāb. The liberal use of Persian and Arabic, with the absence of Hindū imagery, suggests that the author, in spite of his Hindū appellation (Sūdishṭ), was probably a Muhammadan. When writing in the vernacular, Muhammadans often adopted a Hindū name as their *takhallus*, or pen-name. The abrupt way in which the poem opens, shows that some introductory lines have been lost.

For my own part, I am inclined to think that the author was a Muhammadan of the Dakhin, or one who had long lived there. The scene is in the Dakhin; and in lines 33, 112, and 113 we have the curious contraction *bāj* for *ba-juz*, which is certainly not known in Northern India, and, according to J. T. Platts (*Dictionary*, p. 118), is a word used by the poet Walī, and peculiar to Southern India. Mahrattah scholars may possibly detect forms borrowed from that dialect. The name of Sūdisht does not appear in Grierson's *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* (Calcutta, 1889).

From internal evidence I believe that the poem is a contemporary effusion; and as Walī was then alive, it is not impossible that he was the writer. He lived in the Dakhin at Aurangābād or Burhānpur, and was in Dihlī in the year 1132 H. (1719-20) — *see* J. F. Blumhardt's *Catalogue of Hindī and Hindūstānī Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 5. The events recorded in the poem took place in 1132 H. (1720), and the few historical facts given in it are correct according to the prose chronicles. But the work is more a lament on the fate of young 'Ālim 'Alī Khān, than

a record of events, which are not given in any detail. As it seems to me, the greater number of the lines are sweet and musical, many very striking, and some most pathetic.

Transliteration of Text.

[*Opening lines are wanting.*]

. . . .
. . . .
"Kih: Le kar Niẓāmul-mulk fauj sāth
"Chal ātā hai sīdhā Dakhin kī jo bāṭ
"Tūman saṅg jang, hoshyārī karo,
"Laṛāī kī begī tayārī karo."
Sūnā aur kīyā dil meṇ apnī 'ajab:
"Laṛāī haman sāth kyā-hī sabab?"
So īse mon āko khabar yūn debā
Kih ūtarā Niẓāmu-l-mulk Narbadā.
Hūī bāt Sayyad pai taḥqīq jab,
Būlā bhej arkān-i-daulat koṇ tab;
Naẓar jahāṇ tahāṇ jā chaḍhāwanī lagī,
Du'āyān ism nit daḍhwānī lagī;
Pakāne lagī har jins ke ṭa'ām,
Khilā,īṇ lagī dam-ba-dam ṣubḥ-o-shām.
Hāthī, ūnṭh, ghorī, taṣadduq kī,e,
Jo kuchh jag moṇ karnā, so ūn sabh ki,e,
Taṣadduq ūtārī ūtārī lage.
Rūpai khwān bhar bhar ke wāran lage,
Jahāṇ lag quṭb, ghaus, au pīr the,
Jahāṇ lag walī khāṣ, khabīr the,
Jahāṇ lag jo ko ṣāḥib-i-hosh the,
Zamānah kī āfat ke sarposh the,
Jahāṇ lag muqarrab the, dargāh ke,
Jahāṇ tak jo the khāṣ is rāh ke,
Madad māng sakaliān soṇ, kīnā suwāl,
Jahāṇ tak qalandar the, ahl-i-kamāl;
"Maiṇ farzand 'Alī kā, wa āl-i-rasūl,
"Karo 'arz merā tūm itnā qabūl;
"Paṛe hai mūjhe āj mushkil maḥāl,
"Tūmeṇ mil-ke sabh, mūjh ko lenā nibhāl,
"Rakho lāj mardoṇ ke maidān meṇ,
"Achī jān jab taiṇ merī jān meṇ;
"Khudā bāj nā koī mūjhe yār hai,
"Ūse ke karam kā jo ādhār hai."

Translation.

. . . .
. . . .
That: "Niẓām-ul-Mulk with an army
"Is coming straight on the Dakhin road,
"He means to fight with thee, be on thy guard,
"Prepare forthwith for war."
He heard and wondered in his mind:
"To fight with me what can be the reason?"
Meanwhile they came with the news
That Niẓām-ul-Mulk had crossed the Narbadā.
When the Sayyad had verified the fact,
Then sent he a summons to all his councillors;
Offerings to various places were presented,
Invocations to His Name were uttered unceasingly;
Food of every sort began to be prepared,
Men were fed every instant from morn to night.
Elephants, camels, horses, were given in alms,
Whatever sacrifice could be done that did he,
Alms of every sort were presented.
Trays filled with rupees were held up before shrines,
Wherever there was a leader, a saint, a holy man,
Wherever there was a noted friend of God, or learned one,
Wherever there was one possessed of understanding,
A coverer up of this age's calamities,
Wherever there was one connected with any shrine,
Wherever there was one specially noted in the Way,
Help was asked from all, the question was put,
Wherever there was any recluse, of perfect qualities;
"I am a son of 'Alī, of the Prophet's race,
"Be pleased so far to accept my requests;
"This day there falls on me a desperate difficulty,
"All of you join together, find me a way of escape,
"I risk my reputation in the field of heroes,
"Unconquered while breathes a breath of life;
"Besides God there is none my friend,
"His mercy is my only staff and stay."

Būlā phir najūmī, kholā,ī najūm ;
" Kaho, kyā hai yah ghulghalah, kyā hajūm,
" Kaho, din hai kaise, satārā hai kon,
" Fatḥ kis koṇ hai, ur awārā hai kon,
" Ajhī kar sabh mil, mūjhe bol deo,
" Bhalā yā būrā, yak-ba-yak khol deo."
Najūmī kahe haiṇ khūsh-āmad kī bāt ;
Kahāṇ 'ilm-i-kāmil inhoṇ ke hāt ?
" Nawāzūngā tūmanā, karūngā nihāl,
" Oḍhāṇūngā tūmanā dū-shālā wa shāl."

Kahe sab najūmīyāṇ: " Napat khair hai,
" Satāre kī gardish kā ṭapak bahuter hai,
" Yaqīn hai haman koṇ fath pāyoge,
" Fatḥ pā-ke begī soṇ phir āyoge."
Pūchhā bāt, ba'ẓe faqīrāṇ būlā ;

" Tūmhārī bhī is bāt moṇ kyā ṣalā ?"
Kahe tab faqīrāṇ-ne : " Sun līyo to āb,
" Shahr chhoṛ-jāne moṇ, nahīṇ kuchh ṣuwāb,
" Nah umarāo koī, ṣāhib-i-fauj, hai,
" Shitābī ke karneṇ meṇ, kyā būjh hai,
" Navvī fauj, lashkar, navvā kul sipāh,

" Daghā-hī daghā hai, daghā khwāh-ma-khwāh."
Ūthe bol yārāṇ ke : " Sunte ho, Shāh,
" Yūh kyā kām hai, tūmana deo ṣalāḥ,

" Sīpāhī na janoṇ īh, kul bāgh haiṇ,
" Saff-i-jang meṇ ag taiṇ ik āg haiṇ,
" Sakat kyā jo ko rū-ba-rū ho khaṛā,

" Khaṛā ho, to chaṛiyoṇ seṇ denge uḍā,

" Yih ūh fauj hai, fauj-i-dushman-shikan,

" Agar ho jama' Hind, agar sabh Dakhan,
" Shujā'at taiṇ, gar zor-i bāzū kareṇ,

" Pahārāṇ achheṇ, to tarāzū kareṇ,
" Kareṇ tal ūpar, mār talwār soṇ,

" Be kul fauj ho ṛan ke sardār koṇ."
Rahe Shāh tab, ho-ke andeshah-nāk ;
" Tūmhārā hai ḥāfiẓ wah ẓāt-i-pāk !
" Būrā dil meṇ mat lenā is bāt kā,
" Bharosā nahīṇ ham koṇ is sāth kā ;
" Fatḥ-hī-fatḥ, pun baḍā mār hai !
" 'Azīzāṇ ! Tūmhārā khudā yār hai ! "

Next he sent for astrologers, the stars were read ;
" Say what is this uproar, what this crowd,
' Say how is the day, what is its star,
" Who gains the victory, who is put to flight,
" This day consult jointly and make your report,
" Good or evil, unfold to me every detail."
The astrologers said their words of flattery ;
When held they full knowledge in their hand ?
" Gifts will I shower on you, richly endow you,
" Throw on your shoulders shawls, double and single."
Spoke all the star-readers : " It is altogether well,
" The stars in their courses have many throbbings,
" We verily believe that victory will be yours,
" Crowned with victory you will soon return."
He asked questions from certain recluses he had called ;
" You, too, must say in this what is your advice."
Then said the mendicants : " Listen, your Honour,
" To quit the city is devoid of all profit,
" There is no noble who has an army ;
" What wisdom is there in such haste ?
" Untried your army and troops, all are raw soldiers,
" Deception upon deception, deception in every case."
Out spoke his friends : " You hear, my lord !
" What sort of action is this that these men counsel ?
" These know not your fighters, every one a tiger,
" In battle rank they rage as one great fire,
" What force exists that dares to stand and face us,
" If such appear, we will put it to flight with sticks.
" Ours is such an army, an army of enemy-breakers,
" Let Hind assemble, let the whole Dakhin come,
" Then by our valour, wielding the strength of our right arm,
" Should even mighty mountains weigh the scales,
" They shall be turned upside down by our sword-blows,
" With part of your army you will win the battle."
Then said the ruler, full of anxiety :
" Your protector is that Lord All-pure,
" Be not displeased at this saying,
" Confidence I have not in them,
" Be the end victory or not, still it is a big fight,
" Dear companions, God is your friend ! "

Kahe sun-ke Nawāb main itnī bāt
Kih: "Marnā o jīwanā hai sab Rabb ke hāth,
"Jo bāzī dī, hamanā kon mil jāegā,
"Jī,e tak ūh dunyā mon bachāega,
"Mūjhe 'ār-hī-'ār inkār hai,
"Kih taḥqīq marnā so yak bār hai!
"Karūngā jo kuchh mujh son ho āwegā,
"Yihī nānw dunyā mon rah jāegā."
Andeshah so kul dil kon khālī kīyā,
Nikal men kī begī, ūtāwalī kīyā,
Uṭhe beg begī son ghar men ga,e
Adab son khaṛe ho-ke mān so kahe
Kih: "Tum mā, main farzand hon, lārkā,
"Badī mān kā aur badī piyār kā;
"Suno tum, kih Dillī bahū dūr hai,
"Hamārā ism jag men mshhūr hai,
"Hukm ho, to jā bāhar derā karūn,
"Būrhānpū[r] lag ek pherā karūn.
"Main potā hūn us Shāh yazdān kā,
"Hūn farzand Nūru-d-dīn 'Alī Khān kā
"Mūjhe baiṭh rahnān badā nang hai,
"Agar āj Rustam sete jang hai.
"Hasenge mūjh dekh Quṭbu-l-mulk,
"'Dakhin men kyā thā Nizāmu-l-mulk,'

"Yih sun-ke karenge ta'jjab Nawāb,
"Kih farzand 'Ālim 'Alī, kām-yāb,
"Ḍarā jīū son, ur nikal nā sakā,
"Shujā'at kā nāmūs kūchh nā rakhā.
"Dunyā mon do-bārā kūchh ānā nahīn,
"Bah dunyā janam lag ṭhakānā nahīn,
"Agar hai ḥaiyātī, to phir āwenge,
"Fatḥ ho, to mūkh ā-ke dikhlā denge;
"Apas dil men hamanā ūtāro na koī,
"Du'ā mon achhwant basāro na koī,
"Pakaṛ hāth sompo Khudāwand ko,

"Raho 'aish, ārām, wa ānand son."
Kahe mā nen: "Main kyūn razā deūn tūjhe,
"Dakhin men tere bāj hī kon mūjhe,

"Khudā bāj ko tūjh kon sāthī nahīn,
"Mūjhe maṣlahat kuchho yih bhātī nahīn,
"Nanhā yā badā, ko tere sāth hai?
"Tūn jātā hai larne, yah kyā bāt hai."
Ba jadam-jad mā kon razī kīyā,

Ba har ḥāl chalne ke rukhṣat līyā,
Chhau suwārah ūs waqt Sayyad ke pās,
Sīpāhī o chelah o kull 'ām-o-khāṣ,

Having listened the Nawāb resumed:
"Death and life lie all in the hand of God,
"What part he allots will fall to us,
"While in the world he will preserve us,
"I abhor disgrace or ignominy;
"And of a truth, death comes only once!
"I will do whatever I am capable of,
"This renown will survive me in the world."
Thus he thrust out all anxiety from his heart,
Suddenly he issued forth in haste,
He rose and as quickly as he could went home,
Reverently he stood and to his mother spake:
"You are my mother, I am thy son, thy boy,
"I respect you as mother and you love me;
"Listen to me, Dilli is very far away,
"Our name is in the world renowned,
"If you permit, I will bring forth my tents,
"As far as Burhānpur I will journey.
"I am descended from that God-like Lord,
"I am the son of Nūr-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān,
"For me to sit idle is a great disgrace,
"Even if to-day the contest be against a Rustam:
"Looking at me Quṭb-ul-Mulk will scoff and say,
"'What a mere nothing was Nizām-ul-Mulk in the Dakhin.'
"Hearing this affair the Nawāb will marvel,
"That his son, 'Ālim 'Alī, the fortunate,
"Trembled in his heart and could not come forth,
"His reputation for valour he could not maintain.
"Twice over we cannot enter the world,
"For life no reliance can be placed on this world:
"If destined to live I will return,
"If victorious, I will come to show my face;
"Never in your heart look down on me,
"Never in your prayers forget or overlook me,
"Take me by the hand and confide me to the Lord,
"May you live on in ease, comfort, and delight."
His mother said: "Why should I grant consent,
"For with me in the Dakhin who is there but thee,
"Besides God whom is there to be your Helper?
"This project is in no way agreeable to me,
"Young or old, whom have you to follow you,
"Yet you want to fight, what an idea is that?"
With great effort he obtained his mother's consent,
In one way or another got leave to depart,
State and retinue went with the Sayyad,
Soldiers and slaves, servants private and public,

Tawakkal kīyā, aur dil koṇ ḍīṭh :
"Maiṇ Sayyad hūṇ, ab kyā dikhāyūṇ so pīṭh."
Būlāyā shitābī soṇ diwān koṇ,
Kahā: "Ab likho khaṭ Amīn Khān koṇ : —
"'Dakhin meṇ tūmeṇ mard ho-ke mashhūr,
"'Shitābī haman pās ānā zarūr,
"'Rafāqat soṇ mil, jān-fishānī karo,
"'Jald ā,o aur mihrbānī karo,
"'Kih yah waqt hai waqt-i-kām kā,
"'Tūmhārī shujā'at nang-o-nām kā ;
"'Jo kūchh tūm kahoge, so hogā qabūl,
"'Hai shāhid hamārā Khudā aur Rasūl.'"
Chalneṇ lage jā-ba-jā thār thār,
Rawānah kī,e qāṣidāṇ ek bār,
Nigahdāsht kā khūb garmī kīyā,
Jah ne jo māngā, so chah ūsko dīyā,
Kaho jāe ḍerā deo maidān moṇ,
Nazīk Mahamdī Bāgh, unchāṇ moṇ.
Athī bārwīṇ (12) māh-i-Rajab kā chānd,
Chalā ghar taiṇ, shamsher o baktar koṇ bāndh:
Waise hoṇ ūh sardār sāriyāṇ mane
Kih jyoṇ chānd hai kul satāriyāṇ mane ;
Naqāre, damāme, bajāte chale,
Rūpī, asharfiyāṇ le luṭāwe chale,
Kīyā jāe-ke ḍere moṇ chār-ek maqām,
Kare fiqr, tadbīr har subh-o-shām ;
Jahāṇ lag the sardār, jodhāṇ, balī,
Bulā-kar kahā Sayyad 'Ālim Alī
Kih : "Tum ho sipāhī, maiṇ sardār hūṇ,
"Bhalā yā būrā sābh kā gham-khor rahūṇ,
"Shahr chhor ḍerā maiṇ bāhar kīyā,
"Tawakkal khudā-i-musṭaffā par kīyā.
"Suno bāt, ik dil ke kahtā hūṇ maiṇ,
"Kih jis fikr moṇ gharq rahtā hūṇ maiṇ.
"Kahāṇ Hind, Bārhā, kahāṇ hai Dakhan,
"Kahāṇ khwesh, qurbat, kahāṇ hai haman,
"Kahāṇ soṇ, kahan soṇ, kidhar soṇ, kahāṇ,
"Kih Bārhe soṇ qismat le ā,ī yahāṇ,
"'Azīzāṇ! Maiṇ 'Ālim 'Alī Khān hūṇ,
"Jawānī moṇ sakaliyāṇ moṇ ba-jān hūṇ ;
"Jawānī jo kūchh dil moṇ gham nahīṇ mūjhe,
"Maran aur jīan kā wahm nahīṇ mūjhe,
"Mare jīū koṇ rahmat o shyābāsh hai,
"Jawānī meṇ jīwanā baḍī ās hai,

Placing his hope on God, he braced his heart:
"I am a Sayyad, how can I turn my back."
In haste he sent for his chief man,
Said: "Write at once this letter to Amīn Khān:—
"'In the Dakhin you are a man well-famed,
"'Without fail you must hasten here to me,
"'Come quickly and do me the favour
"'To join my force, and spend your life-blood,
"'Verily this time is the time for deeds,
"'For your valour, your name and fame,
"'Whatever you demand shall be agreed to,
"'Be witness our God and his Prophet.'"
Then began to set out strings of men to all parts,
Message-carriers were despatched forthwith,
Recruiting went on most busily,
Whatever anyone asked that he got,
Was told to go and put up his tent in the plain
Close to Muhamdī Bāgh, on the high ground.
It was the twelfth of the moon Rajab.
He left his house clad in mail, his sword on hip ;
Such amidst the throng was that leader
As is the moon amongst the stars.
Beating kettledrums, large and small, he marched,
Scattering gold and silver coin as he passed.
He went and rested some days in his tents,
Planned and consulted from morn to night.
Wherever there were leaders, brave and bold,
They were sent for, and told by Sayyad 'Ālim 'Alī
Thus: "You are soldiers, I am the general,
"Let good or ill befall, I share the cares of all;
"I have quitted the city and put up my tents,
"Relying upon God and His Chosen One.
"Listen while I tell what is in my mind,
"The matter which keeps me plunged in thought.
"Where are Hind and the Bārhah? Far from the Dakhin!
"Where are my friends and relations, so far from me!
"O where and O where, whither gone, and where!
"For the Fates have brought me from Bārhah here.
"Friends! I am 'Alim 'Alī Khān,
"In the morn of youth, with all my powers.
"For the joys of youth in my heart I grieve not,
"As to life and death, I have no illusions,
"The soul after death receives mercy and praise,
"The young man has great longing for life,

"Jīwan aur bhalā jab lakoṇ lāj hai
"Wagarnah to kyā takht aur tāj hai,
"Jab lak hawāe yārāṇ mere sāth moṇ,
"Achho waqt-i-jang sabh merī bāt moṇ,
"Jidhar ma'rkā ā paṛegā nadān,
"Ūdhar ek dil ho-ke karnā nadān.
"Karo, mard ho, dil moṇ mardāngī,
"Hai mashhūr mardoṇ kī mardāngī.
"Hai Bārhe kā kul Hind moṇ neknām,
"Maiṇ mangtā nīyat, ābrū, subḥ-o-shām,
"Jo āyā hai so phir ūh mar jāegā,
"Nah kūchh sāth liyāyā, nah le-jāegā."

Khabar soṇ maqāmāṇ kī, mā mihrbān
Taṛaphne lagā jīū aur sabh prān,
Ga,ī shahr kī bāharī, jā milī,
Napaṭ ārzū soṇ lagāyā galī.
Kahā māṇ koṇ: "Mā! Tūm se kahā pāūngā,
"Agar jag moṇ, so bāz phir ā,ūngā,
"'Abas phir ke taṣdī' kyūṇ ā,ī tūmeṇ,
"Phir āte haiṇ begī shitābī hamen,
"Na kūchh dil moṇ tum be-qarārī karo,
"Shahr kī ṭaraf ab suwārī karo."
Kahī mā: "Nahīṇ chain dil moṇ mūjhe,
"Maiṇ dekhūṇgī kis des, phir-kar, tūjhe,
"Karūṇ kyā, ṣabr mūjh soṇ ātā nahīṇ,
"Tere pāchhah kūchh mūjh koṇ bhātā nahīṇ.
"Ik ik din mūjhe hai ik ik sāl kā,
"Khudā koṇ khabar hai merī ḥāl kā,
"Naṣīboṇ moṇ kyā hai, nahīṇ kūchh khabar,
"Yah jīwanā ho rahe mūjhe jyūṇ zahr."
Būlā-kar sa-o-pā baḍe tol ke,
Zar zar-kashī, ṣāf, bahū mol ke,
Būlā,ī Luṭf Khān, 'Umr Khān koṇ,
Mirzā Maḥamdī aur Maṭhi Khān koṇ,
Jahāṇ lak the sardārate, rū-shinās,
Būlā bhej-kar sabh ke, ā,eṇ pās,
Sar-o-pāe har yak koṇ dene lagī,
Bajā liyā-ke taslīm, lene lage.
Kahā ba'd-az-ān: "Sabh koṇ sūgand hai
"Kih 'Ālim 'Alī mūjh koṇ dilband hai,
"Namak kī sharṭ hī bajā liyāoge,
"To dil-sāchah phir martabā pāyoge.

"Khudā tūm sabhoṇ koṇ nigahbān hai,
"Baḍe bast dunyā moṇ īmān hai."
Kī,e 'ahd sāriyāṇ ne, sūgand khā,
Kih: "Mālik dil kā hamārā Khudā,
"Jab lak jīw tan moṇ hai, o dam meṇ dam,
"Rajhenge ḥaẓūrī moṇ ṣābit-qadam,

"To live on is better while reputation lasts,
"That gone, what matters throne and crown!
"So long as the hearts of my friends are mine,
"In war-time all remain loyal to me,
"Finally wherever the strife and battle fall,
"There to the end with one heart they still strive.
"Be men and in your hearts resolve to be brave,
"By manly virtue a man gains renown.
"In all Hind is Bārhah well esteemed,
"I pray for strength and honour all day long,
"All mortals here below are doomed to death,
"We brought nothing here and shall carry nothing away."
Hearing of these halts, his gracious mother
Became restless in her heart and soul,
She issued from the city, paid him a visit,
With exceeding love took him to her arms.
He said to his mother: "Mother, what can I say,
"If still in this world, I will certainly return,
"Why uselessly do you again worry yourself,
"I shall come back at once, without delay,
"Allow no anxiety to enter your heart,
"Mount and return towards the city."
Spoke his mother: "My heart is not at rest,
"What land shall I ever see, where you return,
"What shall I do, I cannot acquire patience,
"With you absent, there can be no pleasure for me.
"Each single day to me is like a year,
"God alone can know what is in my heart,
"What may be my lot I know not at all,
"This life I lead is to me like poison."
She called for robes of great weight,
Of gold brocade, lovely, of great price,
She sent for Luṭf Khān and 'Umr Khān,
For Mirzā Mahamdī and for Mathī Khān,
For so many of the chiefs as she knew by name.
Men were sent for them, they drew near,
She began to give robes to each one,
They made their obeisance and accepted them.
After that she said: "All must swear
"That to 'Ālim 'Alī Khān they are loyal,
"They will behave as duty to their salt demands,
"Thus receiving at the last the reward of the true-hearted.
"May God keep you all under His gracious eye,
"Good faith is a great thing in the world."
All pledged themselves, they swore an oath;
"The ruler of our hearts is God,
"While life remains, while breathing breath,
"We will stand firm-footed before our lord,

" Qadam soṇ qadam, hāth soṇ hāth jor,
" Karege jablak hogī dushman kī mor;
" Hameṇ dil soṇ qurbān hai, aur niṣār.
" Rakho dil moṇ, Ṣāḥib! tūmeṇ bar-qarār."
Kahī: " Āfrīn! Tum namak-khwār ho,
" Wafādār, be-shak. o dildār ho."
Widā' ho prān, mā koṇ kīnā salām,
Kīyā kūch begī soṇ, bas wa as-salām!
Chale, aur ga,e beg ūtar ghāṭ soṇ,
Le-kar lāo-lashkar wa sabh bhāṇt soṇ.
Karī fauj apne ke kitne suwār,
Jo dekhā to maujūd chālīs hazār;
The itne shutar-nāl, gaj-nal, bān,
Sūne koī shalq, to jāwe prān,
Rahekle o topeṇ thāṇ itne sanghāt,
Kahi,e kyā? Nahīṇ koī kahnī kī bāt!
Niẓāmu-l-mulk par ho wājib, yaqīn
Kih ab jang sābit hai, be kāf-o-shīn,
Kahāyā salām aur kahāyā du'ā
Kih: " Laṛnā mere sāth kuchho nahīṇ naf'ā,
" Kīyā hai Dakhin kā mūjhe Sūbahdār,
" Laṛā,ī kā mat deo mujh soṇ bīchār,
" Chale jāo sīdhī Hindūstān koṇ,
" Chachā pas apne so amāṇ soṇ.
" Maiṇ laṛke se kyā tegh-bāzī karūṇ,
" Bhalā hai jo kuch kār-sāzī karūṇ."
Sūnā jab khabar Sayyad-i-'ālā-janāb
Kahā: " Dehū begī soṇ is kā juwāb."
" 'Nanhe 'umr hūṇ, pun maiṇ laṛkā nahīṇ,
" 'Kisī bāt kā dil moṇ dhaṛkā nahīṇ,
" 'Maiṇ Sayyad hūṇ, tum dil moṇ kyā liyāe ho?
" 'Mere mulk par chal-ke, kyūṇ ā,e ho?
" 'Mūjhe 'ār-hī-'ār hai, 'ār-i-nang;
" 'Chale āo begī, nah liyāyo darang.
" 'Agar lākh dar lākh faujāṇ mileṇ,
" 'Kih jin ke dhamak soṇ ṭabq ṭhaleṇ,
" 'Maiṇ ū shakhṣ hūṇ, jo ṭalan-hār nāh,
" 'Shujā'at merī kis pai iẓhār nāh?
" 'Agar hai haiyātī to gham nahīṇ mūjhe,
" 'Agar maut hai, to wahm nahīṇ mūjhe,
" 'Jo māryā hai qismat moṇ merī qalam,
" 'Nah howegā ziyādah, nah howegā kam,
" 'Maiṇ rāẓī-i-Riẓā par hūṇ jo kūchh raẓā,
" 'Wahī khūb hai, jo karegā Khudā.' "
Ba-har-ḥāl ūh fauj ūtarī nadī,
Pakaṛ dil manī, dund da'wā badī;

" Foot set to foot, hand joining hand,
" We stand fast so long as the enemy resists;
" Heartily we offer ourselves a sacrifice and offering,
" You may, lady, set your heart at rest."
She replied: " Bravo! you are true salt-eaters,
" Faithful, without a doubt, and great of heart."
The loved one said farewell, he saluted his mother,
He marched at once, enough and there's an end.
He moved on and quickly descended the pass,
Took army and baggage, all kinds of soldiers.
He had in his army crowds of horsemen,
When counted he found them forty thousand;
There were so many camel-pieces, elephant guns, rockets,
That hearing them discharged one's breath went,
Of field guns, siege guns, such a collection,
What shall we say? There is nothing can be said.
Niẓām-ul-Mulk seeing certainly of a truth
That war was now on foot, without any doubt,
Sent his compliments and a prayer,
Saying: " To fight with me is devoid of profit,
" They have made me governor of the Dakhin,
" Think not of fighting with me,
" Make your way straight to Hindūstān,
" Join your uncle and be in safety.
" How shall I use sword-play with a child,
" It will be well whatever pretext I make."
When the exalted Sayyad heard this message
He said: " Send forthwith this my answer:
" 'Young in age I am, but not a boy,
" 'Nothing can make my heart to flutter,
" 'I am a Sayyad, what idea have you taken up,
" 'Into my country why have you advanced?
" 'I feel the ignominy, the slur on my reputation,
" 'Come on at once, make no lingering.
" 'If thousands on thousands of soldiers advance,
" 'Whose tread makes the heavenly vault to shift,
" 'I am that man who neither shirks nor flinches,
" 'Who is there to whom my valour is not evident.
" 'If life survives, I sorrow not,
" 'If it be death, I treasure no illusion,
" 'To what the pen has recorded as my fate
" 'Nothing can be added, from it nothing taken
" 'I am pleased and contented, whatever His pleasure,
" 'That thing is best which God provides.' "
In short that army crossed the river,
Cherishing in its heart great expectations;

Idhar soṇ waho lashkar, ūdhar soṇ ūh fauj,	Here was that camp, there was that army,
Pare ā naẓīk, jyūṇ samudar kī mauj.	They drew near like the waves of the ocean.
Napaṭ dāb ābī lage tab abhāl,	It grew exceedingly overcast, rain threatened,
Barsne lagā rāt-din barshkāl,	The rainy season began, it rained day and night,
Kaṭak dhyūns guzarī thī is bāt koṇ.	The army endured discomfort from this cause.
Dīyā ko khabar ā ūhī rat koṇ:	A man came that night and reported :
"Ṣubḥ jang howegā, yūṇ hai khabar,	"To-morrow the fight will be, that is the rumour,
"Yihī ẓikr lashkar moṇ hai ghar-ba-ghar."	"This is spoken of in the camp from place to place."
Kahā: "Jūnṭh hai, yah nahīṇ, kyā i'tibār,	He said: "It is a lie, it cannot be, can this be trusted,
"Hamāre haiṇ jāsūs bhī hoshyār."	"Are not my spies, too, on the alert?"
Na jānā kih jāsūs, qāṣid, tamām,	He knew not that all his spies and messengers
Ho rahe haiṇ Niẓāmu-l-mulk ke ghulām.	Were entirely slaves of Niẓām-ul-Mulk.
Thī tārikh chhaueṇ jo Shawwāl kī,	It was on the sixth of the month Shawwāl,
Badī naḥas-tar, sakht janjāl kī,	A day most unfortunate, full of perplexity,
Athā roz itwār kā, nā-ba-kār,	It was a Sunday, most unpropitious,
Gharī thī wah Mirrikh kī, ashak-bār,	The hour was that of Mars, fraught with tears,
Thī sā'at ūh sā'at maue khūn-fishān,	The moment chosen was one devoted to blood-shedding ;
Satārā Zuhal kā thā wuh be-gumān.	The star was Saturn without a doubt.
Kharā ho kīyā 'arẓ ; "Ai Dastgīr!	He stood up and prayed : "O Protector !
"Niẓāmu-l-mulk fauj le-ke kaṣīr;	"Niẓām-ul-Mulk comes with a huge army !
"Mangā yū kamānāṇ mere hāth kiyāṇ.	"Send for the bow that was put in my hand,
"Jo haiṇ rāt-din wah mere sāth kiyāṇ."	"The one which was given to keep day and night."
Ṣubḥ koṇ ūṭhā Sayyad-i-neknām,	At day-break rose the well-famed Sayyad,
Bhatā, aur laga bolne khūsh-kalām :	In pleasing manner he began to speak persuasively :
"Naqārā de ātā hai, ai Qiblah-gāh!	"He comes beating his drums, O venerated One !
"Ḥukm ho, to tayār howe sipāh?"	"If orders issue, the army will prepare,
"Mangā yū sipar āhanī, phul-dār,	"Bring my shield, of iron, engraved with flowers,
"Sawāri moṇ ājhan meṇ jo ham so piyār."	"Let those who love me ride with me this day."
Kahe: "Kyā khair hai āj, dostān!"	He added: "How fortunate is this day, O friends."
Ūṭhā bol begī soṇ Ghiyāṣ Khān:	Up at once and cried out Ghiyāṣ Khān :
"Auh 'Ālim 'Alī! Sayyad, mihrbān!	"O 'Ālim 'Alī ! the lord, the gracious !
"Shujā'at moṇ ẓāhir jis kā nishān!	"Whose valorous standard is far renowned :
"Shitābī merā khol torā mangāo,	"Let them bring at once my helm and gun,
"Mere khāṣ ghore koṇ pākhar chadhāo,	"Array my choicest steed in armour,
"Hāthī koṇ sarī jākah sar soṇ bandhāo,	"Go fix on my elephant's head his circlet,
"Jo haudaj hai jangī, qulābā lagāo,	"Get out my war canopy, bind it to its staples,
"Lagā bar-kash ūs koṇ khūbī kharo,	"See that its surcingle is well and tightly drawn,
"Hū,ā waqt ab, phir darrang mat karo."	"Now is the time, delay not any longer."
Kīyā jā ghul, aur ūṭhā,ī do hāth,	He cried aloud, he raised both hands on high,
Kahā: "Yā nabī, sarware-be-kāināt!	He said : "O prophet, chief of created beings,
"Khabar jang kā āj hai ṭhār ṭhār,	"Signs of battle on this day abound,
"Yahī ghūl hai sabh fauj moṇ ashkār."	"This outcry is clear all through the army."
Sūnā soch baktar mangayā shitāb,	His mind made up, at once he called for his hauberk,
Hotā musta'd, jān-i-'ālā-janāb.	He becomes eager of soul, does the exalted lord.

So jāsūs itne moṇ āyā shitāb,
Pasīne moṇ dūbā jyūṇ gharq āb.
Kahā: "Liyāo jo kuchh merā sāj hai,
"Mūjhe kām dushman sete āj hai,
"Kaṭāre wa nezā wa shamsher liyāo,
"Jo tarkash hai khāṣā, so begī mangāo,
"Tuman koṇ merī lāj kī lāj hai,
"Madad ko nah, tum bin, mūjhe āj hai."
Kamr bāndh hatyār, is koṇ sambhāl,
Lagāyo chhine mūkh koṇ, le le rūmāl.
Kahā: "Liyā,o huqqā, do dam ẕauq hai,
"Kih ḥuqqe soṇ hamanā ke bhī shauq hai."
Khabardār itne moṇ liyāyā khabar
Kih: "Paiṭhe ho gayā, Sayyad, sher-i-nar,
"Niẕāmu-l-mulk fauj koṇ sāth le,
"Tūmhāre amīro kā dil hāth le,
"Kīyā tūm ūpar fauj-bandī soṇ chāl.
"Fatḥ deo tūmanā koṇ ab Ẕu,l-jalāl!
"Agarchah nahīṇ kisī koṇ kuchh 'ilm-i-ghaib,
"Sabhoṇ koṇ to dastāhī bi,lkul qarīb."
Sūnā soch jāsūs jhaṛkā sunā,
Ḥuqqā sāmne thā, so sarkā sanā;
Kahā: "Log mere wafā-dār hai,
"Maiṇ chākar nahiṇ jāntā, yār hai,
"Sabhe ek jīwaṇ, wa sabh ek tan,
"Shujā'at ke haiṇ khān ke sabh ratn,
"We dāne haiṇ tasbīḥ ke, maiṇ imām,
"Rachheṇ ek dhāge moṇ hil-mil madām,
"Mere sāth kyūṇkai judā,ī kareṇ,
"Mūjhe chhoḍ, kyūn rū-siyāhī kareṇ,
"Lūṭāyā hūṇ in par maiṇ sabh mulk, māl,
"Niẕāmu-ul-mulk kyā karegā nihāl?"
Ūṭhā bol sabh soṇ: "Suwārī karo!
"Dunyā sahal hai, dil soṇ yārī karo,
"Hansā mat karo, zindagī hai sahal,
"Sharāfat moṇ mat liyā,o apne khalal,
"Khudā ke karm kā hūṇ umedwār,
"Rahkegā mere lāj Parwardigār.
"Maiṇ Sayyad hūṇ, ūh mūjh par chal ā,e haiṅ,
"Mere ghar pai nā-ḥaqq balā liyā,e haiṇ,
"Khudā ke hai inṣāf, mānoṇ tūmeṇ,
"Fatḥ hai, to hamārā yih jānoṇ tūmeṇ."

Then came a spy with hurrying feet,
Pouring with sweat as if plunged in water.
He said: "Bring me all my harness,
"This day my business is with the enemy,
"Bring dagger and lance and scimitar,
"That special quiver bring to me quickly,
"On you alone depend my name and fame,
"No aider exists for me to-day unless it be you."
Round his waist he bound his weapons, and adjusted them,
Applied *chhine* to his face, using his handkerchief.
He said: "Bring a pipe, I long for a whiff or two,
"For I, too, am fond of smoking my pipe."
Then a scout brought in a report,
Saying: "O Sayyad! that male tiger has appeared,
"Niẕam-ul-Mulk has brought with him his army,
"He has taken hold of your leader's hearts,
"He has declared hostilities against you.
"May the All Powerful now give you the victory!
"Although none can read the hidden record,
"Yet for all of us God's hand is very near."
He listened and reflecting rebuked the scout,
His pipe lay before him, he took a pull,
And said: "My men are quite to be trusted,
"I look on them not as servants but as friends,
"We are all one soul, all one body,
"All of them jewels from the mine of Bravery,
"They are grains of a chaplet, I am the priest,
"Strung on one thread they are ever united,
"Wherefore should they abandon me,
"By throwing me over why blacken their faces?
"I have showered on them gifts of goods and land,
"How further can Niẕām-ul-Mulk enrich them."
He up and spoke to all: "To horse!
"The world is a slight thing, stand by me heart and soul,
"Play not the buffoon, living is an easy matter,
"Bring no stain on your high descent,
"On the mercy of God I place my reliance,
"The Provider will keep aloft my fame.
"I am a Sayyad, he has attacked me,
"On my house unjustly bringing calamity!
"There is a God of Justice, as you will find out,
"If I win the day all this you will know."

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE INDO-SCYTHIANS.

BY SYLVAIN LEVI.

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(Concluded from Vol. XXXII. p. 426.)

PART III. — SAINT THOMAS, GONDOPHARES, AND MAZDEO.

WHAT follows here is practically a translation of the whole of the third part of M. Lévi's Notes, in the *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-June, 1897, pp. 27 to 42, slightly condensed in some places. As in Parts I. and II., the figures in thick type in square brackets mark the pages of the original.

M. Lévi first **[27]** reminds us how the name of the king Gondophares, which had been perpetuated through the Christian middle ages, as shewn by the Golden Legend, was deciphered upon an ancient coin from Gandhâra (see Cunningham's paper, *Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps with Greek Inscriptions*, in *J. A. S. Bengal*, 23, 1854, p. 679 ff.). Thus, the legend and the coins form a bond between Indian and Christian antiquities. It is a curious fact that the tradition regarding the apostle St. Thomas should have preserved for eighteen centuries the remembrance of a comparatively obscure king, ruling about the confines of India, Iran, and Scythia. We ought, therefore, to examine the details of the legend, and see if we can get any real history out of it.

M. Lévi then refers to Gutschmid's famous paper on the subject (Von Gutschmid, *Die Königsnamen in den Apocryphen Apostelgeschichten*, in *Rheinisches Museum fur Philologie*, 1864, 161-183 and 380-401; *Kleine Schriften*, II. 332-394).

He points out that though Gutschmid discussed the question in a masterly way, his ingenious sagacity was exercised on insufficient materials, and his conclusions have since been shaken. We have now much additional valuable material, coins and inscriptions; moreover, the literature of St. Thomas and of the apocryphal Acts has been increased with new texts and important works.

Among these works M. Lévi cites the following:[1] —

Max. Bonnet, *Supplementum Codicis Apocryphi*, I., *Acta Thomæ*, Lipsiæ, 1883. — Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles from Syrian MSS.* (II. English translation, London, 1871). — Malan, *Certamen Apostolorum, Conflicts of the holy Apostles translated* . . . London, 1871. — K. Schröter, *Gedicht des Jakob von Sarug über den Palast den der Apostel Thomas in Indien baute*, in *Z. D. M. G.* XXV. 1871, 321-377. — R. A. Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, 3 Vols., Braunschweig, 1883-4.

M. Lévi mentions an Armenian version of the apocryphal Acts of Thomas, not yet printed. M. Carrière called his attention to the manuscript in the Berlin Library, and M. Frédéric Macler noted all the proper names for him, and translated several passages. The text appears to be identical with the Syriac, edited by Wright.

Having thus specified the new material available, M. Lévi proceeds to a new examination of the question: —

[28] Two apostles, Thomas and Bartholomew, are said to have evangelised India. But if we compare the legendary accounts of the two saints, a marked difference appears. The legend of St. Bartholomew is founded upon vague and impersonal notions. The Greek compiler of the *Martyrdom of Bartholomew*, copied slavishly by Abdias, begins with a pedantic display of false science:

[1] [For names of some additional works, see articles in *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, pp. 1 ff. and 145 ff., entitled *The Connection of St. Thomas the Apostle with India*. We may also point out that Malan's book is now out of date, being quite superseded by E. A. W. Budge, *The Contendings of the Apostles*, 2 Vols.; London, 1901. — W. R. P.]

"Historiographers say that India is divided into three parts: the first, according to them reaches to "Ethiopia; the second to Media; the third is at the end of the country; on one side it extends to "the region of darkness, and on the other to the Ocean. It was to this India that Bartholomew "went" (*Acta Apostolorum apocrypha*, ed. Tischendorf, Lipsiae, 1851, p. 243; *Abdiæ Apostolicæ historiæ*, ed. Fabricius, Hambourg, 1719, p. 669). The other notions are of the same character; the scene of the Acts is so indefinite, that king Polymius, who put the apostle to death, has been taken for Polemon II., king of Pontus, and also for Puḷumāyi, king of the Dekkan (Lipsius, *op. cit.*, II. 2, 71; E. Kuhn, *Barlaam und Joasaph*, München, 1893, *Abhand. d. k. bayer, Akad. d. Wiss.*, XX. bd., I. abth., p. 85). [29] The route of Thomas is, on the contrary, clear and logical. The king Goundaphoros has directed the merchant Abbanēs, who was returning to Syria, to get him a skilful architect, for he wishes to have a magnificent palace built. Christ appears to Abbanēs and sells Thomas to him as one of his slaves. The apostle, who hesitated to go so far, does not dare to resist his divine master, and embarks with Abbanēs. A good voyage brings them to the port of Andrapolis, capital of a kingdom. They disembark, continue their journey by land through the towns of India, and arrive at last at the residence of Goundaphoros. Then, at Christ's command, the apostle directs himself towards the east, and penetrates into Further India (Inde Ultérieure).[2] He arrives at the capital of the king Misdeos, and suffers martyrdom upon a hill near the town. A Christian piously steals away the body of the saint and takes his relics to Mesopotamia.

Abbanēs and his companion follow the regular trade route between the coast of Syria and the Pañjāb. Pliny (*Hist. natur.* 6, 26, 103) and the author of the Periplus, who wrote soon after St. Thomas, trace in detail the same route. Passengers and cargoes which came to Alexandria from Mediterranean ports, were reshipped on the Red Sea; thence direct services and coasting lines went from Myos Hormos and from Berenikē, touched at Cape Syagros [30] in Arabia, and from this point reached, with or without stoppages (escales), the trading places (comptoirs) of the mouths of the Indus, Patala or Barbarikon; "the ships remain there at anchor; the goods go up the river to "the capital, Minnagar, situated quite inland, the metropolis of Scythia, governed by Parthians, "who, troubled by internal dissensions, are constantly driving each other out" (*Periplus mar. Erythr.* 38-39). If the country was not safe, it was better to prolong the voyage to Barygaza, on the coast of Ariakē, at the mouth of the Narmadā; a great caravan route led from this port, by Ozēnē (Ujjayanī), to Proklais (Pushkalavatī) on the borders of Bactriana (*Perip. mar. Erythr.* 48).[3]

[31] Carried away by the spirit of system, Gutschmid thought he must amend the apostle's route. So he makes Andrapolis, the city where St. Thomas disembarked, a town of the Andhras; thus locating it on the Koṅkaṇ coast, where the Andhra-Śātakarṇi dynasty ruled in the first century of our era. Then he makes the travellers take their course thence towards the north and

[2] In connection with his rendering of *India superior* by Inde Ultérieure, Further India, M. Lévi has here added a note as follows: — I have found exactly the same expression in a passage of Ammianus Marcellinus (XXXIII., 6, 32 *seq.*): Zoroaster and Hydaspes, the father of Darius, developed magic; the latter of them "cum superioris Indiae secreta fidentius penetraret, ad nemorosam quandam venerat solitudinem cujus tranquillis silentiis praecelsa Bracmanorum ingenia potiuntur." It is plain that *superior India* means here the most remote part of India. We may compare the expressions *Germania superior*, *Maesia superior*, in which the word *superior* marks the province situated furthest up in going up the course of a river. In the same way, *India superior* should designate the upper basin of the Indus (of course, in India), in opposition to the lower course of the river, where there were *India citerior* with *prima Indiae civitas*, and *India ulterior* with the kingdom of Gudnafar.

[3] The tradition of the Christians of Malabar, the Christians of St. Thomas as they are called, apparently invalidates the data of the Acts. According to their tradition, the apostle came in 52 A. D. from Socotra to the island of Malankara, near Cranganor (Malabar), and founded the seven communities of Cranganur, Palur, North Parur, South Pallipuram, Naranam, Nellakkal and Quilon; having gone thence to Mailapur (suburb of Madras) in Coromandel, he converted the king Sagan; a brahman put him to death with a thrust from a lance on a neighbouring mount. The body of the Saint was transported to Edessa, as in the other legend. But the antiquity of this legend has still to be proved; it does not rest upon any positive document. Most historians, including Lipsius, reject it. The precision of the Acts contrasts with this colourless story; the former contain the name of a true contemporary, forgotten by history; the latter borrows from local fable a dynastic name which symbolises the past. Paulinus a S. Bartholomæo saw in Sagan the Saraganes of the Periplus, a Śātakaṇṇi king, and in particular Śālivāhana the Śātakarṇi; as a chronological indication, Sagan-Śālivāhana has as much value as the Vikramāditya of the tales.

west to the kingdom of the Iranian Masdeos, otherwise Mazda. This amended route is absurd; in order to go from Syria to the Parthians, it was unnecessary to make a détour by the Dekkan. Gutschmid, having thus gratuitously introduced absurdity into the narrative, proceeds to impute it to the compiler of the Acts, and makes it his text in order to prove what he thinks is the true origin of the story. He decides accordingly that the author had clumsily borrowed the legend of a Buddhist missionary, perhaps Nāgārjuna, who went from the Dekkan to preach to the Yavanas and Pahlavas. Then he makes all the details support his hypothesis: the frequent appearances of Christ (christophanies) are apparitions of the Buddha; the healing power of the relics is a Buddhist superstition; the miracles of Thomas correspond to the supernatural powers of the arhat; the demons driven out by the sign of the cross are only rākshasīs ill disguised; finally, the lion which tears to pieces and kills the impious attendant is the unintelligent realisation of a consecrated name: 'Sakyasiṃha, the lion of the 'Sakyas!

Gutschmid's ingenious structure rests on disputable and false data. [32] His geographical interpretation, founded on the name Andrapolis, is upset by the Syriac and Armenian; the former writes Sndrūk, the latter Sndrak; in the Greek the initial sibilant may have dropped, as, for instance, in Andrakottos, a form used concurrently with Sandrakottos. Thus the Andhras, the Dekkan, and Nāgārjuna would all be struck out at once. However, let us even suppose the name Andrapolis to be correct, and Gutschmid's location right. But then how about the route? The Periplus marks out the way from the ports of Gujarāt to Kābul as *viâ* Ujjayinī. But, in order to bring the apostle to the Parthians, Gutschmid is obliged to flatly contradict the unanimous testimony of the texts. In the Acts, the apostle on quitting the kingdom of Gondophares directs his course towards the east; in the *Passio*, he takes his way to Further India (Inde Ultérieure). The Ethiopian version, which represents an autonomous form of the tradition, also conducts St. Thomas to the east after the conversion of Gondophares; in that version the capital of the king Mastius (Misdeos) is called Quantaria, a name which suggests Gandhāra, occupied by 'Sakas, Kushaṇas and Parthians at different times. Another tradition, foreign to the Acts, but constant among the Greek fathers from the 5th century, gives the name Kalaminē to the town where St. Thomas suffered martyrdom. As to this name, Gutschmid calls attention to a village Kalama upon the coast of Gedrosia, opposite the island of Karbinē or Karmina; the name perhaps conceals, in a distorted form, the [33] town of Min, Minnagara, metropolis of Indo-Scythia.[4]

An exact knowledge of India appears in the episodes and details of the Acts. On disembarking at Sndrūk-Andrapolis, Thomas is obliged to take part in a feast; he there sings a mystical hymn in his mother-tongue. In the multitude which surrounds him, only one person understands him; she is only a flute player, like Thomas, a native of Palestine (Ἑβραῖα); the king of the country had engaged her to enliven the assembled guests with her music. This accidental meeting is not so removed from probability as to be surprising. According to Strabo (ed. Müller-Didot, 82, 18), young female musicians of western origin were articles of import certain to please in India;[5] professionally they were not distinguished from "the young well-made girls intended for debauchery," whom the Greek merchants offered together with musical instruments to the kings of the ports of Gujarāt (*Perip. mar. Erythr.*, § 49; the term μουσικά, which reappears in this passage, and is generally translated "musical instruments," recalls at once the μουσικὰ παιδισκάρια of Strabo).

[4] The town of Gondophares has no name given to it except in the *Passio*, the manuscripts of which call it Eliforum, Yroforum, Hienforum, Inforum, Hierapolis. — [What is here briefly called the *Passio* is the second of the two Latin versions of the Acts of St. Thomas printed by Max Bonnet, *op. cit.* Its heading is *Passio Sancti Thomae Apostoli.* The other version is headed *De Miraculis Beati Thomae Apostoli.* — W. R. P.]

[5] M. Lévi has here added a note as follows: — This occasion is a suitable one for drawing attention to a new illustration, as unexpected as it is striking, of the liking which the wealthy Indians had for young people of the west. The 3rd fasciculus of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, edited by Messrs. Grenfell and Hart (London, 1903), contains a fragment of a Greek farce, played in Egypt, which has its scene laid in India, and has for its topic the adventures of a young Greek, Charition, who finds himself in the power of an Indian king. By its importance for the history of the Indian theatre, this fragment calls for special study.

The forerunner of Columbus, Eudoxus of Cyzicus [about 130 B. C.], on setting out from Gades to go to India, shipped as cargo μουσικὰ παιδισκάρια καὶ ἰατροὺς καὶ ἄλλους τεχνίτας.

The wild asses, which came of their own accord to be harnessed to the apostle's chariot [34] and drew him to the town of Misdeos, are in India found only upon the borders of the Indus, where Gondophares and his neighbour reigned (*cf.* Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. 14, Index, s. v. *Asses, Wild*).

We also find that monuments agree with nature and with the texts in attesting the accuracy of the narrator: the ruins of Gandhāra, recovered from the dust of ages after a long period of oblivion, still bear the indisputable stamp of the Greek artists, who came, like the hero of the Acts, "to fashion columns (stèles) in stone, and also temples and royal residences." Did that unknown sculptor also dream of heavenly palaces, who cut upon a Buddhist pillar the image of the Good Shepherd, such as it is seen in the catacombs at Rome (Cole, *Græco-Buddhist sculptures from Yusufzai*, 1885; *cf.* Grünwedel, *Buddhistiche Kunst in Indien*, Berlin, 1893; Foucher, *Les scènes figurées de la légende du Bouddha*, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes-études, sciences religieuses*, t. 7, 1896).

The Acts and connected literature do not include all the current traditions regarding the voyage of St. Thomas to the Indies, other legends, equally founded upon exact information, were also in circulation. The apocryphal writing, *De Transitu Mariae*, which is considered one of the most ancient Christian works,[6] with surprising accuracy briefly alludes to one of these episodes.[7] St. Thomas, who has been brought by a miracle to the Blessed Virgin in her last [35] moments, converses with the apostles: "I was traversing the country of the Indies and, by the grace of Christ, I proclaimed the "gospel there; the son of the sister of the king, called Labdanes,[8] was on the point of receiving "baptism, when the Holy Spirit said to me . . ." The nephew of Gondophares does not appear in the Acts; they name only Gad, brother of the king,[9] but coins have shewn us the nephew. The bilingual legends on the coins of Abdagases declare his royal relationship: υνδιφερο αδελφιδεως on one side, and *gandaphara-bhrata-putrasa* on the reverse.[10] Abdagases, it is true, is the son of a brother of Gondophares; Labdanes is the son of a sister of the king; but, in spite of this slight divergence, it is difficult to separate the two personages, and even the two names. The initial lambda of Labdanes is perhaps the result of dittography (Λ)ΑΒΔΑΝΗϹ. Marquart (*Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Erān* in *Z. D. M. G.*, XLIX., 1895, 682) explains Abdagases by "wunderbar schön" [wonderfully beautiful] from *gaš*, "beautiful." The employment of the hypocoristic form is proved by a certain number of Parthian names.

[36] As so many exact facts and positive notions have been thus preserved in the cycle of the apostle Thomas, we ought to search the real history of India for the king named in the Acts along with Gondophares. Though the date is doubtful, we have a useful mark in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription (Dowson, *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., 7, 376 ff. and 9, 144-46; Senart, *J. A.*, Jan.-June, 1890, 113-163). This inscription, which commemorates a pious foundation, bears as date "the year 26 of "the king Guduphara, 103 [in letters and figures] of the continuous era *(sambaddha?)*, the fifth day "of the month Vaiśākha." The reading and meaning of the epithet applied to the era are uncertain, and its starting point is undetermined. But there is no doubt about the identity of the king: on the bilingual coins of Gondophares, Guduphara is one of the Indian forms into which the name is

[6] Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphæ*, Intr. p. xxxvi: "(librum) non pertinere ad medii aevi, sed antiquitatis "christianæ monumenta certum est, quanquam ambigi potest utrum sæculo demum quarto an prius prodierit."

[7] [The apocryphal work on "the Falling Asleep of the Holy Mother of God," here cited as *De Transitu Mariae*, has been somewhat fully dealt with in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, pp. 152, 157, in respect of the proposed identification of Labdanes with Abdagases, which seems to be not so probable as M. Lévi has thought. — W. R. P.]

[8] *Apocalypses apocryphæ*, p. 131. The Syriac text No. 2 (quoted *ibid.* p xxxvi, note), in consequence of some confusion, has "The nephew of Ludan, king of India." The Arabic, Latin and Syriac No. 2 versions indicate simply that Thomas was in India.

[9] Gutschmid thought he had recovered the name of Gad, brother of Gondophares, in the legend *βασιλευα οαδα* read by Longpérier on a coin of Gondophares. But Longpérier's reading arose from an error, since rectified by new specimens, and Gutschmid's explanation is thus struck out.

[10] For the coins of Abdagases, besides Cunningham's articles already mentioned, see Hoernle, *Copper-coins of Abdagases*, *J. A. S. Beng.*, 1895, Proceedings, p. 82-84.

transcribed;[11] this name only appears in the series called Indo-Parthian, and is there borne by only this one prince. If Gondophares had been reigning twenty six years in the year 103 of the unknown era, his accession was in the year 77 of the same. An era also undetermined, but certainly pretty near the other, was in constant use among the Kushaṇas beginning with Kanishka, whose name figures in an inscription of the year 5 (Bühler, *Jaina Inscrs. from Mathurā* in *Epigr. Ind.* 1, 381, No. 1). If we admit [37] hypothetically the identity of the two eras, then Vāsudeva,[12] among [38] the Kushaṇas, would be a contemporary of Goṇdophares[13]; the latest actually known dates of Vāsudēva are from 74 to 98. The Sanskrit name Vāsudēva is only found in epigraphic monuments, on coins with Greek legends he is BAZOΔHO and BAZΔHO. No doubt these coins, intended for circulation in a vast dominion, were by preference inscribed with the current form of the royal name. But the name Bazdēo, when it came into Iranian territory, would fall under Mazdean influences, and easily be transformed into Mazdeo. The initial labials M and B were constantly confused; to confine ourselves to India only, we may recall the name Mumbā, transformed by the Portuguese into Bombay, and to go further back, the name Minnagar (*Periplus*, § 40), written Binnagar by Ptolemy.

All the numerous variants of the royal name in the Acts converge towards Mazdeo as the original form: the Greek floats between Misdaios, Misdeos, Mesdeos, altered into Smidaios in the Menaea [certain liturgical books of the Greek Church], and into Smindaios in Nicephorus; the Latin of the *Miracula* and of the *Passio* gives Mesdeus and Misdeus; the Syriac has [39] Mazdai; the Armenian Mštēh; the Ethiopian Mastius. The name borne by the son of Masdeos suggests an identical solution. The Greek has Ouzanēs,[14] Ouazanēs, Iouzanēs; the Latin Zuzanes and Luzanes; the Syriac Wizan; the Armenian Vizan. Gutschmid, and Marquart[15] after him, saw here the Pahlavi

[11] Buhler has recently pointed out a new form "Guḍupharna" discovered by O. Franke on coins at Berlin, *W. Z. K. M.* 1893, p. 53, note. — [See also *Indian Antiquary*, 1896, p. 141. — W. R. P.]

[12] The name of this king, so plainly Indian, comes as a surprise after the still barbarous names of Kanishka and of Hushka. It is true, however, that a Sāñchi inscription (Buhler, *Ep. Ind.* II. 339) gives an intermediate form Vāsushka. The following explanation is suggested as to the origin of the name Vāsudēva. On the oldest coins of the dynasty, we have in Indian characters *Kushana* or *Khushana*, in Greek KOPCNA (KOPCANO on the coins of the doubtful Miaos or Heraos); and XOPANO. The letters PC correspond to the first attempts to represent a foreign sound in Greek characters, a sound which was reproduced afterwards by P and finally by a new form of P with the staff prolonged upwards. To an Indian ear κορσνα would have sounded like the name Krishṇa, which the Greeks have transcribed by κορσάνης. (The gloss given by Hesychius: δορσάνης ὁ Ἡρακλῆς παρ' Ἰνδοῖς, corrects itself.) The name of Kushaṇa, thus understood, might have been translated into Indian language by one of the synonyms of Kṛishṇa. Vāsudēva, one of the most frequent names of the divine hero, could then be substituted for Kushana, as a sort of synonym. The numerous coins struck during several centuries in the name of Vāsudēva would be the coinage of the Indianised Kushaṇa kings. Moreover, if the equivalence of the *rhō*, whether with or without the prolonged staff, with the Indian or Iranian *sh* is incontestable, their identity remains to be established. In view of the names Kanērkēs, Oērkēs = Kanishka, Huvishka, we may recall that Herodotus mentions a king of the Śakas named Amorgēs: the formation of these names presents a striking resemblance; the name given by Herodotus to the son of the famous queen Tomyris, Spargapisēs, which recalls so closely the names of several kings classed by numismatists after Gondophares, for instance Spalgadamēs, seems to shew the same onomastic formations in use among the Scythians, contemporary with Christ. The coins of Spalirisēs shews the floating state of the transcription, his name is there sometimes written Sapalirisou, sometimes Spalirisou, and also Rpalirisou. The Scythic sound no doubt required a very strong aspiration. It is not impossible that the *Scythæ Chauranaei* of Ptolemy, with the town of Khaurana (VI. 15, 3-4), placed on the northern frontier of India, along the Emōdus (Himālaya), may be the Kushaṇas. The name in any case is externally identical with the form XOPANO = Kushaṇa of the coins of Kajulakadphisēs (*cf.* Vol. XXXII. above, p. 424).

[13] Von Sallet has already insisted upon the coincidence of the epigraphical dates of Gondophares and Vāsudēva: "If the era is the same, Gondophares comes at the end of the Indo-Scythians, perhaps even after Bazdeo, the last "of them. But, from a numismatic point of view, this, in my opinion, is almost impossible, for Bazodeo cannot "be far removed from the time of the Sassanides. Gondophares seems earlier. If, however, the eras are the same "in both cases, a difficulty remains to be solved by Indianists. I should put Gondophares after Jesus Christ, but "before the Turushkas" (*Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien*, 52).

[14] The forms Iouzanēs, Zouzanēs in Greek, Zuzanes and Luzanes in Latin, perhaps preserve the trace of an initial letter, which has disappeared in Ouzanes. Only a slight correction, perhaps only another reading of the manuscript, would be necessary to change Ἰουζανης into Γουζανης.

[15] Marquart, *Beitrage zur Geschichte und Sage von Eran*, in *Z. D. M. G.* 49 (1895), 628-372. Marquart, in that article, also brings to notice the name of the kings (to the number of 3 or 12), whom tradition points out as contemporaries of Christ in the Iranian world. The king of Bahl (Bactres) is there called Akhṣayarṣ bar Sakhbān.

Wījēn, Persian Bījēn; but such a reconstruction would not account for the Greek and Latin forms; it might be admissible, if we located the kingdom of Mesdeos in Iran, but it is inexplicable when India is concerned. The compiler of the Acts knew too much about India to give to an Indian prince the name of a secondary hero of the Iranian epic. The remembrance of this personage, Bezhan, son of Gēv, son of Gudarz, may no doubt have had some influence on the Syriac and Armenian forms of the original name, but the Greek and Latin ones exclude the identity of the two names.

Comparison of all the forms leads us back to an original *ouzan*, or rather *gouzan*; in fact, the transformation of the syllable *vi* into *gu*, which had been definitely settled by the time of the Sassanians, was in [40] progress a little after the Christian era and facilitated the substitution of one syllable for the other. On the borders of India and of Iran, the pronunciation at the same period was unstable, and thus oscillated between initial *u* and *gu*. The name of Gondophares affords a conclusive example of this; while the Takht-i-Bahi inscription and the Indian legends of the coins have Guduphara, Gudupharna, Gondophara, the Greek legends hesitate between three transcriptions: Gondapharou, Induphrru and Undopherrou. Thus it seems that at the time the forms Undopherres and Guduphara were officially equivalent. We may, therefore, suppose Ouzanes and Gusana to be also equivalent. Gushana is the official form of the name of the Kushaṇas in two inscriptions, dated one in the reign of Kanishka,[16] the other in the year 122.[17] The second of these inscriptions, a century later than Kanishka, is only separated by an interval of twenty-four years from the last ascertained date for Vāsudēva-Bazdeo. It mentions a *maharaya Gushaṇa*, but without specifying whether this indicates the dynastic or personal name of the king in question. The mahārāja Gushaṇa, who came so soon after the Kushaṇa Vāsudēva, was perhaps identical with the royal prince Ouzanes, son of Masdeos.[18]

[41] If Gondophares and Vāsudēva were really contemporaries of St. Thomas, they both reigned about the middle of the first century of the Christian era.[19] With regard to Gondophares, this hypothesis agrees with other data (see P. Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, 1886, Introd.). In the Greek legends on coins, Gondophares takes the title *autokratōr*, as did the Roman emperors beginning with Augustus. The coins of the Parthian kings, natural intermediaries between the Roman world and India, shew us plainly, when this title passed from the west to the east. Omitting the uncertain Sanotrokes, we find that Phraates IV, who reigned 8 to 11 A. D., was the only one who took the title *autokratōr*. It is also from the time of Phraates IV. that we find the square *omega* substituted for the round one in the Greek legends; the coins of Gondophares shew the change had been made in India by his time. Finally, Cunningham, relying upon the identity of names, considers Abdagases, nephew of Gondophares, [42] to be the grandson of the Parthian Abdagases, who was the ruling spirit at the court of Tiridates, in 36 A. D.; consequently he places the reign of Gondophares between 30 and 60 A. D.[20]

[16] The Manikyāla inscription has: *gushaṇa-vaśa-saṃvardhaka*. *Cf.* Senart, *Notes d'épigraphie indienne*, VI., in *J. A.*, Jan.-June, 1896, 5-26.

[17] Panjtar inscription, published by Cunningham, *Archæological Survey*, V. 61.

[18] In view of future identifications, it may be useful to place together here the names of the other Indian personages mentioned in the legend of St Thomas. The general of Mesdeos is called in Greek Siphōr, Suphōr, Sēmphoros; in Latin, Sapor, Siporus, Siforus; in Syriac, Sīfūr; in Armenian, Siphor. The chief of the servants of Mesdeos is Charisios (Gk.), Carisius (Lat.), Karish (Syr.), he has for wife Mygdonia, whose nurse is Markia (Narchia, Narka). The queen, wife of Mesdeos, is Tertia or Tertianē, Treptia (Lat), Tartabania (Ethiop.). The prince Ouzanes (named Maiturnos in Ethiop.) is married to Asinara (Sisara, Mnēsara); Manashar (Syr.), Marna (Ethiop.). — [See also *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, pp. 7 and 153, where more precise lists are given. The texts hardly seem to justify the description (chef des serviteurs) applied to Charisios. — W. R. P.]

[19] The Christians of St. Thomas date the martyrdom of the apostle 21 December, 68 A. D.

[20] [Cunningham in 1854, in the paper referred to on p. 10 above, thought it "highly probable that the "Indo-Parthian Abdagases was the same as the Parthian chief whose revolt is recorded by Tacitus (Annal. XV. 2) "and Josephus (Antiqua, XXIII. 2)." At the place named, Tacitus makes no mention of Abdagases or of the revolt. There is nothing elsewhere in Tacitus to lead us to connect his Abdagases with India and Gondophares (see Annals, bk. 6 [A. D. 32-37], ch. 35, 36, 43 and 44). As to Josephus, there are only twenty books in the *Antiquities of the Jews*. Abdagases is only named in bk. 18, ch. 9, sec. 4, and there merely incidentally as one of the generals of Artabanus III. He is not mentioned in connexion with any revolt. — Subsequently, 1890, Cunningham thought it "quite possible" that the Abdagases of the coins was the *grandson* of the Abdagases of Tacitus, not the same individual (see *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, London, 1890, p. 17). The reason of the change from grandfather to grandson is not apparent. — W. R. P.]

The dates drawn from Chinese texts lead us also to place the reign of Vāsudēva about the same epoch. If the Kushaṇa dynasty was founded about 50 B. C., Vāsudēva should have reigned about 50 A. D. The ascertained dates of Kanishka run from the year 5 to the year 18, whatever be the starting point of the era; those of his successor, Huvishka, run from 33 to 51; those of Vāsudēva, from 74 to 98. Kanishka's death then falls between 18 and 33; the accession of Vāsudēva between 51 and 74; an interval of eighteen years at the least, of fifty-six years at the most, of thirty-seven years as a mean, separates these two events. If the first conversion of a Chinaman to Buddhism is traced back to the time of Kanishka, the voyage, real or imaginary, of the Apostle Thomas to the Indies must necessarily be fixed in Vāsudēva's time.

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

Some of the views stated by M. Lévi have been discussed by M. Specht in the *Journal Asiatique*, July-Dec., 1897, pp. 152 ff., in an article entitled *Les Indo-Scythes et l'époque du règne de Kanichka.* But he seems to be not quite fair to M. Lévi. After stating that the date generally taken by scholars for the crowning of Kanishka is 78 A. D., he goes on to say: — "Now M. Lévi, relying "principally on the Acts of St. Thomas, thinks he can revise all this chronology, without having "previously examined the historical value of the work, which has been placed by the Council of Rome "of 494 among the apocryphal books."

We do not read M. Lévi as relying principally upon the Acts of St. Thomas. Our readers may judge from the translations above. The use he makes of the Acts is merely supplementary to what he has drawn from Chinese sources. Having shewn reasons for believing that Kanishka's reign must be dated from about B. C. 5, he comes to the Acts, and suggests — (he hardly does more) — that the Mazdeo mentioned in them is perhaps Vāsudēva.

In view of the literature on the subject quoted by M. Lévi, and the way in which he has treated it, it seems more than unreasonable to state that he did not previously examine the historical value of the work. M. Lévi has not treated the Acts as historical, but, like other scholars, as an ancient legend, which seems to have preserved some fragments of historical value. M. Specht's reference to the "Council of Rome of 494" is singularly out of place. The condemnation of a book in the fifth century, on account of Gnostic or other false doctrine contained in it, is no evidence for or against its historical value for us nowadays.

Apart from this, we have no means of ascertaining if the work condemned with others in the Gelasian Decree, as it is called, to which M. Specht alludes, was really the Acts of St. Thomas, as we now have them. It may have been, or it may have been something like them; but all the information we have is the following words, in a list of 63 works not received by the Church and to be avoided: — "Actus nomine Thomae Apostoli, libri X. apocryphi" (see Migne, *Patrologia lat.*, Vol. 59, Paris, 1847, col. 162). None of the versions of the Acts we now have are divided into ten books.

Further, the true date and history of this decree are not at all settled, though probably the date 494 is not far out (see F. J. Hort, *Notes introductory to the study of the Clementine Recognitions*, 1901, p. 65).

M. Specht goes altogether too far when he adds: — "It is relying upon this datum, so fragile, of "the identification of Misdeos with Vāsudēva, that M. Lévi thinks he is able to upset all the labours "of his predecessors." So, also, when he states that M. Lévi takes the date of the martyrdom of St. Thomas as 21 December, A. D. 68. M. Lévi does not do so: he merely mentions in a footnote that the Christians of St. Thomas so date the martyrdom.

AN ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF THE SEARCH FOR HINDI MANUSCRIPTS FOR THE YEARS 1900, 1901 AND 1902.

BY SYAM SUNDAR DAS, B.A.

READERS of the *Indian Antiquary* need not be reminded of the fact that it was in 1868 that the Government of India, at the suggestion of the late Pandit Rādhākṛishṇa of Lahore, decided to institute a search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the different provinces of India; and the results regarding the ancient history and literature of India, which have been obtained by the consequent operations, sufficiently speak of the wise and far-sighted proposal of the Pandit and amply justify the action taken by the Government of India. The importance of this policy impressed itself on the minds of the founders of the **Nāgarī-prachārini Sabhā of Benares** in the very year of its foundation (1893). The Sabhā believed that a good deal of valuable information with regard to the history and literature of India, or at any rate of its northern portion, still lay buried in **Hindi Manuscripts,** which had not seen the light of the day, either through being jealously guarded by their owners or on account of the want of funds on the part of the latter to give the public the benefit of knowing their contents. In short, this Sabhā, realising the difficulty it would have to face in overcoming the prejudices that still kept concealed the treasures of manuscripts, and being conscious that such an arduous undertaking could hardly be carried on without patience and tact, thought that if an attempt were made in Rājputānā, Bundelkhand, and parts of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and the Panjāb to catalogue the Hindi Manuscripts that could be found in those parts of India, sufficient data would be forthcoming to justify the carrying on of the operations on an extended scale under the authority and patronage of the Government. But the Sabhā, being then in its incipient stage and but too conscious of its inability to take up so onerous and expensive a work upon itself, addressed a representation to the Government of India and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, praying them to publish a list of such Hindi Manuscripts as could be **found in Sanskrit Libraries,** which were being, or which might in future be, searched and examined. The Asiatic Society expressed a hope to be able to meet the wishes of the Nāgarī-prachārini Sabhā. Later on a similar answer was received from the Government of India as well. **The search was commenced by the Asiatic Society in the beginning of 1895, and, in all, some 600 manuscripts were noticed during that year.** It is a matter of regret that the Society could not see its way to continue the search next year and to extend it further than Benares. It is a matter of still greater regret that the notices — nay, even a list of these 600 manuscripts — have not as yet been published.

The Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh was also approached by the Sabhā on the subject, and it was pleased to instruct the Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces, to carry on the search of Hindi Manuscripts of historic value and literary merit simultaneously with and by the same agency as that employed in the search for Sanskrit Manuscripts. But these orders of the Government did not bring forth any appreciable results. The Sabhā again approached the Government in March 1899 as to the necessity of doing something substantial towards the search and the cataloguing of valuable Hindi Manuscripts, with the result that it made an annual grant of Rs. 400 to the Sabhā towards carrying on this work and undertook to publish the *Report* which the Sabhā was to submit annually to the Government. The grant was commenced from the financial year 1900 and was increased by **Rs. 100** in 1902. The Sabhā asked me to supervise and carry on **the search for Hindi Manuscripts,** and I have been able to submit three *Annual Reports* to the Government, the first of which is now in course of publication. As it will be sometime before these *Reports* are published, I propose to give in the following pages a tabular account of the works I have been able to notice during the past three years, so as to inform scholars of the work that is being done and to solicit their co-operation and sympathy. I am, further, anxious to give publicity to my conclusions about several points connected with the history and literature of India, so that

they may receive due consideiation at the hands of scholars and *savants*. I trust the publication of this paper in the *Indian Antiquary* will serve this purpose.

In the following list the letters **A, B,** and **C,** with the number of the notice, indicate that the books were noticed in 1900, 1901, and 1902, respectively. Where the date of the composition of a book could not be ascertained, the approximate date when the author flourished is given in brackets. Incomplete manuscripts are marked with asterisks.

In the *Reports* submitted to the Government I have given a somewhat detailed notice of each of the books (except Nos. 116 C to 302 C). It contains (1) the name of the book, (2) substance on which the MS. is written, (3) size, (4) lines per page, (5) extent, (6) appearance, (7) character in which the MS. is written, (8) place of deposit, (9) a short note in English, (10) extracts from the beginning and the end of the book, (11) subject-matter, and (12) a note in Hindi.

Besides this information, I have dealt with the salient points of each year's work in a short *Report* in English. As the *Reports* are either being printed or under the consideration of the Government, I am sorry I cannot give here any account of the conclusions arrived at by me. But I am sure a perusal of the following statement will give some idea of the work done, and persons interested in it will kindly await the publication of the *Reports*. I shall feel grateful if scholars will communicate to me their suggestions, if any, on this subject and point out any omissions and mistakes on my part that they may meet with while perusing the following statement or my full *Report*: —

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
103 A	Āchāraja	Viśāpahāra bhāṣā ...	1658	...	
65 A	Agnibhu	Bhakti-bhaya-hara-stotra..	...	1796	
77 A	Agra Dāsa	Sri Rāma-Dhyāna-manjarī.	(1575)	1894	He was the Gurū of Nābhā Dāsa, the celebrated author of the *Bhaktamāla*.
15 B	Ajabesa	Baghela-vanśa-barṇana ...	1835	...	Probably this is in author's handwriting.
40 C	Ajīta Singha	Durgā-pāṭha bhāṣā ...	...	1719	Remained on the Gaddi of Mārwār from 1678 to 1724 A.D.
83 C	" "	Guṇa-sāgara	...	1712	
84 C	" "	Niravāṇī-dūhā	...	...	
85 C	" "	Mahārājajī Srī Ajīta Singhajī ra kahyā dūhā.	...	...	
86 C	" "	Mahārāja Srī Ajīta Singhajī krita dūhā Srī Ṭhākurān-rā.	...	...	
87 C	" "	Bhawānī Sahasranāma ...	1711	...	
163 C	" "	Gūṇa-sāgara	...	...	
5 C	Ananda	Koka-sāra	...	1714	
79 A	Ānandaghana... ...	* Ghanānanda Kabitta ...	...	...	He was killed in 1739 in the capture of Mathura by Nādira Sāha. Contains 516 verses.

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
56 B	Ananda Rāma ...	Rāmasāgar	1819	...	A collection of the poems of several Bhaktas.
84 B	" " ...	Bhagvadgītā	1734	1836	
133 B	Ananta Dāsa	Nāmadeva ādi ki Parchī Sangraha.	1588	...	
241 C	" "	Pīpājī kī parachī ...	(1600)	1683	
49 B	Anemānanda	Nāṭaka dīpa, *i.e.*, Panchadaśi bhāṣā.	1780	...	
39 C	Ātama Dāsa	Hari rasa	...	1724	
258 C	Badanji Chārana ...	Rasa-gulzāra	(1825)	...	
32 C	Bāgī Rāma	Jasabhūṣaṇa	"	...	He wrote these two books jointly with his brother Gāḍū Rāma.
33 C	" "	Jasarūpaka	...	...	
79 C	Bājinda	Rajakīrtana	(1650)	...	Disciple of Dādū.
59 B	Bakhtāwara	Sunni sāra	1803	1817	He was an inhabitant of Hathras (E. I. R.).
45 C	Balabhadra	Sikha-nakha	(1580)	...	Probably the brother of Keśava Dāsa.
50 A	Balabhadra Singha ...	Bārā-māsī	1822	...	Mahārājā of Nāgode.
82 B	Balabīra	Pingala manaharaṇa ...	1684	...	Genealogy— Gadādhara, Bhavarāja, Balimanoratha, Śankara, Bhagīratha, Balabīra.
27 C	"	Upamālankāra-Nakha-Sikha-baraṇana.	...	...	
28 C	"	Dampti-vilāsa	1702	...	
128 C	Bālaka Rāma	Bhaktamāla Chiunī ṭikā Sahita.	1776	1870	
6 A	Bālakrisṇa Dāsa ...	* Sūradāsajī ke drisṭa kūṭa Saṭīka.	(1830)	...	Disciple of Girdhara Lālajī (1829-1844).
111 A	Balibhadra Miśra ...	Sikha nakha	(1580)	1750	Probably the same as Balabhadra.
104 A	Banārsī Dāsa... ...	Kalyāna-mandira ...	...	...	A Jain poet.
105 A	" "	Sādhu-bandanā	...	...	
106 A	" "	Mokṣa-mārga-paiḍi ...	...	...	
132 A	" "	Samaya-Sāra-nāṭika ...	1653	1836	
284 C	Bānkī Dāsa	Śri Hajūrān rā kabitta...	(1810)	...	
109 B	Benī Rāma	Jina-rasa...	1722	1745	
98 A	Bhaḍḍlī	Bhaḍḍlī-Purāṇa... ...	...	1612	
135 C	Bhadrasena	*Chhanda-sangraha ...	...	...	

No of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
69 A	Bhagwāna Dāsa ...	Bhāṣāmrita	1699	1809	Disciple of Bhayānakāchārya.
29 A	Bhagwatarasika ...	Ananya-niśchayātmaka grantha.	(1570)	...	Disciple of Swami Hari-Dāsa (1560).
30 A	" ...	Śri Nityabihārī-jugala-dhyāna.	...	...	
31 A	" ..	Ananya-rasikābharana ...	...	...	
32 A	" ..	Niśchayātmaka - grantha-Uttarārdha.	...	...	
33 A	" ..	Nirbirodha-mana-ranjana.	..	...	
133 A	Bhagotī Dāsa	Chetana-karma-charitra ..	1665	1726	
13 B	Bhawānī Śankara ...	*Baitāla pachīsī	1814	1838	Son of Lakṣamaṇa Pāthaka.
102 A	Bhūdara Mala... ...	Bhūpāla-choubīsī ...	...	...	
193 C	Bhūpata	*Kabitta Śri Hajūrān rā..	(1810)	...	Wrote jointly with Ri-jhawāra.
115 C	Bhūpati	*Bhāgwata-daśama-Skandha.	1287	1800	
116 A	Bihārī Dāsa	Sambodhi-panchāsikā ...	1701	1898	
115 A	Bihārī Lāla	*Bihārī Satsaī	(1650)	...	Very old MS., contains 712 dōhās.
27 B	" "	" "	...	1718	Oldest dated MS. yet discovered.
8 C	" "	" "	...	...	This MS. belongs to Jodhpur State Library. There is another MS. also here dated 1746.
102 C	Binodī Lāla	Kriṣṇa-Vinoda	1822	...	Son of Rai Chirounjī Lāla of Udaipur.
123 A	Brahmarāya Mala ...	Haṇuvantā - moṣya - gāmī Kathā.	1559	1673	
124 A	" " ..	Śripāla-rāso	1573	1635	
118 A	Budhajana	Yogindra-sāra-bhāṣā ...	1838	...	
151 C	Chaina Dāsa	Gīta-nātha-jī-ro... ...	(1810)	...	
83 B	Chaina Rāma	Bhāratha-sāra-bhāṣā ...	1828	...	
56 A	Chanda Bardāī ..	Prithīrāja-rāso Mahobā-khanda.	(1190)	1821	Only one canto.
62 A	" " ...	Prithīrāja chouhāna rāso..	"	1802	Contains 69 cantos.
63 A	" " ..	Prithīrāja rāso	"	1583	Contains 65 cantos. Oldest MS. yet discovered.
38 B	" " ..	Prithīrāja-chouhāṇa rāso	"	1822	Contains the first 18 cantos. (As. Soc. Beng. MS.)

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
39 B	Chanda Bardāī ..	Prithīrāja-chouhūāṇa rāso	(1190)	1822	Contains 19th to 28th canto. (As. Soc. Beng. MS.) Continuation of No. 38 B.
40 B	,, ,, ...	,, ,, ..	,,	1822	Contains 29th to 40th canto. (As. Soc. Beng. MS.) Continuation of No. 39 B.
41 B	,, ,, ..	,, ,, ...	,,	1822	Contains 41st to 60th canto. (As. Soc. Beng. MS.) Continuation of No. 40 B.
42 B	,, ,, ..	,, ,, ...	,,	...	Contains first 26 cantos. (As. Soc. Beng. MS.)
43 B	,, ,, ..	,, ,, ...	,,	...	Contains 27th to 59th canto. (As. Soc. Beng. MS.) Continuation of No. 42 B.
44 B	,, ,, ...	* ,, ,, ...	,,	...	Contains 60th to 66th canto. (As. Soc. Beng. MS.) Continuation of No. 43 B.
45 B	,, ,, ...	Prithīrāja-rāsā	,,	...	Contains 35 cantos. The first is Devagiri and the last Jangama Kathā. (As. Soc. Beng. MS.)
46 B	,, ,, ...	Prithirāja-rāyasa, Part I...	?	1868	Contains 38 cantos. It seems to be an altogether new work written on the basis of Chanda's poem. (As. Soc. Beng. MS.)
47 B	,, ,, ..	,, Part II. ...	?	1868	Contains one canto only. (As. Soc. Beng. MS.) Continuation of No. 46 B.
71 C	,, ,, ...	Prithīrāja-rāso-Kanavaja Samayo.	(1190)	...	Belongs to Jodhpur State Library.
275 C	,, ,, ...	Sanjogitā-nema-prastāva .	,,	...	Old MS.
26 B	Chandana kavi ...	Tatwa-Sangyā	...	1804	
66 A	Chandraghana ...	Bhāgavata-sāra-bāṣā ...	..	1806	
35 A	Charana Dāsa... ...	Neha-prakāśikā ...	1693	...	
70 B	,, ,, ...	Gyāna-Swarōdaya ...	(1760)	...	Born 1703. Died 1781.
71 A	Chatura Dāsa... ...	Ekādaśa-Skanda ki bhāṣā.	1635	1785	
110 B	,, ,, ...	,, ,, ..	1635	1738	
44 C	Chaturabhuja Dāsa ..	Madhu mālatī rī kathā ...	...	1780	
93 A	Chhīhala	Pancha-sahelī	1518	...	

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
35 C	Chhīhala	Pancha-sahelī	1518	1817	
127 A	Chintāmaṇi	Kavi-kūla-kalpa-taru ...	(1650)	...	
37 B	Dādū	Dādūjī-ki bāṇī	(1600)	1764	
118 C	"	Adhyātma-Dādūjī-kā ..	"	...	
140 C	"	Dādūjī-kā-pada	"	1649	
141 C	"	"	"	...	
271 C	"	Samarthāi-ko-Anga ..	"	...	
293 C	"	Swāmi Dādū Dayāla jī ko Krita.	"	...	
88 A	Dāmau	Lakśmaṇa Sena Padmavatī Kathā.	1459	1612	
63 C	Damodara Dāsa ..	Mārkandeya Purāṇa ...	(1660)	1790	
30 C	Daulata Rāma ...	Jalandhara-Nātha-jī-roguṇa.	(1810)	1815	
64 A	Dayāla Dāsa	Rāṇā-Rāsā	(1620)	1619	
30 B	" "	"	"	1888	
50 B	Dayā Rāma	*Dayā-Vilāsa	1722	...	
114 C	" "	Dayā Vilāsa	1722	...	
110 A	Dayā Sāgara Sūri ..	Dharma Datta-Charitrā...	...	1671	
53 A	Deva or Deva Datta ...	Aṣṭajāma	(1620)	..	
7 C	" " " ...	Rasa-vilāsa	"	...	
121 C	" " " ..	Aṣṭājāma	"	...	
63 B	Deva Datta	Droṇa-parva-bhāṣā ...	1761	1868	
57 B	Devakinandana ...	Sarfaraja-chandrikā ...	1786	...	
1 C	Devī Dāsa	Rājanīti	(1685?)	1801	
82 C	" "	Rājanīti-prāstāvika kavitta.	"	1815	The same as No. 1 C, but containing more verses.
120 A	Dharmamandira Gaṇi ..	Pravodha-Chintāmaṇi ...	1684	1817	
8 A	Dhruva Dāsa	Vrindābana Sata ...	1630	...	
9 A	" "	Singāra-Sata	...	...	
10 A	" "	Rasa-ratnāvali	...	...	
11 A	" "	Neha-manjarī	...	...	

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
12 A	Dhruva Dāsa... ...	Rahasi-manjarī	1642	...	
13 A	" "	Sukha-manjarī	...	...	
13 A	" "	Rati-manjarī	...	...	
13 A	" "	Bana bihāra ...	...	...	
13 A	" "	Ranga bihāra	...	...	
13 A	" "	Rasa bihāra	...	...	
13 A	" "	Ānandadasā-vinoda ..	...	...	
13 A	" "	Ranga vinoda	...	...	
13 A	" "	Nirta-vilāsa	...	...	
13 A	" "	Ranga hulāsa	...	...	
13 A	" "	Māna rasa līlā	...	...	
13 A	" "	Rahsi latā	...	...	
13 A	" "	Prema latā	...	...	
13 A	" "	Bhajana-kundalī... ...	...	...	
14 A	" "	Bāvana-brihada purāṇa ki bhāṣā.	...	...	
15 A	" "	Bhakta-nāmāvalī ...	...	...	
16 A	" "	Mana-singāra	...	...	
17 A	" "	Bhajana Sata	...	1800	
18 A	" "	Mana Sikṣā	...	...	
19 A	" "	Prītiī Choubanī	...	...	
20 A	" "	Rasa Mūktāvalī	...	...	
21 A	" "	Sabhā-mandalī	1625	...	
127 C	" "	Bhajana Sata	...	...	
244 C	" "	Prītichoubana ādi-granthā	...	1771	A collection of 31 books.
264 C	" "	Sabhā mangala-Singāra...	1629	...	
280 C	" "	Singāra Sata	...	...	
302 C	" "	Vrindābana Sata ...	1629	...	
107 B	Dhyāna Dāsa	Harichanda Sata... ...	...	...	

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript	Remarks.
19 B	Droṇāchārya Tiwāḍi ...	Priyādāsa-charitāmrīta..	1853	..	
268 C	Dūlaha Rāma	Dulaharāma kā Śabada-gyāna	...	...	
41 A	Durgā Prasāda ...	Ajīta Singha-fateha-grantha.	(1796)	1885	
136 A	Dwārkā Dāsa ..	Mādho-nidāna-bhāṣā ...	...	1864	
101 A	Dyānati	Eki-mana-bhāṣā	..	...	
3 A	Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa ...	Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa kī bānī	..	...	
32 C	Gāḍu Rāma	Jasa-bhūṣaṇa	(1825)	...	See Bāgī Rāma.
33 C	" "	Jasa-rūpaka	...	...	
26 A	Ganga	Sudāmā-charitra... ..	...	...	
95 C	Gariba Dāsa	Adhyātma bodha ..	(1650)	(1649)	
136 B	Gesānanda	Kundaliyā Rājā Padan Singh jī rā.	"	1717	
201 C	Gobardhana Chāraṇa...	Kūndaliyā rājā Padama Sinha jī rā.	"	1717	
2 A	Gokula Nātha ...	Nāma ratna mālā koṣa ..	1814	...	
23 A	Gopāla	Prahlāda charitra ..	(1600)	...	Was a disciple of Ḍādū.
25 A	"	*Dhrūva charitra ..	...	...	
28 A	"	Rājā Bharatha charitra ..	...	...	
215 C	Gopāla Dāsa	Mōha viveka	..	1649	
236 C	" "	Parchaī Swāmī Dādū jī kī	...	1649	
61 C	Gorakha Nātha .	Gorakha bodha	(1350)	...	
143 C	" " ..	Datta Gorakha Samvāda.	"	...	
156 C	" " ..	Gorakha Nāthajī rā pada.	"	...	
157 C	" " ..	*Gorakha Nāthajī ke phuṭkara grantha.	"	...	
166 C	" " ..	Gyāna Siddhānta joga ...	"	...	
168 C	" " ..	Gyāna Tilaka	"	...	
179 C	" " ...	Jogesurī Sākhī ..	"	...	
219 C	" " ..	Naravai Bodha	"	...	
299 C	" " .	Virāṭa Puraṇa	"	...	
114 A	Gourī	Āditya kathā baḍi ..	...	1738	

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
94 A	Guṇa Sāgara	Śri Satraha bheda Pūjā...	...	...	
84 A	Gwāla Kavi	Rasikānanda	...	1893	Fl. 1815.
88 B	" "	Jamūnā-lahari	1822	...	The MS. is in the author's own handwriting.
89 B	" "	Śri Kriṣṇajú-ko-nakha-sikha.	1827 or 1822.	...	Do. do.
90 B	" "	Gopi-pachchīsī	...	...	Do. do.
113 C	Hakīma Farāsīsa Vaidya.	Anjulī Purāṇa	...	...	
135 A	Hansarāja	Śri Saneha Sāgara ..	...	1791	
96 A	Hararāja	Dholā Māravaṇi Chaupahī	1550	1612	
37 A	Harī Dāsa	Pada	(1560)	...	
135 B	" "	Bhartari-vairāgya ...	(1550)	1807	
171 C	" "	Hari Dāsa jī ko grantha .	...	1649	
64 C	Hari Dāsa Niranjanī...	Dayālajī kā pada ..	...	...	
130 C	Hari Dāsa Sādhu ..	Bharathari Gorakha Nātha Samvāda.	...	...	
123 C	Harirāya	Bhagavadī ke lakṣaṇa ...	...	...	
146 C	"	Dvidalātmaka swarúpa vichāra.	...	...	
147 C	"	Gadyārtha bhāṣā ..	...	...	
164 C	"	Gusāin jī ke swarūp kau chintana bhāva.	...	1776	
199 C	"	Kriṣṇāvatāra swarūpa Nirṇaya.	...	...	
276 C	"	*Sāton swarūpa kī bhāvanā	...	...	
297 C	"	Vallabhāchārya jī ke swarūpa kau chintana bhāva.	...	...	
61 B	Harivallabha	Sangīta-bhāṣā	...	...	
90 C	"	Bhagvadgītā bhāṣā ..	...	1801	
206 C	Hema Chāraṇa ...	Mahārāja Gaja Sinhajī rā guṇa rūpaka.	...	...	
265 C	Imrata Rāma Sādhū...	Sāda Imrata Rāma niranjanī rī arjī nakala.	(1810)	...	
29 C	Jagajī	Ratana Mahesa dasoṭa bachanikā.	1658	1765	
104 C	Jana Mukunda ...	Bhanvara gīta	...	...	
105 C	Janārdhana Bhaṭṭa ...	Vaidya Ratna	...	1843	

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
214 B	Jana Nātha	Moha Marada Rājā kī kathā.	1719	...	2 copies.
111 C	Jasa Rāma	Rāja nīti-vistāra ...	1757	...	
71 B	Jaswanta Singha ...	Aparochchha-Sidhānta ..	...	...	Mahārājā of Jodhapur.
72 B	,, ,, ...	Anūbhava-prakāśa ...	...	...	
73 B	,, ,, ...	Ânanda-vilāsa	1667	...	
14 C	,, ,, ...	Aprochchha Siddhānta ...	,,	1727	
15 C	,, ,, ...	Anubhava prakāśa ...	...	...	
16 C	,, ,, ...	Siddhānta bodha... ...	...	...	
17 C	,, ,, ..	Ānanda Vilāsa	1667	...	
22 C	,, ,, ..	Prabodha Chandrodaya nāṭaka.	...	...	
46 C	,, ,, ...	Siddhānta Sāra	...	...	
47 C	,, ,, ..	Bhāṣā Bhuṣaṇa	...	...	
48 B	Jaṭa Mala	Gorābādala kī Kathā ...	1623	...	
103 C	Jayagopāla Singha ...	Tulsī Śabdārtha ..	1817	1850	
80 A	Jaya Kriṣṇa	Tāma rūpa dipa Pingala..	1720	1853	
68 C	,, ,, ...	*Jaya Kriṣṇa Krita Kavitta.	(1760)	...	
89 C	,, ,, ...	Śiva Māhātmya bhāṣā ...	1768	1801	
91 C	,, ,, ...	Śiva Gītā bhāṣārtha ..	1760	1767	
139 A	Jaya Singha	Kriṣṇa Taranginī ...	1816	1851	Mahārājā of Rewāh.
140 A	,, ,, ...	Haricharitāmrita ...	1818	...	An account of the Matsya, Kūrma, Mohinī and Barāha incarnations of god.
141 A	,, ,, ...	Arisinha Kathā	...	...	
142 A	,, ,, ...	Vāmana Kathā	...	...	
143 A	,, ,, ...	Parasarāma Kathā ...	...	1832	
144 A	,, ,, ...	Haricharitāmrita ...	...	...	Life of Rāmachandra.
145 A	,, ,, ...	Haricharita Chandrikā...	...	1833	
146 A	,, ,, ...	Kapiladeva kī Kathā ...	...	1833	
147 A	,, ,, ...	Prithū Kathā	...	...	

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
148 A	Jaya Singha	Nārada Sanata Kumāra kī Kathā.	...	...	
149 A	" "	Swāyambhū muni kī Kathā	...	1833	
150 A	" "	Dattātraya Kathā ..	...	1833	
151 A	" "	Riṣabhadeva kī Kathā ...	...	...	
152 A	" "	Vyāsa Charitra	...	...	
153 A	" "	Baldeva Kathā	...	1833	
154 A	" "	Naranārāyaṇa kī Kathā...	...	...	
155 A	" "	Hari-avatāra Kathā ...	...	...	
156 A	" "	Hayagrīva Kathā ..	...	...	
77 B	Jeṭha Mala	Narsī-Mahatā-kī-hunḍī ...	1653	...	
100 C	" "	Nārada Charitra... ..	1786	...	
21 B	Jhāma Dāsa	Śrī-rāmāyana	1761	...	

(To be continued).

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 483.)

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

MATRICETA'S MAHARAJAKANIKALEKHA.

To the article on Mātṛceṭa and the Mahārājakanikalekha, published in Vol. XXXII. above, p. 345 ff., may I be allowed to add the following notes, which it was not practicable to insert in the article itself?

1. In printing the text, I have preferred to follow the blockprint even where it is not quite consistent: thus I have given *rjes • su* or *rjesu*, &c., indifferently.

2. In verses 9 (*kyis*), 19 (*yi*), 23 (*bden*), and 46 (*mes*) the translation follows the reading given in the notes.

3. To Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin, who kindly read the paper in proof, I am indebted for a number of suggestions adopted in the paper, and also for the following: —

(*a*) Pp. 346-7: Prof. Poussin suggests that the passage from the *Varṇanārhavarṇana* proves not that Mātṛceṭa had been a heretic, but that he had indulged in vain rhetoric. The further context will, I believe, decide this point.

(*b*) P. 349: Further references to the simile of the tortoise are to be found in Burnouf's 'Lotus de la bonne Loi,' p. 431; Kern, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, p. 423; Spence Hardy, 'Manual of Buddhism,' p. 442; *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (Bibl. Ind.), p. 9.9 and IV. 20.

(*c*) V. 3: Can *gdams • kyi* = 'those who have need of advice'?

(*d*) V. 4: 'Having purified the quarters by their virtues, great men are nevertheless not ashamed to yield to their hearts, like friends'?

(*e*) V. 11: *mkhas • pa • dag • bsdu • bar • dgyes • pa* = *śiṣṭasamtoṣaṇa*; but? We might certainly render *mkhas • pa • dag • bsdu • bar* by 'unite the learned.'

(*f*) V. 12: *dpyad • pa • la • ni*, &c. = 'exercise yourself wisely in reflection'; but?

(*g*) V. 21: *de • yi • bsam • pa*, &c. = 'whose respect is equal to his intelligence and who desires happiness.'

(*h*) V. 30: upon *bral • bas* depends all that precedes. *Dbye* = *bheda*. [The translation of this verse is highly doubtful: probably *chad • pas • bcad* must mean 'to punish,' and *gaṅ • duhan-mi* = *na kadācit*.]

(*i*) V. 54c: read *ṅes • par* 'certainly'?

(*k*) V. 55d: 'has attained the *naiṣkarmya* (*mi • bgyi • ba*)'?

4. I may add the following:—

(*a*) V. 25: *smra • ba* may mean 'speaker' rather than 'speech.'

(*b*) V. 83b: This line is too short by one syllable.

F. W. T.

27th August, 1903.

CALAMINA.

IN Vol. XXXII. above, p. 149, some remarks were offered on attempts made by certain authors to localise "Calamina," the place at which St. Thomas the Apostle is alleged, in certain ecclesiastical writings, to have suffered martyrdom; and it was suggested, for reasons there given, that perhaps Carmana (Karmān) in Carmania might be the place really intended. The Right Rev. A. E. Medlycott, however, points out to me that, if there had been any tradition that the first burial-place of the apostle had been within Carmania, such tradition would have certainly been known to the Nestorians, who had churches

there in early times. That they had churches there, is shewn by a letter "ad Simonem episcopum Ravardsciri metropolitam," written by Jesuab, Patriarch of the Nestorians 650-660, a Latin translation of which is given by Assemani, *Bibl. Or* t. 3, p. 130. The following passages may be quoted: —

"Ubinam ingens Maruanitarum (civitatis Maru "[Merv]) populus qui quum neque gladium neque "ignem aut tormenta vidissent, solo medietatis "bonorum suorum amore capti, velut amentes, "e vestigio in barathrum perfidiae, hoc est, in "aeternam perniciem ruerunt." The writer goes on to say all denied the faith, except two priests, who, as he remarks, "instar perustarum titionum "ex flamma impietatis evadentibus, etc."

"Ubinam etiam sunt Caramaniae totiusque "Persidis sanctuaria? quae non per adventum "satanae, aut jussu regum terrae, aut mandatis "praesidis provinciarum, excisa corruerunt, sed "exigui unius vilissimi daemonis flatu, etc."

W. R. P.

20th August, 1903.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE CHAUKANDU.

"1. I am told that the custom of chaukandû (see *ante*, Vol. XXXI. p 359) has the following local names in Kûlû, though I have never myself heard any of them used: —

Mandî	...	*banjhârâ betâ*
Saiâj	...	*jharâ betâ*
Kûlû	...	*dagôlru*."

E. A. JOSEPH, C. S. (Kûlû).

2. In Sirmûr, if a widow living in her late husband's house, and being possessed of his estate, gives birth to a male child in her deceased husband's house, such child is legitimate and is called *jhâtâ* or *jhatôgrâ* He succeeds the widow and is regarded as the son of his mother's deceased husband. Even more than one such child is legitimate. This custom prevails amongst the hill-men only and is not recognized in the Nâhan Tahsîl and the Dun.

3. In Chambâ, the custom of *chaukandû* still exists in the Barmaur and Chaurâh Wizârats. The Barmauris recognize the legitimacy of the children born of a widow after the demise of her husband, provided the widow continues to reside in her husband's house and that she has worn a red *dôrî* (tape) in the name of her husband's *chulâ* (oven) or *darat* (axe). There are widows in the Barmaur Wizârat who have not performed this ceremony, and are still in possession of their husbands' land and property, but the Gaddîs consider that their rights are disputable. They can enjoy this privilege only as long as the *bârâdarî* do not make any fuss about it. In the Chaurâh Wizârat this practice also obtains, but no formal ceremony is necessary. It is, however, essential that the widow should continue to live in her husband's house and that the child is begotten in his house. In Barmaur such male issue is called *chaukandû* and in the Chaurâh Wizârat *randput* (widow's son) and *rand-dhîû* (widow's daughter) respectively.

H. A. ROSE,

Supdt. of Ethnography, Punjab.

Nov. 18th, 1903.

BOOK-NOTICE.

CATALOGUS CATALOGORUM, PT. III.[1]

THE second part of Professor Aufrecht's great work appeared in 1896, and the present one carries us forward to July, 1903. At this stage commendation of a book so well-known and so indispensable to all Sanskrit scholars would be superfluous. Suffice it to say that it displays all the clearness and accuracy of its predecessors. Amongst many other entries based on lists of Sanskrit manuscripts which have been published since 1896, this part also includes the names of the works in the following important collections, — the Ashburner and Burnell MSS. of the India Office, the MSS. of the Indian Institute at Oxford, the Libraries of the Calcutta Sanskrit College and of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (so far as catalogues have been published), the Libraries of the Universities of Edinburgh, Würzburg, Leipzig, and Tubingen (1865 — 1899, including the famous *Paippalâda-śâkhâ* MS. of the *Atharva-vêda*), and the Tod and Whish Collections of the Royal Asiatic Society. It is therefore of considerable interest in itself apart from its connexion with its valuable predecessors.

G. A. G.

Camberley, 7th Nov. 1903.

[1] *Catalogus Catalogorum. An Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit Works and Authors.* By Theodor Aufrecht. Part III. Printed with the support of the Academies of Göttingen, Leipzig, Munich and Vienna. Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1903. Pp. iv, 161. 4to. Price, Marks 10, say Rs. 7-8.

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES.

BY H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; ROSTOCK.

THE following notes, which I hope to continue from time to time, are a small contribution towards the reading and interpretation of the most ancient epigraphical records of India. For Nos. 6, 14. 22, and 23, I have been able to use a photograph kindly placed at my disposal by Prof. Kielhorn: on the margin is written, in Dr. Fleet's hand: — "Indo-Scythian stones which belonged to Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham;" and it shows the front sides of the stones which bear the inscriptions mentioned above, and two other stones with inscriptions which will be dealt with later on. Except for that, I have had no fresh materials to work at, such as impressions, rubbings or photographs, but have had to rely on the reproductions published in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Epigraphia Indica*. It is hardly necessary to point out that these reproductions are of very different value. Whereas the photo-lithographs in the *Epigraphia Indica* may be considered a fairly reliable base for a critical examination of the text, the reproductions published in the older works are of course more or less untrustworthy; and perhaps it will be wondered at that I should have commented at all on inscriptions of which only such imperfect copies were available. If nevertheless I have done so, this is largely due to an external reason. By advice of some friends interested in Indian epigraphy, and in analogy to the lists compiled by Prof. Kielhorn, I am preparing a list of the Indian inscriptions prior to about A. D. 400, which will contain also a short abstract of the contents of each inscription. It was chiefly in order to render this list as free from errors as possible, also with regard to inscriptions of the kind described above, that I have ventured at revising them and publishing the results in the present shape. I am fully aware that by a re-edition of these inscriptions most of my remarks will be superseded. The sooner this will happen, the better it will be, and I can only hope that the authorities of the Indian Museums, to whose care these precious documents of the ancient history of the country are entrusted, will find a way of making them accessible to scholars in a form satisfying modern requirements.

No. 1. — Mathurâ Jaina image inscription of Saṁ. 4;

edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 201, No. 11, and Plate.

The inscription is mutilated. The last words of the first line are transcribed by Bühler *Vajaṇagarit*[*ô śâ*]. After *śâ* another *akshara* is visible on the photo-lithograph, and there can be no doubt that *śâ* is to be restored to *śâkhâtô*, although both the *śa* and the *kha* seem to have somewhat abnormal forms. The editor, however, was certainly wrong in transcribing the third *akshara* of the name of the *śâkhâ* by *ṇa*. As a comparison with the *na* in *śisini* in line 2, in *Grahachêṭêna* and *Grahadâsêna* in line 3 will easily show, it is really *na*. The straight vertical at the top of the letter is nothing but the *serif*, whereas the lingual *ṇa* has a slightly bent top-line; see the words *Vâraṇâtô gaṇâtô* in line 1. The spelling of the word *Vajanagaritô* would thus be quite the same as in another Mathurâ inscription edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 11.[1] But it is just possible that the actual reading is *Vâjranagaritô*; in the photo-lithograph, at any rate, the first *akshara* looks exactly like the first *akshara* after the date which Bühler himself read *vâ*, and the stroke below the *ja* can hardly be a second *ja*, as Bühler thought, but seems to be the beginning of a subscript *ra*. However, these strokes may after all be merely accidental just as the stroke below the *na*, and an examination of the impression or of the stone itself would be necessary to settle this point.

Nos. 2 and 3. — Mathurâ Jaina image inscriptions of Saṁ. 5 and 18;

edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 201, No. 12, and p. 202, No. 14, and Plates.

The dates of these two inscriptions, which unfortunately are badly mutilated, read according to Bühler: . . . *sya va 5 gṛi 4 di 5*, and . . . *sha 10* [*8*] *va 2 di 10 1*. Bühler considers the *va*

[1] In a third inscription also, *ibid.* p. 397, No. 34, we find *Vajanâgariyâ śâkhâyâ* with the dental nasal.

of the first inscription to be an abbreviation of *varsha*, and remarks in a note that in the second inscription also *sha* perhaps ought to be restored to *varsha*. If these views should prove correct, the two inscriptions would stand quite alone, no other inscription of this period at Mathurâ employing the word *varsha* instead of *saṁvat* or *saṁvatsara* in the date.

Under these circumstances it would not seem out of place to draw attention to the extreme precariousness of Bühler's readings. If the supposed *sha* of the second inscription is compared with the *sh* and the *s* of the word *Arishṭanêmisya* in line 2 of the same text, it will be seen that in its left portion it far more resembles the *s* than the *sh*. The small horizontal stroke at the lower end of the right vertical, which alone gives the letter the appearance of a *sha*, may be accidental, especially as the engraving of the whole inscription is rather carelessly done[2] *Sa*, of course, would stand for *saṁvatsarê* as in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 395, No. 28 ; Vol. II. p. 201, No. 11 ; p. 202, No. 13, &c.

In the case of the first inscription Bühler's reading is even more objectionable. In my opinion there can be no doubt whatever that the *akshara* immediately before the numeral is *mê*. Before *mê* stands a ligature, the lower portion of which cannot be a subscript *ya*, because in that case the curve would be open to the right, but clearly is *cha*. We thus are led to read . . . . *chamê* 5, which entails almost with necessity the restoration [*saṁvatsarê pañ*]*chamê* 5. However, the upper portion of the ligature does not look much like a *ña*,[3] but it may very well be *pa*, and *pchamê* may be an abbreviation for *paṁchamê*, just as *svatsarê* in the inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 384, No. 5, is an abbreviation for *saṁvatsarê*. Other instances of this tachygraphic mode of writing in the Mathurâ inscriptions are *Dêvtâyâ* for *Dêvatâyâ*, *Gupta Inscriptions* (Corp. Inscr Ind. Vol. III.), p. 263, No. 63, and *sdha*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 9 ; *sdhi*, *ibid.* p. 392, No. 24 ; *sdham*,[4] *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 206, No. 26, for *siddham*.

No. 4. — Mathurâ Jaina image inscription of Saṁ. 5 ;

edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 381, No. 1, and Plate.

Bühler read this inscription as follows :—

A. 1 . . . . . dê[va]putrasya Ka[ni]shkasya saṁ 5 hê 1 di 1 êtasya pûrvv[â]yaṁ Koṭṭiyâtô gaṇâtô Bahmadâsikâ[tô]

2 [ku]lâto [U]chênâgaritô śâkhâtô sêthi . iha . . sya . i . i . isênasya sahachari-Khudâyê Dê[va] . .

B. 1 pâlasya dhi[ta] . . . . . .

2 Vadhamânasya prati[mâ] ||

A glance at the photo-lithograph will show that instead of *sahachari* we have to read *saḍhachari*. The same term is found in two other Mathurâ inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 388, No. 11 (*Datisya śiśiniyê Mahanandisya sadhachariyê Balavarmayê Nandayê cha śiśiniyê Akakayê nirvvarttanâ*), and Vol. II. p. 201, No. 11 (*Puśyamitrasya śiśini Sathisiṁhâyê śiśini Siṁhamitrasya saḍhachari* . . .), while its masculine counterpart appears in the form of *śraddhachara* or *shaḍhachara* in the Mathurâ inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 383, No. 4 (*bṛihaṁtavâchaka cha gaṇina cha Ja . . mitrasya . . . . . aryya-Ôghasya śishya-gaṇisya aryya-Pâlasya śraddhacharô vâchakasya aryya-Dattasya śishyô vâchako aryya-Sîhâ tasya nivvarttaṇâ*), p. 391, No. 21 (*vâchakasy=âryya-Hastahastisya śishyô gaṇisya aryya-Mâghahastisya śraddhacharô vâchakasya aryya-Dêvasya nirvvarttanê*), and Vol. II. p. 203, No. 18 (*vâchakasy=âryyâ-Ghastuhastisya śishyô gaṇisy=*

[2] Another instance of a *sa* closely resembling a *sha* is found in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, No. 19, where Bühler himself read *êtasya*.

[3] The letter *ña* occurs twice at Mathurâ, in the inscription edited below, No. 23, and in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 210, No. 38, which Bühler refers to the Gupta period.

[4] Bühler considers the sign which I read *m*, to belong to the next line and transcribes it by *va*, but this, at any rate, is impossible Compare the *siddham* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 206, No. 27, where the *m* is put below the *ddha* in exactly the same manner. For a doubtful case, see Bühler, *ibid.* p. 209, note 7.

âryya-Maṁguhastisya shaḍhacharô vâchakô aryya-Dêvô tasya[5] *nirvvartanâ*). It will be noticed that in all these passages the *sadhachari* and the *śraddhachara* is further specified as the pupil of some monk, and this holds good in the present case also, the photo-lithograph leaving no doubt that the word before *Sênasya* is to be restored to *śiśini*. Between *śâkhâtô* and *śiśini* there are six *aksharas*, the first two of which are distinctly *sêthi*. The next two seem to be *niha*, the fifth is quite illegible, and the last is certainly *sya*, so that the whole may be transcribed as *sêthi*[*niha*] . . *sya*. For two reasons it appears to me quite impossible that *sêthi* should have any connection with Sanskrit *śrêshṭhin* or a derivative of it, as Bühler thought.[6] Firstly, Sk. *śrêshṭhin* cannot possibly become *sêthi* with a dental *th* in any Prakrit dialect. Secondly, a woman who is characterised as the *śiśini* of some male person and the *saḍhachari* of another, must have been a nun, as in the Jaina inscriptions at Mathurâ these terms are applied to nuns only and never to lay-sisters. Now it goes without saying that a nun cannot be called a *śreshṭhinî*, 'the wife of a banker.' As far as I see, there are two possibilities of explaining the passage. We have to read either *Sêthi*[*niha*] . . *sya śiśini*, in which case Sêthi[niha] . . would be the name of Khuḍâ's teacher, or *sêthi*[*ni Ha*] . . *sya śiśini*, in which case *sêthini* would be an epithet of unknown meaning referring to Khuḍâ, while the teacher's name would be Ha . .

At the end of A, after *Khuḍâyê*, Bühler reads *Dêva* . . , and combining this with the beginning of B, *pâlasya dhita*, translates: 'by Khuḍâ, daughter of Dêva . . pâla.' Such a statement would be highly improbable by itself, no other Jaina inscription of this class at Mathurâ containing a specification of the relationship of a monk or a nun. And on closer inspection it will be seen that the reading *Dêva* . . cannot be upheld. The first *akshara* is not *dê*, but a *ni*, with the left half of the base-stroke effaced, and the second *akshara* is not *va*, but clearly *rva*. After *nirva* the photo-lithograph has a distinct *ta*, possibly with a superscript *r*. *Nirva*[*r*]*ta*, of course, is to be restored to *nirvartanâ*, the last letter in the line having disappeared as in the preceding one.[7] It thus appears that the donation was made by a lay-woman, the daughter of Pâla, and that the nun Khuḍâ only acted as her spiritual adviser, which in every respect agrees with the usual state of things.

There remain some minor points. The second *akshara* of the name of the king is a little blurred, but what is still visible of it in the photo-lithograph decidedly points to its having been *ṇi*, and not *ni*. There is altogether no certain instance of the spelling of the word with the dental nasal at Mathurâ. In the two inscriptions edited by Buhler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 391, No. 19, and by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 31, No. 4,[8] the reading *Kaṇishkasya* is beyond all doubt, and in the one edited by Cunningham, *ibid.* No. 5, the facsimile at any rate shows distinctly the same reading.[9]

In the last line of the inscription Bühler seems to have overlooked the *â*-stroke in the *vâ*, which is quite distinct in the photo-lithograph.[10] On the other hand, I am unable to detect the *â*-stroke in *mâ*.

With these emendations the text will run as follows: —

A. 1[11] Dêvaputrasya Ka[ṇi]shkasya sa[ṁ] 5 hê 1 di 1 êtasya pûrvv[â]yaṁ Koṭṭiyâtô gaṇâtô Bahmadâsikâto [ku]-

2 lâtô [U]chênâgaritô śâkhâtô Sêthi[niha] . . sya śi[ś]ini Sênasya saḍhachari Khuḍâyê nirva[r]ta[nâ]

[5] See below, No. 16.

[6] In his translation of the inscription he calls Khuḍâ 'consort of alderman (*sêthi*) . . . . . sêna.'

[7] There is no reason why the *ku* should have stood at the beginning of line 2, as assumed by Buhler.

[8] See below, p. 37, No. 6.

[9] See below, No. 25.

[10] The reading *Vâdhamânasya* is found also in the inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 393, No. 27, though Buhler gives *Vadhamânasya* in his transcript.

[11] Bühler wants to restore *siddhaṁ* in the beginning of the inscription, but no traces of the word are discernible.

B. 1 Pâlasya dhita . . . . . ya . . . û[12] . . . . . .
2 Vâdhamanasya .prati[mâ] . . . .

"In the year 5 of Dêvaputra Kanishka, in the first (*month of*) winter, on the first day, — on that (*date specified as*) above, — an image of Vâdhamana (*Vardhamâna*) [was dedicated by] . . . the daughter of Pâla, the daughter-in-law of . . . . , at the request of Khuḍâ (*Kshudrâ*), the *sadhachari* of Sêna, the female pupil of Sêthimha . .,[13] out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, the Bahmadâsika (*Brahmadâsika*) *kula*, the Uchênâgari (*Uchchânâgarî*) *śâkhâ*."

No. 5. — Mathurâ Jaina image inscription of Saṁ. 5;

edited by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 30, No. 2, and Plate.

Cunningham read this inscription, which is engraved on three sides of the pedestal of a Jaina statue: —

1. — . . Bodila bhedha Vâsu Devâ pravi . . Siddhah Sam 5 — He 1 — Di. 12 — Asya purvvaye koṭ . . Sragihato
2. — Sarvvasatwâhita Sukhaya . . . ji-to Brahmadâsika to ubhâna karita . . . Sati.

Cunningham added no translation to his transcript, but simply stated that the inscription 'records some gift by a lady named Brahmadâsi.' In his re-examination of the inscription in the *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 176, Buhler, with the help of a rubbing, corrected the reading of the middle portion of the first line to *siddha = sa 5 hê 1 di 10 2 asyâ purvvâyê Koṭ[iya]*, and justly remarked that the sides had been wrongly numbered, and that the second ought to be the first, the third the second, and the first the third. And in Vol. IV. p. 171 of the same journal he corrected also the middle portion of the second line to *[ku]lâtô Brahmadâsikâtô Uchanâkaritô*. This last correction admits of a little improvement. If Bühler's reading were accepted, the word *kula* would stand before the proper name to which it belongs, whereas in all other inscriptions it invariably follows the proper name. And Bühler himself seems to have been not quite sure of his reading, as he thinks it necessary to observe that the *la* is slightly disfigured on the facsimile. The facsimile, however, shows as plainly as possible a *ṇâ*, and not a *lâ*, and there can be no doubt that *ṇâtô* is to be restored to *gaṇâtô*. The word *gaṇâtô* must have immediately followed *Koṭ[ṭ]i[yâtô]*, the name of the *gaṇa*, and this proves that Cunningham has wrongly numbered not only the sides, but also the lines on each side. The first line of the first side is followed by the second line of the same side, after which comes the first line of the second side, &c. The whole inscription reads: —[14]

A. 1 Siddha[m] ‖ Sa 5 hê 1 di 10 2 asy[â] purvv[â]yê Koṭ[ṭ]i[yâtô]
2 [ga]ṇâtô Brahmadâsikâtô Uch[ê]nakâ(ka)ritô [śâkhâtô]
B. 1 Śr[î]grihâtô sa[ṁbhôgâtô] . . . .
2 . . sa niḍa (?) . . . .
C. 1 . . . i bôdhilabhê ê Vâsudêvâ puvi . . . .
2 . . sarva-sat[vâ]na[ṁ] h[i]ta-sukh[â]yê .

In this arrangement the general wording of the inscription in no way differs from the usual pattern. After the date follows the statement of the *gaṇa*, *kula* and *śâkhâ* of the monk at whose request the donation was made, and the phrase that it was made for the benefit of all beings, forms the conclusion. The only peculiarity of this inscription is the omission of the word *kulâto* after *Brahmadâsikâtô*, which, undoubtedly, is due to a mere oversight of the engraver. The middle

12 Restore . . . . *sya vadhû*.

13 Or, possibly, 'the *sêthini* (?), the female pupil of Ha . . . '

14 All signs which do not appear in the facsimile, but may be inferred from a comparison with the numerous similar inscriptions at Mathurâ, have been included in brackets. The *nâ* which Bühler reads in *Uchanâkaritô* is not warranted by the facsimile. On the other hand, the facsimile has distinctly *kâ*, although, of course, the *â*-stroke may be merely accidental.

portion, which contains the name of the donor, cannot be made out from the facsimile.[15] The rest may be translated as follows : —

"Success! The year 5, the first (*month of*) winter, the twelfth day, on that (*date specified as*) above, [at the request of] . . . . . . out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Brahmadâsika [*kula*], the Uchênakari (*Uchchânâgarî*) *śâkhâ*, the Śrîgriha (*Śrîgṛiha*) *sambhôga*, ... for the welfare and happiness of all creatures."

No. 6. — Mathurâ Jaina image inscription of Saṁ. 9;
edited by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 31, No. 4, and Plate,
and by Bühler, *Vienna Orient. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 173, No. 2.

Bühler's restoration of this inscription is excellent, and his text only wants a few small corrections. The photograph of the front side of the stone lent to me by Prof. Kielhorn shows that the reading of the king's name actually is *Kaṇishkasya* as in the facsimile, with the lingual *ṇ*. The facsimile, again, has clearly the correct form *gaṇâtô*, not *gaṇatô*, and . . *lâta*, which is to be restored to *kulâtô*, not *kulatô*. Of more importance is the reading of the name of the *kula*. Bühler transcribed Cunningham's facsimile as *tanibha* . . , and, misled by the corrupt form *Vâṇijja* of the *Kalpasûtra*, corrected this to *Vâniyatô*. The facsimile, however, shows very distinctly a *tha* under the supposed *ta*. We are thus led to read *Tthâniyâtô*, and although such a form would not be unaccountable in itself, I consider it unlikely, because the name is nowhere else spelt in this way, but exhibits in its beginning either *sth* (*Sthâniyâtô*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 385, No. 7 ; p. 391, No. 21 ; *Sthânikîyê*, *ibid.* p. 386, No. 8, *sṭ* (*Sṭânikiyâtô*, *ibid.* Vol. II p. 203, No. 18),[16] or *ṭh* (*Ṭhâniyâtô*, *ibid.* Vol. I. p. 383, No. 3; p 392, No. 22 ; *Ṭhaṇiyâtô*, *ibid.* p. 395, No. 28; *Ṭhâṇiyâtô*, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 202, No. 15). Under these circumstances I think it more probable that the *t* is merely due to a fault of the designer, and that the real reading was *Sthâniyâtô*.

No. 7. — Mathurâ Jaina image inscription of Saṁ. 25;
edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 384, No. 5, and Plate.

Bühler read the second portion of this inscription, after the statement of the *nirvartana* : —

(l. B. 2) . . . [Nâ]dia[ri]ta Jabha[ka]sya vadhu Jaya[bha]ṭṭasya kuṁṭûbiniya Rayaginiye [vu]suya

and translated : "a *vusuya* (?) (*was dedicated*) by Rayagini, the daughter-in-law of Jabhaka, from Nândigiri (?), (*and*) wife of Jayabhaṭṭa."

The photo-lithograph allows us to correct the first word with absolute certainty. Instead of *ari* the plate shows distinctly *syadhi*. The reading *Nâdisya dhita* is quite in accordance with the common practice of these inscriptions to describe the relationship of the donatrix in the order 'daughter of N. N., daughter-in-law of N. N., wife of N. N.'; see, *e. g.*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 382, No. 2 ; p. 383, No. 4 ; p. 388, No. 11 ; Vol. II. p. 207, No. 32 ; p. 210, No. 37, &c. The town of Nândigiri therefore is to be struck out from the list of the towns of Ancient India.

Also with regard to the translation of the words *rayaginiye vusuya* I differ from Bühler. I think, it will be admitted that *rayagini* has not the appearance of being a proper name, and I would suggest to take it as an appellative in the sense of 'the wife of a *rayaga*,' in analogy to such terms as *vihârasvâminî*, 'the wife of a *vihârasvâmin*' (*Gupta Inscrs.*, Corp. Inscr. Ind. Vol. III. p. 263), *mahâsênâpatinî*, 'the wife of a *mahâsênâpati*' (*Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 114, No. 16), *sarttavâhini*, 'the wife of a *sârthavâha*' (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 395, No. 29).[17] *Rayaga* would be the true Prakrit equivalent of Sk. *rajaka*, 'washerman or dyer.'[18] Other members of the artisan class

[15] Perhaps line B. 2 is to be restored to *sya nirva*[*rtanâ*].

[16] See below, No. 16.

[17] Compare also the similarly formed feminines *sishini*, *śiśini*, *śiśîni*, *sisini* (*Ep. Ind* Vol. I. p. 382, No. 2 ; p 384, No. 5 ; p. 385, No. 7 ; p. 388, No. 12 ; Vol. II. p. 206, No. 28, &c.) and *antêvâsikini* (*ibid.* Vol. II. p. 204, No. 21).

[18] The transition of *j* into *y* is found in the Mathurâ inscriptions also in *lôhavâṇiya* (Sk. *lôhavâṇija*), *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 383, No. 4.

are found among the donors of images in the Mathurâ inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 391, No. 21; Vol. II. p. 203, No. 18; p. 205, No. 23.[19]

If it is admitted that *rayagini* is an appellative noun, it follows that the proper name must be contained in the following word which Buhler read *vusuya*. The ending *-uya* indicates that the word is the gen sing. of an *û*-stem, which in these inscriptions generally ends in *-uyê*, and occasionally in *-ûyê* or *ûya*; compare *vadhuyê*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 10; p. 392, No. 24; p. 396, No. 30; Vol. II. p. 207, No. 32; *vadhûyê*, Vol. I. p. 388, No 11; *vadhûya*, Vol. II. p. 205, No. 22. That the spelling *-uya* is not found hitherto, is certainly merely accidental, as the *â*- and *î*-stems show the corresponding forms in *-aya*, *-iya* by the side of the common forms in *-âyê*, *-ayê*, *-îyê*, *-iyê*; compare *aya-Saṅgamikaya śiśiniya*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 388, No. 12; *Jitâmitraya*, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 203, No. 16; *Dêviya*, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 210, No. 37. More difficult is the settling of the first syllable of the name. It would seem easy enough to correct *Vusuya* into *Vasuya*, especially as the diminutive *Vasulâ* actually occurs as a woman's name in the Mathurâ inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 382, No. 2, and p. 388, No. 12, but the photograph does not seem to countenance such an alteration, and for the present it will perhaps be safest to rest satisfied with Bühler's reading.

There is still another point to command attention. Bühler thought *vusuya* to be the last word of the inscription; in my own interpretation one more word would be required to furnish the necessary supplement of the genitive *Vusuya*. Now, the photograph shows distinctly the upper part of the word *dânaṁ* below the syllables *gaṇa* in the beginning of line B. 2.

I therefore propose to read the second portion of the inscription :—

B. 2 . . . . Nâdisya dhita Jabha[ka]sya vadhu Jaya[bhaṭṭa]sya kuṁṭûbinîya[20] rayaginiyê[21] [Vu]suya
3 [dânaṁ]

and translate: —

"... the gift of Vusu (?), the wife of a dyer, the daughter of Nâdi (*Nandin*), the daughter-in-law of Jabhaka, the wife of Jayabhaṭṭa."

No. 8. — Mathurâ stone inscription of Saṁ. 28;
edited by Growse, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 217, No. 1, and Plate.

As far as I see, it is generally assumed that Kaṇishka's reign extended until the year 28 of the era used in the northern inscriptions, and that in the following year he was succeeded by Huvishka. The evidence for these suppositions is chiefly derived from the inscription quoted above. In dealing with the intricate questions of the history of this period the greatest amount of exactness and discretion is indispensable, and it therefore seems to me not superfluous to point out that the assumption of the year 28 being the final year of Kaṇishka's reign is not only wholly unfounded, but in all probability actually wrong.

The latest reliable date of Kaṇishka is the year 18 in the Mânikyâla inscription (*Journ. As.* Ser. IX. Vol. VII. p. 8); the first indisputable record referring to Huvishka is a Mathurâ inscription dated in Saṁ. 33 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 217, No. 2). It is true, there is another inscription at Mathurâ (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 206, No. 26) mentioning the *mahârâja* Dêvaputra Huksha as he is called here, and supposed to be dated in the year 29, but the inscription is in a pitiably fragmentary state, and even if the reading *êkunatî*[*śa*] should prove correct, it would still be quite uncertain whether this word should be taken as referring to the number of the year or, *e. g.*, of the day, so that for historical purposes the record is of no account. Of even less consequence is the Mathurâ inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 385, No. 6, the date of which reads *mahârâja* . . . . . . *shkasa saṁ 20 9 hê 2 di 30 asma kshuṇê*. No trace has been left of the *aksharas* preceding *shkasa*, and these syllables may be restored to [*Kaṇi*]*shkasa* as well as to [*Huvi*]*shkasa*. The state

[19] Compare Buhler's remarks, *Vienna Or Journ.* Vol. IV. p. 324.

[20] Or, perhaps, *kuṁṭûbiniya*.

[21] Also the readings *rayajinîyê* or *rayaginiyê* would be possible.

of things is very similar in the case of the inscription of Saṁ 28. It is only a very short fragment which reads : —

. . . . shkasya râjya-sa[ṁ]vatsarê 20 8 hêmanta 3 di . . .

Here, too, there is no reason whatever why *shkasya* should necessarily be restored to [*Kaṇi*]*shkasya*. The restoration [*Huvi*]*shkasya* or [*Hu*]*shkasya* would suit equally well, to say the least, and there is even one little point to recommend the last-mentioned reading as the most plausible one. Before *shkasya* the photo-lithograph distinctly shows the remains of a letter, consisting of a stroke slighty bent to the right. It cannot possibly be the rest of a *ni* or *ṇi*, nor is it likely to be the lower end of the vertical of a *ka*, because this is generally either straight, or, on the contrary, turned to the left. It looks exactly like a subscript *u* and therefore [*Hu*]*shkasya*, which closely resembles the *Hukshasya* of the inscription mentioned above, appears to me the most probable reading. Of course, in that case we should have to read [*Huvi*]*shkasya* also in the inscription of Saṁ. 29. But until fresh materials are brought to light, I would myself not attach too much weight to these restorations, and I shall be satisfied with having shown that, as far as our evidence goes at present, we can safely claim only the years 5-18 for Kaṇishka and 33-60 for Huvishka, though the latter probably was on the throne already in 28.[22]

No. 9. — Mathurâ Buddhist image inscription of Saṁ. 33 ;
edited by Growse, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 217, No. 2, and Plate.

Although this inscription seems to be in a fair state of preservation, the editor has not succeeded in making out more of it than the date and the *aksharas bhikshusya . . hasya . . takasya . . . . . Buddhasya*. He tells us besides that Cunningham took the word ending in *takasya* to be *tripitakasya*. Unfortunately the reproduction of the inscription on the accompanying plate is on so small a scale as to make a complete deciphering of the text almost impossible. As far as I can see, the text runs : —

1 Mahâr[â]jasya dêvaputrasya Huv[i]shkasya saṁ 30 3 gri 1 di 8 bhikshusya [Maha]-sya trêpiṭakasya antêv[â]s[i]n[î]yê bhikshuṇ[î]yê trê[pitikâ]yê Buddha . . . . yê

2 bhâginêyîyê bhi[kshu]ṇîyê Dha . . . . nîyê Bôdhisat[tv]ô p[r]atithâ[p]i[tô] . . . . sahâ mâtâpitihi . . . .

"In the year 33 of *mahârâja* Dêvaputra Huvishka, in the first (*month of*) summer, on the eighth day, a Bôdhisattva was set up by the nun Dha . . . . nî, the sister's daughter[23] of the nun Buddha . . . . who knew the *tripiṭaka*, the female pupil of the monk Maha (?) who knew the *tripiṭaka*, . . . together with her father and mother."

The reading of the *bhikshu's* name, *Mahasya*, is very doubtful. On the other hand the restoration of *trê . . . . . . yê* to *trêpiṭikâyê* seems to me pretty certain, though, of course, it cannot be asserted that this was the exact form of the word.[24] The term *trêpiṭaka* or Sk. *traipiṭaka* is found again in a Kanheri inscription[25] and in the Set-Mahet inscription mentioned below, and nuns who were versed in the three *piṭakas* are spoken of also in the *Dîpavaṁsa*, XVIII. 13 ; 19 ; 33.

This inscription is of considerable importance for the history of Buddhist art. There are comparatively very few ancient Buddhist statues with inscriptions accurately stating the character of the represented person. In his valuable paper on an ancient inscribed Buddhistic statue from Srâvastî,[26] Dr. Bloch has collected all the cases known to him. He enumerates five inscriptions in which the figure is called an image of *Buddha*, of *Sâstṛi*, of *Bhagavat*, of *Bhagavat Sâkyamuni*, or of

[22] I would here acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Fleet for some of the above suggestions. He drew my attention to the improbability of the reading [*Kaṇi*]*shkasya* in the inscription of Saṁ. 28. But he differs from me in the final restoration of the word.

[23] Compare the Kuḍâ inscription No. 5 (*Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, No. 10 of the brochures of the Archæological Survey of Western India, p. 6), where a Buddhist nun is described as the *bhâginêyî* of two monks.

[24] It may have been also *trêpiṭakîyê*, *trêpiṭakiyê* or *trêpiṭakinîyê*.

[25] *Arch. Surv. Rep. W. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 77, No. 6. [26] *Journ. As Soc. Beng.* Vol. LXVII. Part I. p 274 ff

Bhagavat samyak-sambuddha sva-mat-âviruddha, and two — an inscription from Buddhagayâ[27] and the Set-Mahet inscription which forms the special subject of the paper — where the statue is described as that of a Bôdhisattva. To the latter class the present inscription is to be added.

A detailed comparison of the three Bôdhisattva statues is impossible for the present, as no photographs or drawings are available either of the Set-Mahet or of the Mathurâ image, and Mr. Growse's remarks, moreover, are rather brief, yet I should like to draw attention to the following points. According to the statements of Growse, Bloch and Cunningham, the three figures are all of the same material. The Mathurâ statue is 'in red sandstone,' the Set-Mahet statue is 'made of a sort of reddish sandstone, the same material which the Mathurâ sculptures of the Kushaṇa period are made of,' and the stone of which the Gayâ statue is made is 'a sandstone like that of Mathurâ, and not from a local quarry.' In size also the three figures seem to be similar. The seated Gayâ figure is 3′ 9″ high by 3′ 1″ in breadth across the knees; the standing Set-Mahet figure is 11′ 8″ in height; for the Mathurâ figure no exact measurements are given, but Mr. Growse speaks of a 'large' figure. Besides the three statues apparently agreed in attitude. Of the Mathurâ figure only the crossed legs remain, which show — to use Mr. Growse's own words — that 'the left hand of the figure had rested on the left thigh, the right being probably raised in an attitude of admonition.'[28] The Gayâ figure is a little better preserved. Of the left arm only the upper portion is left, but its direction and remains of the hand, distinctly visible on the phototype, prove that it originally rested on the left thigh. The right arm is entirely gone, but from the absence of any marks on the body or the right thigh it may be safely concluded that it was raised up without touching the body. The Set-Mahet statue also has lost the right arm, but Dr. Bloch remarks that 'we may fairly well conclude from the analogy of similar statues that the missing right arm of the figure was represented lifted up in an attitude which is usually called that of "teaching," while the left hand rested on the hip, holding up the end of the long vestment.' Whether the Mathurâ figure also had the right shoulder bare like the other two figures, cannot be decided. There would thus seem to be only one point of difference: the Mathurâ and Gayâ figures are seated, whereas the Set-Mahet figure is standing.

The close resemblance between the three statues sufficiently shows in my opinion that they are the work of the same school of sculptors, and that they cannot be very widely separated from each other in time. Probably the Set-Mahet figure is the oldest, as Dr. Bloch describes the characters of the inscription as belonging to the Northern Kshatrapa type. The Gayâ figure, on the other hand, is certainly the latest of the three, though perhaps not so much later than the others as Dr. Bloch seems to think. At any rate, the advanced form of the *sa* in the Gayâ inscription, which he takes as a criterion for its late origin, is found also in the Mathurâ inscription; compare *mahârâjasya dêvaputrâsya* and *saṁ*.[29]

Considering the scantiness of the evidence, the question which particular Bôdhisattva is represented by the three statues cannot be touched at present. But whether they be meant for Maitrêya or one of the numerous other Bôdhisattvas, they certainly bear witness to the wide spread of the Mahâyânist Bôdhisattva worship during the first century of our era.

No. 10. — Mathurâ Jaina elephant capital inscription of Saṁ. 38;
edited by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 32, No. 9, and Plates V. and XIV., and by Bloch, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXVII. Part I. p. 276, note 2.

This inscription is engraved on the base of the large figure of an elephant surmounting the bell capital of a pillar, and records the setting up of a *Naṁdiviśâla* by the *śrêshthin* Rudradâsa, the son of the *śrêshṭhin* Śivadâsa, for the worship of the Arhats. The last phrase characterises the donor as a member of the Jaina community.

[27] Cunningham, *Mahâbôdhi*, p. 53, and Plate XXV.

[28] Mr. Growse adds that another mutilated figure of similar character, but without inscription, was found on the same spot, and that these were the only specimens he had with the hands in this position, in all the others the hands being crossed over the feet.

[29] A more detailed examination of the Gayâ inscription I reserve to some future occasion.

The only word in this inscription which presents any difficulty, is *Naṁdiviśâla*. Cunningham translated it by 'this elephant (or great Nandi);' in Dr. Bloch's opinion it may mean that the pillar was 'as big as Nandin,' or it may be a technical term of unknown meaning. None of these suggestions seems plausible to me. *Naṁdiviśâla* can hardly be an appellative with the meaning of elephant, nor can it be rendered by 'the great Nandin,' as this would be *viśâlô Naṁdi* in the language of the inscription, and Nandin, moreover, is the name of Śiva's bull and not of an elephant. Against Dr. Bloch's view it may be urged that it would scarcely be appropriate to compare the circumference of a pillar to that of a fabulous bull, and that such a fanciful comparison, at any rate, would be out of place in a record which for the rest is as dry and laconic as possible.

The placing of the inscription immediately below the elephant makes it highly probable, I think, that it has a special reference to that figure, and that *Naṁdiviśâla* therefore is the proper name of the elephant represented in the sculpture, and not a technical term for a sort of pillars. What makes me believe in the correctness of this interpretation, although I am unable to point out an elephant of that name in Jaina literature, is the fact that *Nandivisâla* occurs as an animal's name in the Pali canon of the Buddhists. In the Suttavibhaṅga, Pâch. II. 1, the Buddha tells a story of a bull at Takkasilâ who could draw a hundred loaded carts, and the name of this extraordinary animal is given as Nandivisâla. The same story was made up into a Jâtaka (No. 28), called the Nandivisâlajâtaka after the name of its hero who is identified here with the Master in a former birth. In the present limited state of our knowledge about the Jaina Nandiviśâla, it would be quite unsafe and useless, of course, to enlarge on his possible relation to his Buddhist namesake. But the name itself is of interest as proving the existence of Śaivism in the fourth century B. C., for it seems to me beyond any doubt that the etymological meaning of the name is 'as big as (Śiva's bull) Nandin,' and not 'Great-Joy,' as translated by Mr. Chalmers.[30]

AN ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF THE SEARCH FOR HINDI MANUSCRIPTS FOR THE YEARS 1900, 1901 AND 1902.

BY SYAM SUNDAR DAS, B.A.

(Concluded from p. 27.)

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
35 B	Kabīra Dāsa	Sākhī	(1400)	1764	
108 B	" "	Rāma-sāra	...	...	
52 C	" "	Kabīra jī kā pada ...	...	...	
53 C	" "	Kabīra jī kī sākhiyā ...	...	1683	
54 C	" "	Kabīra jī ke dohe ...	...	...	
184 C	" "	Kabīra jī ke pada ...	...	1649	
185 C	" "	Kabīra jī kī ramayanī ..	...	"	

[30] *Jâtaka*, transl. under the editorship of E. B. Cowell, Vol. I. p. 71. From the appellation Naṁdiviśâla and the donor's and his father's name in the Mathurâ inscription Dr. Bloch draws the conclusion that 'Jainism apparently already in those early times was as much mixed up with Śaivism as its greater rival Buddhism.' Perhaps this assertion goes a little too far. Rudradâsa may have been a convert from Śaivism to Jainism which would satisfactorily account for his name, and if my explanation of Naṁdiviśâla should be accepted, this name would presuppose the knowledge of Śiva's *vâhana*, but in no way as an integral part of the Jaina religion.

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscripts.	Remarks.
186 C	Kabīra Dāsa... ...	Kabīra jī kī sākhī ...	...	1649	
187 C	" "	" " ..	...	"	
188 C	" "	Kabīra jī ko krita ..	...	...	
249 C	" "	Rāga Soraṭhā kā pada ..	...	...	2 copies.
29 B	Kaibāṭa	Ananta-rāma-sākhala-kī bārtā.	1797	...	
181 C	Kāji Kadana Bhagata.	Kāji kādana kī sākhī ..	...	1649	
68 B	Kālī Dāsa	Rādhā-Mādhava-Milana-budha-vinoda.	...	1791	
105 B	Karnīdāna	Virada-siṇa-sāgara ..	(1730)	...	Abhaya Singha (1704-1748) of Mārwār was his patron.
111 C	Kāsima Śāha ...	Hansa Jawāhira	1842	1901	
14 B	Kāṣṭajihvā Swāmī ...	Padāvalī-sāta-kāṇḍa ...	1840	1841	
195 C	Kesarī Singha ...	* Kesari Sinhajī kā Kun-daliyā.	...	...	
52 A	Keśava Dāsa... ...	Kavi Priyā	...	...	
55 A	" "	Vigyānagītā	(1600)	1790	
183 C	" "	Kavi priyā	...	...	
252 C	" "	Rāmachandrikā	...	...	
34 C	Keśava Dāsa	Bhamara Battīsī ...	...	1787	Not the famous Keśava Dāsa.
20 C	Keśava Dāsa Chāraṇa...	Mahārāja Gaja Sinha kā guṇa rūpaka bandha.	1624 ?	1723	
301 C	" " ...	Viveka Vārtā	1624	...	
134 C	Khema Dāsa	Sukha-sambāda	...	1822	
94 C	" "	"	...	1651	
277 C	Khemjī	Khema jī kī chintavaṇī ...	...	...	
56 C	Kilola...	Dholā mārū rā dohā ...	...	...	
59 A	Kiśorī Dāsa	Pada	...	...	
11 C	Kripā Rāma	Mohammada Gajālī Kitāba	...	1817	
52 B	Kriṣṇa Dāsa	Ṭīkā on Bihārī-satsaī ...	(1720)	1780	
74 A	Kriṣṇajīvana Lachhi-rāma.	Karunābharaṇa-nāṭaka ..	(1600)	1686	
62 C	" " ...	" " ...	...	1715	
83 A	Kriṣṇa Kavi Kalānidhi.	Vritta Chandrikā ...	...	1753	

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
72 A	Kulpati Miśra ...	Droṇa-parva	...	1815	
57 A	Kuśala Miśra Pāṭhaka.	Gangā-nāṭaka	1769	1846	
4 A	Kutabana	* Mrigāvatī	1503	...	
21 C	Lakṣmī Nātha... ...	Rāja Vilāsa	1826	...	
23 C	" "	Bhajana Vilāsa	"	...	
10 B	Lāla Dāsa	Itihāsa-sāra-samuchchaya.	1586	1776	
32 B	" "	Avadha Vilāsa	1643	...	
112 A	Lāla-kalānidhi ..	Nakha-sikha	...	17th century	
26 C	Lālachandra	Itihāsa bhāṣā	1586	1683	
78 B	Mādhava Dāsa ...	Karuṇa-battīsī	(1780)	...	
80 B	Mādhava Dāsa Chāraṇa.	Guṇarāma-rāso	1618	1744	
43 C	Mādho Rāma	'Sakta bhakti prakāśa ...	(1730)	...	
72 C	" "	'Sankar pachchīsī ..	"	...	
87 B	Madhuarī Dāsa ...	Rāmāśwamedha ..	1775	1881	
104 C	" " ..	'Sri Rādhāramana vihāra mādhurī.	(1630)	...	
104 C	" " ...	Bansī baṭa vilāsa mādhurī	"	...	
104 C	" " ...	Utkanṭhā mādhurī ...	"	...	
104 C	" " ...	Vrindābana keli mādhurī..	"	...	
104 C	" " ...	Vrindābana vihāra mādhurī.	"	...	
104 C	" " ...	Dāna mādhurī	"	...	
104 C	" " ...	Māna mādhurī	"	...	
153 C	Magajī Sevaka ...	Gita Sevaka maga rā ...	(1810)	...	
137 C	Mahādāna Chāraṇá ...	Chhanda Jalandhara nātha jī rō kahyā.	"	...	
62 B	Maheśa	* Hammīra-rāso	...	1804	
54 A	Malika Muhammada ...	Padamāvatī	1540	1690	
24 B	" " ...	"	"	1822	
25 B	" " ...	"	"	1701	
53 B	" " ...	"	"	1785	

No. of Notice	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
108 C	Malika Muhammada ...	Akharāvaṭa	(1540)	1886	
132 B	Manika Dāsa... ..	Kabitta-pravandha ...	...	...	
122 A	Manohara	Dharma Parikṣā... ...	1718	...	
13 C	Manohara Dāsa ...	Jasa ābhuṣana Chandrikā	(1810)	...	
58 B	Manohara Dāsa Niranjanī.	Khata-praśni-nirṇaya ...	...	1766	
75 B	Māna Singha	Ṭīkā on Bihārī Satsaī ...	...	1766	
24 C	" "	Jalandhra nāthajī rā charitra grantha.	(1810)	...	
31 C	" "	Nātha charitra	...	...	
60 C	" "	Śri Nāthajī rā duhā ...	...	...	
77 C	Māna Singha	*Rāga Sāra	...	...	
78 C	" "	Nāthapraśansā	...	...	
200 C	" "	*Kriṣṇa Vilāsa	...	...	
207 C	" "	*Mahārājā Māna Singhajī kī banāvaṭa.	...	...	3 copies.
223 C	" "	*Nāthajī kī bāṇī... ..	...	...	2 MSS.
224 C	" "	*Nāthajī rā duhā ...	...	1819	
225 C	" "	*Nātha kīrtana... ...	...	...	
226 C	" "	*Nātha kīrtana	...	...	
227 C	" "	Nātha Mahamā	...	...	
229 C	" "	*Nātha Purāṇa	...	...	
230 C	" "	*Nātha Sanhitā	...	...	
256 C	" "	Rāma Vilāsa	...	...	
40 A	Mati Rāma	Rasa rāja...	(1650)	...	
67 B	" "	"	"	1791	
58 A	Mihī Lāla	Gurū-prakārī bhajana ...	(1650)	...	
109 C	Mira Muhammada ...	Indrāvata	1850	1902	1157 A. H.
249 C	Mīrā	*Rāgasoraṭhā kā pada ...	...	...	
5 A	Mohana Dāsa... ..	*Swarodaya-pavana-vichāra.	1630	...	
79 B	Motī Lāla	Ganeśa Purāṇa	(1533?)	...	

No. of Notice	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
85 A	Muni Lāvaṇya ...	Rāvana-mandodarī Samvāda.	...	1612	
269 C	Murata Rāma... ...	Sādhān Śri Múrata rāma jī kā pada.	...	...	
267 C	Murlīrāya	Sādhā Mahārāja Murlī rāma jī rā pada.	...	...	
112 B	Nāgarī Dāsa	Utasava-mālā	...	1885	He was the son of Mahārāja Rāja Singha of Rúpanagar, and his royal name was Mahārāja Sāvanta Singha.
113 B	" "	Bihāra-chandrikā ...	1731	...	
114 B	" "	Bhora-līlā	...	...	
115 B	" "	Majalisa-mandana ...	...	...	
116 B	" "	Nikunja-vilāsa	1737	...	
117 B	" "	Bana-jana-praśansā-pada-pravandha.	1762	...	
118 B	" "	Braja-sambandha-nāma-māla.	...	...	
119 B	" "	Chhūṭaka-dohā	...	...	
120 B	" "	Jugala-bhakti-vinoda ...	1751	...	
121 B	" "	Prāta-rasa-manjarī ...	...	...	
121 B	" "	Bhojanānanda-aṣṭaka ...	...	...	
121 B	" "	Jugala-rasa-mādhurī ...	...	...	
121 B	" "	Phūla-vilāsa	...	...	
121 B	" "	Godhana-āgama	...	...	
121 B	" "	Dohanānandāṣṭaka ...	...	...	
121 B	" "	Lagnāṣṭaka	...	...	
121 B	" "	Phāga-Vilāsa	...	...	
121 B	" "	Grīṣma-Vihāra	...	...	
121 B	" "	Pāvasa-pachīsī	...	...	
121 B	" "	Arilāṣṭaka	...	...	
122 B	" "	Bana-vinoda-līlā... ...	1752	...	
123 B	" "	Tîrthânanda-grantha ...	1753	...	
124 B	" "	Bhakti-maga-dîpikā ...	1745	...	

No of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
125 B	Nāgarī Dāsa	Braja-sāra-grantha .	1742	...	
126 B	„ „	Raina-rūpā-rasa ...	...	...	
127 B	„ „	Swajanānanda-grantha ...	1745	...	
128 B	„ „	Bāla-Vinoda	1752	...	
129 B	„ „	Rāsa-rasa-latā	...	...	
130 B	„ „	Miscellaneous poems ...	...	1897	
131 B	„ „	Iśka-chamana	...	...	
65 C	Nāmadeva	Nāmadeva jī kī sākhī ..	...	1683	
217 C	„	Nāmadeva jī kā pada ...	...	1649	
249 C	„	Rāgasoraṭha kā pada ...	...	...	
218 C	Nānaka	Nānikajī kī sākhī ...	(1500)	1649	
11 B	Nanda Dāsa	Dasama-skandha-bhāgvata	(1567)	1776	
69 B	„ „	Panchādhyāī	...	1892	
58 C	„ „	Anekārtha-manjarī nāma māla.	...	...	
209 C	„ „	*Māna manjarī nāma mālā	...	...	
126 A	Nanda Rāma	Nanda-rāma Pachīsī ...	1687	...	
155 C	Narhara Khān Jaṭa-mala.	Gorā Bādala rī bāta ...	...	...	
48 C	Narhara Dāsa	Dasama Skandha Bhāṣā...	(1650)	...	
49 C	„ „	Rāmacharitra kathā kāka bhasundī Garuḍa samvāda.	„	...	
50 C	„ „	Ahilyā pūrva prasanga ...	„	...	
51 C	„ „	Narsingha avatāra kathā...	„	...	
88 C	„ „	Avatāra Çharitra ...	„	1776	
90 A	Narpati Vyāsa... ...	Bīsaldeo-rāsā	1298	1612	
89 A	Nārāyaṇadeva	Harichanda pūrāna kathā..	1396	1612	
22 A	Narottama	Kathā Sudāmā	(1570)	1814	
64 B	Navala Rāma	Nawala-sāgara	...	...	
34 A	Nayanasukha	Vaidya-manotsava ..	1592	...	

No. of Notice	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
138 A	Neta Singha	Sārangadhara Sanhitā ...	1751	1865	
24 A	Padama Bhagata ...	Rukminī jī ko vyahavalo...	...	...	
92 A	„ „ ...	„ „ ...	...	1612	
1 B	Padmākar Bhaṭṭa ..	Rāma-rasāyana-Bālakāṇḍa	(1815)	...	This MS. was made in the author's life-time.
2 B	„ „ ...	„ Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa.	...	...	
3 B	„ „ ...	„ Ārṇya Kāṇḍa ...	...	1817	
4 B	„ „ ...	„ Kiṣakindhā and Sundara Kāṇḍas.	...	1810	
5 B	„ „ ...	„ Lankā and Uttara Kaṇḍas.	...	1817	
85 B	„ „ ...	Iśwara-pachchīsī... ...	...	1836	
6 C	„ „ ...	Jagata vinoda	1815	...	
92 C	Parmānanda	Paramānanda dāsa jī kā pada.	...	1736	
142 C	„	Dāna Līlā	...	...	
137 A	Parmasukha	Sinhāsana Battīsī ...	...	1848	
173 C	Parsa Rāma	Hari.Yaśa bhajana ...	...	...	
75 A	Parsu Rāma	Vairagya-nirṇaya ...	(1660)	...	
78 A	Pratāpa Singha ...	Sneha Sāgara	1795	1801	Mahārājā of Jaipur.
262 C	„ „ ...	*Rekhtā...	...	...	
281 C	Prathī Nātha	Sismodha ātmā parachaī Joga Grantha.	...	...	
39 A	Prema Sakhī	Kavittas	(1734)	...	
87 A	Prithīrāja Raṭhora ..	'Sri Kriṣṇa deva-rukminī belī.	(1560)	1612	The celebrated prince of Bīkāner, who attended the Court of Akbar.
55 B	Prīyā Dāsa	Bhakta-māla-ras-bodhinī ṭīkā Sahita.	1712	...	
129 C	„ „	Bhakta māla ṭīkā Sahita. .	1712	1778	
65 B	Purana Dāsa	Bānī	(1830)	...	
45 A	Raghurāja Singha ...	*Sundara Sataka ...	1847	...	Mahārājā of Rewāh.
46 A	„ „ ..	*Vinaya-patrikā... ...	1850	...	
49 A	„ „ ...	Jadurāja Vilāsa	1875	1884	
7 B	„ „ ...	Rāma-swayambara ...	...	...	

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
55 C	Raidāsa	Raidāsa jī kā Sākhī tathā pada.	(1450)	...	
97 C	„	*Raidāsa jī kā pada ..	...	1649	
160 C	Rajabajī	Grantha Sarvangī ...	...	...	
73 C	Rāja Singha	Rasa pāya nātaka ...	(1730)	...	
74 C	„ „	Bāhu Vilāsa	„	1735	
76 A	Rāmānanda	Rāma-rakṣā	...	...	Not the famous reformer.
92 B	Rāmachandra	Rāma-vinoda	1663	...	
8 B	Rāma Nātha	Rāma-hori-rahasa ..	1855	1889	
9 B	„ „	Pradhāna-nīta	...	...	
93 B	Rāma Nārāyaṇa ...	Kabitta-ratna-mālikā ...	1730	...	
81 C	Rasapunja	Kabitta 'Srī mātā jī rā ...	(1730)	...	
98 C	Rasika Dāsa	Kunja kautuka	...	...	
99 C	„ „	Pūjā vibhāsa	...	...	
38 A	Rasika Prītama ..	Nitya līlā	(1738)	...	
38 C	Rasikarāya	Bhavara gītā	...	...	
94 B	Rasajānī Dāsa ...	Bhāgvata	1750	...	
101 C	Ratana Singha ..	Naṭa nāgara vinoda ...	(1843)	...	
193 C	Rijhawāra	*Kavita 'Sri Hajūra rā ...	(1810)	...	
194 C	„	* Kavita 'Srī Nātha jī rā..	„	...	
221 C	„	*Nātha charitra ro hakīkata nāmā.	„	...	
34 B	Sadala Miśra	Nāsiketa-upākhyāna ...	1803	1803	
266 C	Sadela vachchha ..	Sadevachha sāvalgyā kā duhā.	1640	...	
81 B	Sāgaradāna	Guṇa-vilāsa	(1810)	1810	
129 A	Sahajo Bāī	Sahaja-prakāśa bahu-anga	1743	..	Disciple of the famous Charana Dāsa.
130 A	„ „	Solaya tithya-nirṇaya ...	...	...	
131 A	„ „	'Sabda	..	...	
42 A	Samana Singha ..	Pingala-kāvya-vibhuṣaṇa.	1822	1832	
36 C	'Sambhu Nātha ...	Rājakumāra prabodha ...	(1810)	1819	

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
211 C	Samirala or Rasarāja...	* Māṇḍa aura ṭappe ...	...	...	
51 A	Santa Kavirāja ...	Lakṣmiśwara chandrikā..	1885	1886	
177 C	Santośi Rāma	Jalandhara Nāthajī ro rúpaka.	(1810)	...	
2 C	Sardāra Singha ...	Sura taranga	1748	...	
82 A	Saśınātha Miśra ...	Sujāna vilāsa	1750	1816	
112 C	Sekha nabī	Gyāna dīpa	1619	1875	
19 C	Śera Singha	Ramakriṣṇa jasa ...	1789	1793	
106 B	Śiva Nātha	Bansāvalī	1825	...	Genealogical account of the Rewāh family.
294 C	Śiva Rāma	Takhata vilāsa	1840	...	
36 A	Śri Bhaṭṭa	Jugala sata	(1544)	1882	
81 A	Sūdana Kavī... ...	Sujāna-charitra	(1750)	1822	
107 C	Sūbanśa	Ḍhekī	...	1889	
109 A	Sundara	Sundara-sringāra ..	1631	1719	Attended the Court of Shāhjahān.
27 A	Sundara Dāsa ...	Haribola-chintāmaṇi ...	(1600)	...	
3 C	,, ,, ...	Sundara Śringāra ...	1631	1778	2 MSS. (1734).
25 C	,, ,, ...	Savaiyā	(1650)	...	
165 C	,, ,, ...	*Gyāna Samudra ..	1653	1773	
290 C	,, ,, ...	Sundara Dāsa jī kā Savaiyā	1620	1773	
125 A	Sundara Lāla	Sundara-chandrikā rasika.	1852	1853	
128 A	,, ,, ...	Priyā-bhakti-rasa-bodhinī-rādhā-mangala.	...	1855	
95 B	Sundari Kunwari ...	Prema-sampuṭa	1788	...	She was the daughter of Mahārāja Rāja Singha of Rūpanagar.
96 B	,, ,, ...	Ranga-jhara	1788	...	
97 B	,, ,, ...	Neha-nidhi	1760	...	
98 B	,, ,, ...	Rāma-rahasya	1796	...	
99 B	,, ,, ...	Sanketā-sugala	1773	...	
100 B	,, ,, ...	Gopī-mahātmya	1789	...	
101 B	,, ,, ...	Rasa-punja	1777	...	

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
102 B	Sundari Kunwari ...	Sāra-Sangraha	1788	...	
103 B	" " ...	Brindābana-gopī-mahātmya.	1766	...	
104 B	" " ...	Bhāvanā-prakāśa ...	1792	...	
86 B	Súrati Miśra	Rasa-ratana	1711	1830	
96 C	" "	"	1731	1812	
23 B	Sūra Dāsa	Sūra-Sāgara	(1580)	1809	
292 C	" "	Sura Dāsa jī kā pada ...	(1550)	...	
178 C	Swarūpa Māna ...	Jalandhra chandrodaya ...	(1810)?	...	
80 C	Śyāma Rāma	Brahmānda varṇana ...	1718	1730 ?	
12 B	Tānasena	Sangīta-sāra	(1560)	1831	
41 C	"	Rāga mālā	"	...	
228 C	Tārāchanda Vyāsa ...	Nāthānanda prakāśikā ...	1832	1832	
134 A	Ṭodara Malla	Âtmānuśāsana	1761	1768	
1 A	Tulsī Dāsa	Rāmacharita-mānasa ...	1574	1647	
7 A	" "	* Vairāgya Sandīpinī ...	...	...	
22 B	" "	Rāmāyaṇa Bāla Kāṇḍa ...	1574	1604	Very old MS.
28 B	" "	" Ajodhyā Kāṇḍa .	1574	...	MS. in the author's own handwriting.
60 B	" "	Hanumāna-bāhuka ...	1623 ?	1802	
68 A	Udaya Nātha Trivedī...	Jaga lîlā	(1720)	1847	
31 B	Umāpati	Ayodhyā-Mahātmya ...	1867	...	
66 B	Uttama Chanda ...	Nātha-chandrikā ...	...	...	B. 1776, D. 1807.
18 C	" " ..	Alankāra āśaya... ...	(1780)	...	
54 B	Vaiṣṇava Dāsa ..	Bhakta-māla-prasanga ...	...	1772	
67 A	Vallabha rasika ...	Mānjha	(1624)	...	
97 A	Vidyākamala	Bhagavatī Gītā	...	1612	
91 A	Vijayadeva Súri ...	Śri-Sīla-rāsā	(1600)	1612	
74 B	Vinaya Samudra ...	Sinhāsana-battrīsī ...	1554	1767	
106 C	Viṣṇugiri	Sugama Nidāna ...	1744	...	

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript	Remarks.
43 A	Viśwanātha Singha ..	Aṣṭayāma-kā-ānhnika ..	1830	...	
44 A	" " ...	Gīta-raghunandana-pramāṇikā ṭīkā-sahitā.	1844	...	
47 A	" " ..	Dhanura-vidyā	...	1854	
48 A	" " ..	Paramatatwa-prakrāṣa ...	..	...	
6 B	" " ...	*Ānanda-rāmāyaṇa ...	...	1823-43	
16 B	" " ..	Parama-dharma-nirṇaya, Pt. I.	...	1848	
17 B	" " ...	" Pt. II.	...	1848	
18 B	" " ..	" Pt. IV.	...	...	
20 B	" " ...	Dhanuṣa-Vidyā	...	...	
121 A	Vrinda Kavī	Vrinda-satsaī	1704	1837	
9 C	" "	" "	1704	...	
42 C	" "	Śringāra sikhyā	1691	...	
117 A	Vrīndābana	Jaina-chhandāwalī ...	1834	...	
	Unknown Authors.				
70 A	......	Prahlādopākhyāna ...	...	...	
73 A	......	Chida vilāsa	...	1715	
86 A	......	Baitāla pachīsī	...	...	
95 A	......	Prithvīchandra guṇa sāgara gīta.	...	...	
99 A	......	Sālihotra...	...	1612	
100 A	......	Bhuvana dīpaka... ..	...	1614	
107 A	......	Karma battīsī	...	1738	
108 A	......	Bhaktāmara bhāṣā ...	...	...	
113 A	......	Puṣpānjalī pūjā japamāla	...	...	
114 A	......	Āditya kathā baḍī ...	..	1738	
119 A	......	Sudraṣṭa (Sudiṣṭa) taranginī.	1781	...	
33 B	......	Upaniṣada bhāṣā ...	1719	1912	
36 B	......	Kānyakubja vanśāvalī ...	...	1837	
51 B	......	Yantra rāja vivaraṇa ...	(1830)	...	

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
76 B	......	Hitopadeśa bhāṣā ṭikā ..	...	1768	
91 B	......	Bhagvatgītā bhāṣā ..	...	1741	
4 C	......	Duhā Sāra	1663	1714	
10 C	.. ...	Puṣṭi driḍhā bhāṣā ...	...	1776	
12 C	......	* Khata praśanī	...	...	
37 C	......	Mainā Sata	...	...	
66 C	......	* Anekārtha-nāmāwalī ...	(1810)	...	
69 C	......	Kriṣṇa jī kī līlā ..	(1760)	1740	
70 C	......	Viraha manjarī	...	...	
75 C	... ..	Siddha Siddhāntapad-dhatī.	(1810)	...	
93 C	......	Sudāmā charitra... ..	...	1649	
110 C	......	Bhaktā saktā kā jhagaḍā..	1646	...	
116 C	......	Achala dāsa khīchī kī bāta.	...	1786	
117 C	......	Āchārya jī ke utsava ke pada.	...	...	
119 C	......	Asamedha-jagya bhāṣā ..	...	1786	
120 C	......	Asankha juga kī ghaṭathā-panā.	...	...	
122 C	......	* Bārtā rā misalā ...	...	...	
124 C	......	Bhagwāna stotram ..	...	..	
125 C	......	* Bhajana	...	...	
126 C	......	Bhajana	...	1649	
132 C	......	Bharatharī ko pada ..	...	1649	
133 C	......	Bhogala Purāṇa... ...	...	...	
134 C	......	* Chāṇakya bhāṣā ṭīkā sahita.	...	...	
136 C	......	Chaubīsī ekādaśi mahā-tama bhāsā.	...	1794	
138 C	......	Chhanda sangraha ...	...	...	
139 C	......	Chha rāga chhatīsa rāganī kī hakīkata.	...	...	
144 C	......	* Dhanuṣa yagya ...	...	...	

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
145 C	......	* Dhrū charitra	...	...	
148 C	......	Giḍolī rī bāta	...	1780	
149 C	......	Gīta Mahārāja Śrī Abbaya Singha jī ke.	(1760)	...	
150 C	......	* Gīta Mahārāja Śrī Jaswanta Singha jī rā.	(1680)	...	
152 C	......	* Gīta Rāva ji Śrī Jodhā jī rā.	(1810)?	..	
161 C	......	Gulābān bhavar kī bāta...	...	...	
162 C	......	Gunaganja Nāmo ..	...	1649	
169 C	......	* Hafta gulaśana nāmā tavārīkha kī sankṣepa bhāṣā.	(1700)	1819	
170 C	......	* Harichanda purāṇa ..	...	1723	
172 C	......	Hari jasa	...	...	
174 C	......	* Iqyār sān rī kathā ...	...	...	
175 C	......	Jaimanī aśwamedha bhāṣā.	...	...	
176 C	......	* Jalandhara Nātha jī rā gīta.	(1810)	...	
180 C	......	Jūnīkhyāta	...	...	
182 C	......	Kātī Mahātama bhāṣā ..	...	1787	
189 C	......	Kavita Jalandhara Nātha jī rā.	(1810)	...	
190 C	......	Kavita Mahārāja Māna Singha rā.	(1810)	...	
191 C	......	* Kavita Sangraha ...	...	...	
192 C	......	* Kavita Ṣaṭa ritu ..	...	...	
196 C	......	* Khyāta Mahārājādhirāja Śrī 108 Takhata Singha jī Sāhaba rī.	...	...	
197 C	......	Kīrtana Rāmkriṣṇa charitra kā.	...	...	
198 C	......	Kirtana Sangraha ...	...	...	
202 C	......	Kundaliyā Sinha Singhana ke.	...	...	
203 C	......	Lailī Majanū rī bāta ...	...	...	
204 C	......	Māgha mahātāma bhāṣā...	...	1786	
205 C	......	Mahārāja Ajīta Singha rā gīta.	(1730)	...	
208 C	......	Mahārāja Śrī Ajīta kī Kavitā.	(1690)	...	

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
210 C	......	Manchhā vāchā rī bārtā...	...	...	
212 C	......	Migasara Mahātmya ..	...	1785	
213 C	......	Mochhandra nātha jī kā pada.	...	1688	
216 C	......	Nāga jī rī bāta	...	1797	
220 C	......	Nāsaketa bhāṣā ..	...	1759	
222 C	......	* Nāth Dharma	...	...	
231 C	......	* Navoḏhā varṇana ...	...	...	
232 C	......	Padama Purāna māhilo vaisāṣa mahātama.	...	1785	
233 C	......	* Pada Sangraha ...	...	...	
234 C	......	Pancha daśi bhāṣā ṭīkā Sahita.	...	1649	
235 C	......	* Panchākhyāna pancha tantra.	...	...	
237 C	......	Phuṭakara Duhā ...	...	...	
238 C	......	Phuṭakara Gīta... ...	...	...	
239 C	......	Phuṭakara Kavita Dūhā..	...	...	
240 C	......	Phuṭakara pada Gāvān kā.	...	1819	
242 C	......	Pratibodha Gyāna ṭīko joga.	...	...	
243 C	......	Prema Pratraka... ..	1731	1735	
245 C	......	Rādhikā Rūsaṇon ...	...	1763	
246 C	......	* Rāga	...	...	
247 C	......	* Rāga Malāra	...	...	
248 C	......	* Rāga Sangraha ..	...	...	
250 C	......	Rāja Jodhpur ki bansāwalī.	(1752)?	...	From Siyā jī to Vijaya Singha.
251 C	......	Rājā Risālū rī bāta ...	...	1759	
253 C	......	* Rāmacharitra bhāṣā ...	...	1790	
254 C	......	Rāma Dāsa bairāvata rī ākhaḏiyāna.	...	...	
255 C	......	Rāma nomī rī kathā ...	...	...	
257 C	......	Rānjhā Hīrā rī bāta ...	...	...	

No. of Notice.	Name of Author.	Name of Book.	Date of Composition.	Date of Manuscript.	Remarks.
259 C	......	* Rasika Priyā saṭīka ...	...	1737	
260 C	......	Rasika Priyā Saṭīka ..	...	...	
261 C	......	Rāthorāna ri paranālī ...	(1810)	...	
263 C	......	Rūpaka vārata Tiloka rā kahyā.	...	...	
270 C	......	* Śakuna Vichāra ...	...	...	
272 C	......	Sāmudrika bhāṣā ṭīkā Sahita.	...	1789	
273 C	......	* Sangraha Grantha ..	...	...	
274 C	......	* " " ..	...	...	
278 C	......	Ṣoḍaṣa bhakti bhāva ...	...	...	
279 C	......	* Siddhānta charitra mahā megha mālā.	(1810)?	...	
282 C	......	* Śiva Gītā	...	...	
283 C	......	Śiva rātrī rī kathā ..	...	1745	
285 C	......	Śrī Kriṣṇa jī kī vraja-vihāra līlā.	...	1800	
286 C	......	* Śrī Nātha jī ke mata ke grantha.	...	...	
287 C	......	Śri Thākura jī rī līlā bhāva rā kavitta.	...	...	
288 C	......	* Sūboṇ ki hakīkata ...	(1730)?	...	
289 C	......	* Śuka bahotarī	...	1790	
291 C	......	Supana Vichāra... ..	...	...	
295 C	......	* Utpatti Prakarṇa ...	...	...	
296 C	......	Utsava Mālıkā	...	1778	
298 C	......	* Varṇāśrama Dharma ...	...	...	
300 C	......	Viṣṇu Pada	...	...	

GLIMPSES OF SINGHALESE SOCIAL LIFE.

BY ARTHUR A. PERERA.

(*Continued from Vol. XXXII. p. 437.*)

(6) Black and White Magic.[17]

THE **occult practices** in the Island can be **classified under four heads**: (1) minor charms and leechcraft; (2) the invocation and exorcism of demons; (3) the worship of demi-gods, tutelary spirits, and local deities; and (4) the adoration of planets. The influence of Buddhism led to the division of spirits into devils and demi-gods according to their more or less humane qualities, and to the latter were subsequently added the Hindu divinities modified in character.

1.—Minor Magical Practices.

Charms are used for several trifling purposes, and any one who has the patience to learn them by heart dabbles in them. To find out a **theft** a cocoanut is charmed (*pol-pêkaranavâ*) and placed where a thief has made his escape; while the operator holds it with a stick attached to its end he is led along the track to where the thief is; or the persons suspected of it are made to stand with bared backs round an ash-plantain tree, and as it is struck with a **charmed creeper** the culprit gets an ashy streak on his back.

Love-philtres consist of rubbing a medicine on one's face and showing himself to a girl; mixing a herbal preparation with her food; causing a betel to be chewed; sprinkling oil on her or wearing a thread from her garment.

Some pretend to **read the present, past and future** by a betel smeared with a vegetable paste (*anjanan eliya*); a female elf (*anjanan dêvi*) appears on the leaf and shows what is wanted.

A juggler draws **a magic veil** over the eyes of his spectators (*esbenduma*) to avoid detection.

Charmed ashes and sand are thrown to kill worms and other insects that destroy crops; and **magical formulæ** are used to guard against elephants, crocodiles, dogs, leopards, bears, buffaloes, wild cattle, &c.

This incantation makes a dog take to its heels, if muttered thrice on to the hand and stretched towards it, "*On namô budungê pâvâdê batkâpu ballâ jhik. On srîn pasê budunne pâvâdê bat kâpu ballâ kikki kukkâ nam tô situ. On Buddha namas sake situ.*"

Elephants are kept away by "*On sri jâtâ hârê bhâvâtu arahan situ.*"

As a preventive against **possession a thread** spun by a virgin (*kanyâ nûla*) is **charmed** over live-coal with resin and turmeric and tied round one's arm, waist or neck; it has as many knots as the number of times the charm is repeated. **Amulets** (*yantra*), too, made of five kinds of metal,

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17 Principal works consulted:—
(1) Calloway's *Yakkun Nattanavâ* (1829).
(2) Upham's *History and Doctrine of Buddhism* (1829), p. 130.
(3) *Ceylon Magazine* (1841), Vol. I. p. 256.
(4) Selkirk's *Recollections of Ceylon* (1844), p. 482.
(5) Tennant's *Christianity in Ceylon* (1850), p. 230.
(6) *Young Ceylon* (1850), Vol. I. pp. 82 and 109.
(7) *The Ceylon Friend* (1870), Vol. I. p. 41.
(8) *J. R. A. S.* (Ceylon) (1865-1866), Vol. IV. No. 13, p. 1.
(9) " " (1873), Vol. V. No. 18, p. 24.
(10) " " (1884), Vol. VIII. No. 29, p. 432.

viz., gold, silver, copper, brass and iron (*paslô*), and enclosing a mystic piece of *ola*, are used for the same purpose.

The usual **remedy for minor complaints** is to cut a lime or two with an areca-cutter after an incantation or to mutter it over some water procured from a smithy in which iron has been cooled, or over a little oil, a betel-leaf or chunam and apply it to the affected part.

To cure a sprain, a mother who has had twins is made to secretly trample it every evening for a couple of days; and for whooping cough is given gruel made of seven grains of rice silently collected in a *chunam* receptacle (*killôte*) from seven houses on a Sunday morning. A touch with a cat's tail removes a sty; and a toothache is cured by biting a balsam plant (*kûdalu*) uprooted with the right hand, the face averted.

2. — *Invocation of Demons.*

Divers diseases or death is inflicted by the **Pilli, Angam and Huniam invocations**, and to perform the ceremonial there is a special class of **professional magicians** (*kattadi*) who bind to themselves by the *jîvama* rite the demon who is to do their bidding (*yaksabandanaya*).

At dawn, noon or midnight he goes to a lonely spot where three roads meet or to a grave-yard, and, lying on his back, calls on the devil who is to aid him. Near him are (1) a platform made of *gurulla* sticks (*Leea sambucina*) and of the inner bark of the *beli pattâ* shrub (*hibiscus hiliacus*) with nine kinds of flowers, powdered rosin, betel, a *kanya nûl* coloured with turmeric and a copper coin — all on a plantain-leaf (*mal-bulat tattuva*); (2) another with five kinds of roasted seed, seven kinds of curries, boiled rice, fried grain, a roasted egg and a cock (*pideni tattuva*); (3) an earthen incense-pan with live-coals, and a fire made of the wood of five kinds of lemon (*pas-pengiri*). The demon invoked tries at first to frighten the *kattadiyâ*, and if he succeeds, takes away the other's life as a forfeit.

A Pilli causes immediate death and is rarely practised. The *kattadiyâ* procures a whole corpse or only the skull, teeth, bones, nails, or hair of a man, woman, or child (a first-born is preferred) and takes it to the *jîvama* ceremony. In the course of it the demon assumes the form of a boy, girl, animal, bird, reptile or insect, is given the name of the intended victim and ordered by the magician to inflict the fatal wound: to stab, strangle, bite or sting him.

On the devil's return the magician lays him by sprinkling some water; only if the victim be himself a sorcerer can he ward off a Pilli; for by a counter-charm he can direct the operator to be killed instead.

An Angama affects within seven hours and causes throwing up of blood through the nose and mouth. The *kattadiyâ* takes some article that the victim had possessed or touched — a flower, a cocoanut-leaflet, a betel, a stick, &c.; performs the *jîvama* and touches him with it or fans him, or stretches it towards him or keeps it in the hand and looks at his face or blows so that the breath may fall on him or leaves it in some place that it may be picked up by him.

A Huniama takes effect within intervals varying from a day to several years. The *kattadiyâ* procures a lock of hair, a nail-paring, or a thread of the garment of the person to be injured. An image is next made to represent him, nails made of five metals are thrust at each joint and his name written on a leaf and inserted in its body. All these are buried after the *jîvama*, where the victim has generally to pass; and when he does so, he falls ill with swelling, or stiffness of joints, or burning sensation in the body or disfigurement of the mouth, legs, and arms.

3. — *Exorcism of Demons.*

Spirits who, of their own accord or with leave of superior spirits like their king Wesamunu Rajâ or by the aid of Huniam and Angam charms, have afflicted human beings are **exorcised by**

a devil-dance, which is almost the same in every case, but the charms, the masks, and the images used depend on the afflicting devil, and the elaborateness of the ceremony on the means of the patient and the gravity of the disease. The first duty of the *kattadiyâ* is to find out which particular devil has caused the illness, and Knox gives a quaint account of how this is done (page 76): "With any little stick they make a bow, and on the string thereof they hang a thing they have to cut betel-nuts, somewhat like a pair of scissors; then holding the stick or bow by both ends they repeat the names of all, both gods and devils; and when they come to him who hath afflicted them, the iron on the bow-string will swing." A clay image of this demon is next made, and in the compound near the patient's house an octagonal figure (*atamagala*) of 20 or 30 sq. ft. is marked with ashes, and bounded with sticks of five different kinds of lemon or the stems of plantain-trees, which are connected with a thread, spanned with areca arches, decorated with palm-leaflets and cocoanut-shells containing oil and lighted wicks. At the corners of the enclosure are drawn figures of the *trisûla*; on one side are erected *mal bulat* and *pideni* sheds and, between them, a platform about 4 ft. high on which is placed the figure of the afflicting devil, or, in cases of special female diseases, a new earthen pot with an areca or cocoanut blossom. Split reeds are arranged at the centre of the mystic circle in different diagrams on which the *kâttadiyâ*, with his attendants dressed in red and white jackets, masked and with *gurulla* leaves round the waist and head, go through a series of dances, drawling out a mournful chant and keeping time with their hands and bell-attached feet to the music of the tom-tom beaters.

The dance commences a little before midnight, and as it goes on, the magician raises the torch, which he carries in his right hand, to a flame by throwing in powdered rosin, or approaches the patient seated about 7 or 8 ft. from the circle, facing the clay image, with a white cloth covering from head to foot, rubs turmeric, water and oil on his head, makes some mesmeric passes, and all but suffocates him with the smoke of a potful of narcotics. A couple of hours after, the *kattadiyâ* retires to an ante-shed, sometimes carrying the patient with him; a short interval and he returns after a bath and a change of costume, but still masked. Dancing and music recommence, and towards dawn seven limes are placed between the patient's feet and the circle and cut one by one and thrown into a chatty full of water; as the magician cuts each lime he repeats a charm and the patient places his foot near the other. When this is over, the sick man is carried within the circle and seated facing the north with a rice-pounder, paddy, and a cocoanut by him. A coil of creepers is next put round his neck, shoulders and ankles and slit with an areca-cutter. The sacrifices (*dola*) due to the exorcised devil follow, and a pumpkin gourd (*puhul or labu gediya*) is kept on the breast of the *kattadiyâ* lying on his back and cut in two with a knife by the patient; the parts are thrown into the sea or a piece of water. Lastly, the earthen pot is broken or the clay figure carried with loud shouts to the haunt of the devil and left there with offerings.

Maha Sohonâ transforms himself into **Lê Sohonâ and Amu Sohonâ** and afflicts with cholera and dysentery; is 122 feet tall, has the head of a bear, with a pike in his left hand, and in his right an elephant whose blood he squeezes out to drink; presides over graveyards and where three roads meet. **Riri Yaksayâ** causes a flux of blood, and is present at the death-bed; has a monkey-face, carries in one hand a cock and a club in the other, with a corpse in the mouth; and generally haunts fields. **Kalu Kumâra Dêvatâwa** or **Kalu Yaksayâ** destroys conception, delays childbirth and causes puerperal madness; is a young man of a dark colour, and is always exorcised by breaking a new earthen pitcher. **Sanni Yakâ** transforms himself into Oddi Takâ and Huniam Takâ; causes different forms of coma; has cobras twisting round his body with a pot of fire about him; holds a rosary (*lakveliya*) in his hand, rides on a horse, and is exorcised with the most elaborate of devil dances. **Mandana Yaksanî** is a she-demon, causes sensuality and resides near rivers and waterfalls. **Bâlakiri Yaksaniyô** are the she-demons who afflict children.

Ayimaha Yaksayâ or **Môlan Garavvâ, Dala Râkshayâ, Yama Râkshayâ, Pûrnikâ, Ratna Kûtayâ, Nîla Giri, Nanda Giri, Chandra Kâwâ, Mârakâ, Asurayâ, Nâta Giri** and

Pel Madullâ are the twelve Garâ Yakku who haunt every nook and corner and destroy crops, make trees barren, new houses inauspicious, send pests of flies and insects, and reduce families to abject poverty. They are propitiated by a special dance called Garâ Yakuma described above (*ante*, Vol. XXXII. p. 434).

Disembodied spirits who love the things they have left behind hover on earth and make their presence known by emitting different smells or by contaminating food (*perêtayâ*), by destroying the plates and furniture of a house (*gevalayâ*), by apparitions (*avatâra*), or by pelting stones and creating other strange sounds (*holman*) ; they are afraid of iron and lime, and when over-boisterous a *kattadiyâ* rids them from a house by nailing them to a tree or enclosing them in a small receptacle and throwing it into the sea; they are imprisoned till some one unwittingly sets them free, when they again commence their tricks with double force.

A woman who dies in parturition and is buried without removing the child becomes a **Bôdirimar**; she is short and fat and rolls like a cask and kills men whenever she can ; the females chase her away with threats of beating her with an *ikle*-broom.

Nurses hush children by calling on the kidnapping goblin, indiscriminately named **Billâ, Gômbillâ, Gurubâliyâ,** and **Guruhâmi.**

4. — Worship of local deities.

The chief local deities are worshipped at their respective *dêwâlas*, where the incumbent (*kapurâla*), after his morning ablutions, attends to the wants of the god : he lights a taper three times a day on the altar of the sanctuary, offers him food, performs some mystic rites, rings a bell and sprinkles water on the sacred vessels ; the aid and protection of the tutelary spirits of the field, hill, wood, cave, tree or river are implored at their special haunts by lighting tapers, burning incense and offering flowers on temporary platforms or on raised granite slabs of rock. Annual festivals are held in the honour of the former, at all the *dêwâlas*, between July and August ; those at Kandy, Dondra and Kateragama are the most known.

Vishnu, a candidate for Buddhahood, is identified with the third of the Hindu Trimurti, and is the guardian angel of the island. Vows made to him at some anxious moment are always fulfilled by offering presents at his shrine.

Kateragama deviyô is the son of the god of war who assisted Rama in his great war with Râvana. It is not uncommon to find an accused person or a chaste wife swear to his innocence or her fidelity before his image ; they stand on the steps of the *dêwâla*, take the usual oath, cry out "*deyyô sâkkî*" (god be witness) a dozen times, retire to a lonely hut by a river and remain there three days awaiting the consequences. He is also implored by husbands to cure their wives of sterility ; they roll on the dust along the road, their feet tied and carrying a cocoanut in their hands clasped above the head, and as they reach the entrance of the *dêwâla*, dash the cocoanut to pieces. The owner of a garden sometimes dedicates his trees to this god by tying cocoanut leaflets round them and promises to offer him a share of the nuts ; no one steals them fearing the avenging displeasure of the deity.

Before one starts on a journey he entrusts himself to **the guardian deities of the four quarters** (*hatara varan deviyô*).

Nâtha is to be **the future Maitri Buddha** and is now biding his time in the *tusita* heaven ; **Saman or Lakshman** is the half-brother of Râma and the guardian angel of Adam's Peak, and **Alut Yakinni** has attributes similar to Pârvati.

Pattini is the goddess of chastity, and when incensed inflicts small-pox and other epidemics ; to avert her displeasure and ensure protection to the inhabitants, a *kapurâla* or her special priest

(*pattinihâmi*) either travels, accompanied by a couple of musicians, from village to village, with a pot containing margosa oil and a cocoanut flower on his head, or presides over the ceremonies known as **Porapolgahanava, An Edîma** and **Ganmaduva.**

In the first the villagers divide themselves into their **hereditary factions: Yatipila** (lower party) favoured by Pattini and **Udupila** (upper party) by her husband. The two leaders place themselves at a distance of 30 feet, and after a preliminary invocation by the officiating priest, the upper one bowls a ripe husked cocoanut (*pol*) at his adversary who meets it with another in his hand. This goes on till the receiver's nut is broken, when he begins to bowl. One side is declared winner when the stock of nuts of the other party is exhausted.

For the next **religious game** an open space of ground is selected and the trunk of a tree is buried at the centre of it. At the distance of a few yards is placed the log of a cocoanut tree, about 20 feet high, in a deep hole large enough for it to move backwards and forwards; and to the top of it thick ropes are fastened. The opposing parties bind two horns (*an*) together artfully, and, tying one to the base of the trunk and the other to that of the log, pull away at the ropes with all their might till one of them breaks. During the game the priest chants sacred hymns and burns incense in a shed close by.

At the end of both these ceremonies the conquering party goes in procession round the village, and the defeated side has to undergo a lot of abuse and insult which are said to remove the bad effects of their defeat.

The **Gan-Maduva** generally follows either of the above and lasts for a period of seven days. A temporary building, nicely decorated with flowers and fruits, is erected, in which an altar is placed containing the armlets (*halamba*) of the goddess. A branch of the jack-tree is cut with great ceremony by the incumbent and is carried into it by his assistants (*eduro*) and kept on the east side with a little boiled rice, a cocoanut flower, two cocoanuts and a lamp. A *pandal* is next erected in front decorated with leaves and flags; and at the appointed hour the officiating priest carries to it the sacred insignia with music, and as he lays them there all present make obeisance. Water mixed with turmeric is sprinkled on the floor, resin is burnt and a series of dances mimicking village social life continues the whole night, varied by the priest walking on heaps of live-coals. The rites terminate with the ceremony of boiling milk, followed by a miniature representation of horn-pulling and sometimes by breaking the sacred earthen vessel at the nearest stream.

Pattini participates in the sacrifices made to her with **Devol Yakkâ and Mangara Deviyô.** The last-named is the twin-brother of **Gopalu Yaksayâ**, who torments cattle at night and inflicts them with murrain.

Wesamunu Rajâ is the devil-ruling god. **Mahasen** is a deified king of Ceylon (B. C. 277-304) and worshipped as an incarnation of **Kateragama Deviyô. Wîra Munda Deviyo** has an annual sacrifice ten or fifteen days before the Singhalese New Year. **Hena Kanda Bisô Bandâra** was born of a wood-apple (*beli*) and is invoked as the incarnation of **Skanda Kumâraya's** queen. **Wahala Bandâra Deviyô** and **Malwattê Bandâra** are the ministers of Vishnu and implored to cure possession. **Kalu Bandâra** is the god of the chase propitiated by hunters when entering into a strange district. **Sundara Bandâra** protects them who invoke him before sleeping. **Malala** or **Gala Bandâra** haunts precipices. **Bahirawa Yaksayâ** lives on a hill and guards the metals and gems in the earth; a girl was formerly sacrificed to him every year.

The **Kohomba Yakun** steal the crops of a field and are propitiated by agricultural ceremonies. The **Wali Yakun** are three heroes, one the offspring of Vishnu, the other sprung from a lotus, and the third from grass. **Baddrakâli** is sought for winning law-suits and subduing rivals; and **Ganêsa** is invoked by children before reciting the alphabet for the first time.

5. — *Adoration of Planets.*

Sickness is not only caused by the displeasure of gods and demons but as well by the malignant influence of the stars ; an astrologer for a handful of betel, *bulat hurulla*, and a few coins reads one's *ola* horoscope (*handahana*), and finds out which planet is the cause of the complaint. To counteract the evil, **a Bali ceremony** is performed or a stone sacred to the baleful planet is worn : a sapphire for Saturn, a topaz for Jupiter, a coral for Mars, a diamond for Venus, an emerald for Mercury, a moonstone for the waxing moon, a pearl for the full moon, a cat's eye for the waning moon, and a ruby for the sun.

For the **Bali rite** the seven planets are represented by painted clay images on a large platform of split bamboo — measuring altogether 10 or 12 square feet. The tom-tom beaters stand behind and play their drums, while in front the astrologer and his assistants — all of the Beravâyâ caste — with torches in their hands, dance and recite some propitiatory stanzas. The patient sits the whole time opposite the images, holding in his hand a lime connected by a thread with the chief idol ; near him are strewed limes, flowers, betel, and dried paddy, and a stander-by throws portions of an areca-flower broken off at the end of each verse into a basin of water.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

THE NAVAGRAHA OR NINE PLANETS, AND THEIR NAMES.

The *Navagrahâh* or "nine planets" of the Hindus are the five planets, properly so called, the sun and moon, with Râhu and Kêtu — the moon's ascending and descending nodes. The worship of these appears to have originated in judicial astrology and in the belief that the planets had a great influence over personal destinies. Hence they are divided into *śubha-grahâh* or *sad-grahâh*, — auspicious, and *krûra-grahâḥ* or *pâpa-grahâḥ*, — those that are inauspicious. The first includes Bṛihaspati, Śukra, Budha, and Sôma when in the second *paksha* or fortnight; the second includes Śani, Maṅgala, Râhu, and Kêtu.

The seven heavenly bodies are arranged, as by the Greeks, in the order — (1) Saturn, (2) Jupiter, (3) Mars, (4) the Sun, (5) Venus, (6) Mercury, and (7) the Moon. The hours of the day were dedicated to these in succession, so that the 1st, 8th, 15th and 22nd hours of each day always fell to the same planet who also presided over the whole day:[1] thus, on Saturday, Saturn presided over the whole day and over these four hours specially, Jupiter over the 23rd, and Mars over the 24th hour. Hence the 25th hour or first of the next day has the sun — Sûrya — for its lord and so again the 49th hour gives Sôma — the moon, as president of Monday, and thus Mangala presides over Tuesday, and so on. Sunday — as with western nations — is always regarded as the *first* day of the week.

Associated with these planets are their presiding divinities or lords. These are represented on paintings or carvings known as Râśichakras or zodiacs, of which three examples have been published: the first in Sir Wm. Jones's paper on the Indian Zodiac (*Asiat. Res.* Vol. II., at p. 303);[2] the second in Moor's *Hindu Pantheon* (1810), plate 88; and the third in the *Transactions of the R. Asiatic Society*, Vol. III.

Jones's plate has Mount Sumêru in the centre, with cities, &c., round it, and bordered by a narrow strip denoting an ocean; the upper side is marked *pûrvadik*, — east, the right *dakshiṇa-dik*, the left *uttara-dik*, and the lower *paśchimadik*. Round this, beginning from the east and going round by the north, are representations of the *Navagrahâḥ* in circles, each bearing the name in Nâgarî characters: — (1) Sûryaḥ, (2) Vṛihaspatiḥ, (3) Râhuh, (4) Budhaḥ, (5) Chandraḥ, (6) Śaniḥ, (7) Kêtuḥ, (8) Bhaumaḥ, and (9) Śukraḥ.[3] Surrounding the whole are the *Râśis* or twelve

[1] Ideler, *Handbuch d. Math. u tech. Chronologie*, Bd. I., Ss. 178 f.; *cf. Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 322.

[2] This plate has been reproduced in Brennand's *Hindu Astronomy*, 1896, p. 14, but without a word of explanation or comment.

[3] In the original plate, the first *aksharas* in the sixth and ninth names are of unusual and inaccurate forms.

zodiacal signs, in ellipses, beginning on the left of the top with Aries (Mêsha) and going round to the left, — each labelled in Nâgarî letters.

Moor's plate, from the collection of Colonel Stuart, differs in important details. In the central circle — in a cloud of glory — is Sûrya in his car driven by Aruna with a team of nine richly caparisoned horses; they are described as green, with black manes and red legs (p. 284) Round this is the circle of the planetary deities, divided into eight segments. These are named in Persian characters, and as the zodiacal signs are represented in the reverse order of the Jones's plate, we may also reverse the order of the *grahas* and read from right to left by the lower side of the circle. Thus, beginning on the right side under the horizontal diameter and opposite the signs Pisces and Aries, we have in succession (1) Chandra, (2) Mangala, (3) Budha, (4) Râhu, (5) Kêtu, (6) Bṛihaspati, (7) Śukra, and (8) Śani. It would thus appear that the *grahas* are here arranged in the order of the days of the week, but in such a position that Râhu and Kêtu fall *behind* the car of Sûrya.

The drawing of Moor's plate (which he supposed came from Jaypur) is more like Hindu work than Jones's, where the dress is more Moghul. The *vâhanas* or vehicles of the divinities also differ, and will be noticed below: perhaps in the first plate the names of Budha and Śani should be transposed, for Budha is there mounted on a vulture, which is the appropriate vehicle of Śani.

The plate in the *Transactions of the R. Asiatic Society*, Vol III. at p. 30, represents a "Hindu Zodiac from a choultry in the Southern part of the Carnatic." This contains a central square divided into nine smaller ones containing figures of the Navagrahas, and is surrounded by a double border of compartments, — the inner of twelve squares, with figures of the Râśis or zodiacal signs, and the outer of twenty-eight squares with the Nakshatras or lunar mansions, — each represented as an animal, and beginning with Aśvinî as a horse, — Bharaṇî, a male elephant, — Kṛittikâ, a she-goat (?), — Rôhînî, a cobra, &c.

The Navagrahas, occupying the central area, are all represented in cars of the same design, each with a driver and four horses, and within outline figures of various forms The central *graha* is enclosed in a circle, and only one wheel appears on the near side of the car, whilst in all the other cases there are two: this can hardly be other than Sûrya. In the square to the right the car is in an equilateral triangle, and the figure is probably meant for Sôma; the figure to the left, or in front of Sûrya, is placed in an oblong, whilst the *dêva* in the car has a smaller *mukuta* than the preceding In the upper row, the first is enclosed in a figure like a *pippala* leaf, the second in what would be a star of six points, were not the lower point cut away to give a base line; and the third is in an oblong, nearly square. In the lower row, the divinities in the first and third squares have boars' heads, like Varâha — possibly representing Râhu and Kêtu — and the first is enclosed in a flag of the burgee shape; the second figure is placed in what seems meant for a bent bow; and the third, in a somewhat similar area. The divinities themselves are drawn on too small a scale to be separately identified.

The outer circles, in the first two plates referred to, contain representations of the twelve zodiacal signs which are clearly of western origin and possibly derived from the same sources as the figures on Jahângir's coins.

Had we more representations of these planetary figures, from different parts of India, they would be of considerable interest Over a door in the *Wâv* or great well at Adâlaj in Gujarât, the nine *grahas* are represented, all as standing figures, except the third, where a representation of Buddha has been carved in place of Budha, but the figures are too much abraded to afford information respecting their proper adjuncts: only the seventh (Śani) has a bull couched at his foot. In the Jaina temples the *Navagrahâḥ* are usually represented by nine small figures at the base of the *âsana* or throne of the image.

The lords of the seven planetary bodies have numerous epithets, which in turn give a variety of names to each day of the week, and occur in inscriptions and poetical compositions. These, so far as I have been able to collect them, are given below in the order of the days of the week over which they preside.

1. The Sun, — Ravi or Sûrya, is represented, separately in temples as standing, facing the east, his head surrounded with rays, usually with two arms holding a lotus in each, or — occasionally — a lotus and *chakra*, and — often underneath — are the foreparts of the seven horses that draw his chariot. Sometimes the horses are four, but often one which has four or seven heads. He is also represented as seated on a *padmâsana* or lotus-

throne, his body of a deep golden colour, and occasionally with four hands, — holding the *śaṅkha* in the upper right hand, and the front or lower left lying open with the palm upward.[4] His car is sometimes said to have only one wheel and to be drawn by a Nâga: it is often represented, however, with two or four wheels.[5] According to the *Śabdakalpadruma*, Sûrya is of the Kshatriya caste and Kâśyapa *gôtra*, belongs to the Kalinga country, and has for his *vâhana* seven horses. Śiva is the first presiding divinity, and water the second.[6]

His names are very numerous: Hemachandra has given seventy-two of them in his *Abhidhana-Chintâmaṇi* (verses 95-99); and in the *Mahâbhârata* (iii., 146-157) a hundred and eight names are enumerated. These have been supplemented from other sources, in the following list: —

Aja; Amśu, Amśudhara, Aṁśupati, Aṁśubhartṛi, Amśumat, Aṁśumâlin, Aṁśuvâṇa, Amśuhasta;

Abjabândhava, Abjahasta, Abjinîpati; Aruna, Aruṇasârathi, Arunârchis; Arka, Aryaman; Aśîtakara or Aśîtaruch, Aśîtamarîchi; Aśvattha;

Aharbândhava, Aharmaṇi, Aharpati, Ahaḥpati, Ahaskara; Âditya; Inas;

Ushṇakara, Ushnagu, Ushṇadîdhiti, Ushṇaraśmi, Ushṇaruchi, Ushṇâṁśu;

Karmasâkshin; Kapila, Kâmada, Kâlachakrâ, Kâlâdhyaksha, Kâśyapêya;

Kiraṇa, Kiraṇamâlin; Kṛitântajanaka; Kṛishṇa;

Khakhôlka, Khaga, Khachara, Khadyôta or Khadyôtana, Khamani; Kharâṁśu;

Gagaṇadhvaja, Gagaṇavihârin, Gaganâdhvaga; Gabhasti, Gabhastipâṇi, Gabhastimat, Gabhastihasta; Gôpati; Grahapati or Graharâja, Grahapushpa, Grahêśa; Gharmaraśmi, Gharmâmśu;

Chakrabândhava; Chaṇḍakirana, Chaṇḍadîdhiti, Chaṇḍamarîchi, Chaṇḍâṁśu, Chaṇḍaraśmi; Chitrabhânu;

Jagachchakshus, Jagatsâkshin, Jagaddîpa; Jîvana, Jîviteśa; Jyôtishmat;

Tapatâmpati, Tapana; Tamisrahan, Tamônud or Tamônuda, Tamôpaha; Taraṇi; Tapana, Tâpana;

Tigmakara, Tigmadîdhiti, Tigmaraśmi, Tigmaruch, Tigmâṁśu; Timiranud, Timiraripu, Timirâri;

Têjaḥpuñja; Trayîtanu; Tvashṭṛi; Tvishâmîśa or Tvishâmpati;

Dinakara, Dinakartṛi or Dinakrit, Dinapati, Dinapranî, Dinabandhu, Dinamani, Dinaratna, Dinâdhîśa, Dinêśa or Dinêśvara; Dîptâmśu;

Divâkara, Divâpushta, Divâmani, Divasakara or Divasakṛit, Divasanâtha, Divasabhartṛi, Divasêśvara; Dehakartṛi;

Dyupati, Dyumaṇi; Dvâdaśâtman or Dvâdaśâtmaka; Dhâtar; Dharmadhvajas; Dhvântaśâtrava, Dhvântârâti;

Nabhaśchakshus, Nabhômaṇi;

Pachata, Pachêlima; Pataga or Pataṁga; Padmakara, Padmagarbha, Padmapâṇi, Padmabandhu, Padmalâñchhana, Padmâsana, Padminîkânta, Padminîvallabha;

Papî; Pâvaka; Pingala; Pûshan; Prajadhyaksha, Prajadvâra; Pratibhâvat; Pradyòtana; Prabhâkara;

Bradhna or Vradhna; Bhaga; Bhaṭṭâraka;

Bhâkôśa, Bhânêmi, Bhânu, Bhânukêśara, Bhânumat, Bhâskara; Bhâsvat;

Manimat; Marîchimat, Marîchimâlin, Mârtaṇḍa and Mârtâṇḍa; Mitra; Mihira; Mokshadvâra, Mṛitaṇḍa, Mṛitâṇḍa;

Yamunâjanaka;

Ravi;

Lalâṭaṁtapa; Lôkachakshus;

Varuṇa; Vikartana; Vibhâkara, Vibhâvan, Vibhâvasu; Viyanmaṇi; Virôchana; Vivasvat; Viśvakarman, Viśvachakshus, Viśvapâ; Vishṇu;

Śuchi; Śushna; Saptasapti or Saptâśva; Saṁvatsarakara; Savitar, Savitṛi, Sarvatômukha; Sahasrakiraṇa, Sahasramarîchi, Sahasraraśmi, Sahasrâṁśu, Sahasrârchis, Surôttama; Sûrya; Sûra; Svargadvâra;

Haṁsa, Hari; Haridaśva; and Hêli (Ἥλιος).

According to the *Mahâbhârata* (I. 2599) his wife is Tvâstrî, and Suvarchalâ (XIII. 6751); his sister Sureṇu the wife of Mârtaṇḍa; and his daughter Suprajâ.

2. The Moon, — Chandra or Sôma, is represented as white, with two arms holding a club and a lotus; but sometimes with four hands — one of the right in the attitude of blessing. He is seated in a car with three wheels, drawn by ten horses as white as jasmine — five on each side of the yoke, and a deer in his lap; but sometimes it

[4] There is a white marble representation of Sûrya seated in his chariot, drawn by seven horses, in the Royal Museum at Berlin, brought from Bengal by the late Dr. F. Jagor.

[5] *Cf. Archæol. Surv. W. India*, Vol. IX. pp. 73, 74, 77, 106, and pll. lvi. and lxxxviii.; Wilson, *Vishnu Purâna*, Vol. II. pp. 27, 284-285 (Hall's ed.).

[6] For this and subsequent references to the *Śabdakalpadruma*, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. H. Cousens of the Archæological Survey, who has procured them for me.

is drawn by a spotted antelope; or he is riding one. The *Śabdakalpadruma* adds, — that he was born of the ocean, and is of the Vaiśya caste; that his right hand is in the *varadamudrâ, i. e.*, bestowing blessing, and the left holds a *gadâ* or club; that he sits on a white lotus, and has ten white horses to his *vâhana*; and he is clothed in white; Umâ is the first presiding divinity, and water the second. He gives name to the second day of the week — Sômavâra, Chandravâra, &c.

The names of Chandra are also numerous — many of course being synonyms : —

Atridṛigja, Atrinêtraja, Atrinêtraprasûta, Atrinêtraprabhava, Atrinêtrabhû, Atrinêtrasûta; Abjas; Abdhinavanîtaka;

Amṛitadîdhiti, Amritadyuti, Amritasû;

Indu;

Uḍupa, Uḍupati, Udurâj;

Êṇabhṛit, Êṇatilaka;

Ôshadhigarbha, Ôshadhinâthâ, Ôshadhipati, Ôshadhîśa;

Kalânidhi, Kalâpati, Kalâpinî,[7] Kalâpûrṇa, Kalâbhṛit, Kalâvat;

Kumudapati, Kumudapriya, Kumudabandhu, Kumudabândhava, Kumudaśuhṛid, Kumudêśa; Kumudinînâtha, Kumudinînâyaka, Kamudinîpati, Kaumudîpati;

Kairavin; Kshapâkara, Kshapânâtha;

Glau;

Chanda;

Chandra, Chandramas;

Chhâyâbhṛit, Chhâyâmṛigadhara, Chhâyâṅka;

Jaivâtṛika;

Tamôghna, Tamônud, Tamônuda, Tamôpaha, Tamôpara;

Târâdhipa, Târâdhipati, Târâpati, Târâpîḍa;

Tithipranî;

Tuhinakiraṇa, Tuhinagu, Tuhinadyuti, Tuhinaraśmi, Tuhinâṁśu;

Dakshajâpati and Dâkshâyiṇîpati;

Daśavâjin, Dasâśva, Dasaśvêta;

Dvijapati, Dvijarâja;

Nakshatranâtha, Nakshatrapa, Nakshatrarâja, Nakshatraiśa;

Niśâkara, Niśâkêtu, Niśâdhîśa, Niśânâtha, Niśâpati, Niśâprâṇeśvara, Nisâmaṇi, Niśaratna, Niśêśa, Niśîthinînâtha;

Pîyûshanidhi, Piyushamahas, Piyusharuchi;

Pûrvvadi; Prâlêyaraśmi, Prâleyâṁśu;

Bhagnâtman;

Mâsa; Mṛigadhara, Mṛigarâja, Mṛigalâñchhana, Mṛigalôchana, Mṛigâṅka; Mṛigarâja-dhârin (?), Mrigalakshman;

Yâminîpati;

Rajanîkara, Rajanîcharanâtha, Rajanîpati, Rajanîramaṇa; Râjan, Râjarâja; Râtrikara, Râtrinâtha, Râtrimani; Rôhiṇîkânta, Rôhinîpati, Rôhinîpriya, Rôhiṇîramaṇa, Rôhiṇîvallabha, Rôhinîśa;

Lakshmîsahaja;

Vidhu;

Śaśadhara, Śaśabhṛit, Saśalakshmaṇa, Śaśalâñchhana, Śaśavindu, Śaśanka; Śaśin;

Śîtagu, Śîtadîdhiti, Śîtabhânu, Śîtamayûkha, Śîtamarîchi, Śîtaraśmi, Śîtaruchi, Śîtamśu;

Śivaśêkhara;

Śuchi, Śuchirôchis; Śubraraśmi, Śubrâmśu;

Svêtadâman, Śvetadyuti, Śvetarôchis, Śvetavâjin, Śvetavâhana;

Sitakara; Sudhâmśu, Sudhâkara, Suddhâṅga, Sudhâdhâra, Sudhânidhi, Sudhâbhṛit, Sudhâvâsa, Sudhâsûti; Sôma;

Śrîsahôdara;

Hari; Hariṇakalanka, Hariṇadhâman, Hariṇâṅka;

Hima, Himakara, Himagu, Himadîdhiti, Himadyuti, Himabhâs, Himaraśmi, Himâṁśu.

3. **Mars**, — the Hindu Maṅgala or Bhauma, is the celestial war-god; that he is to be identified with Kârttikêya is an assumption that might not be found strictly accurate. He is said to be of red or flame colour, seated on a ram, or in a car drawn by a red ram, and with four arms holding spear, lotus, triśûla and club. The *Śabdakalpadruma* says he holds in the upper right hand a *śakti* or spear, the lower being in the *varadamudrâ*, the upper left is in the *abhayamudrâ* (offering protection), and in the lower left he has a *gadâ* or mace; adding that he is of the Kshatriya caste and Bharadvaja *gôtra*, and that Skanda is the first presiding divinity, and the earth the second. Moor's plate gives him only two arms — with lotus-bud and rod or club; Jones's mounts him on a horse with a sword in his right hand; and Ward says he holds in one hand a *śakti* (spear or pike), with another he is giving a blessing, with a third forbidding fear, and in the fourth a club. His names are —

Angâra, Aṅgâraka;

Âra (Gr. Ἄρης); Âvanêya; Âshâḍhabhava, Âshâdhabhû;

Ṛiṇântaka;

Kuja; Kshitisuta;

Khôlmuka; Gaganôlmuka;

Chaṇḍêśvara; Chara;

Jña;

[7] Noteworthy as a feminine appellation.

Dharâtmaja, Dhâraputra, Dhârasûnu;
Navadîdhiti, Navârchis;
Bhûusta; Bhûmija, Bhûmiputra; Bhauma;
Mangala; Mahîsuta;
Raktânga; Rudhira;
Lôhita, Lôhitaka, Lôhitanga;
Sivagharmaja.

4. **Mercury,** — Budha, is of a greenish-yellow colour, holding a club or sceptre and a lotus; or with four hands, having in the upper left hand a shield, in the lower a club, and in the lower right hand a sword, with the fourth — in the *varadamudrâ* — he is bestowing blessing. The *Sabdakalpadruma* adds that he is of the Vaiśya caste and Atri *gôtra*, and of the Magadha country; he faces the sun, sits on a lion, and has a yellow garment; Nârâyaṇa is the first presiding divinity, and Vishṇu is the second. Sometimes he is represented riding on a winged lion,[8] at others seated on a carpet or *gaddi*, or in a car drawn by four lions, with sword, shield, club and bow.

His names are —
Ēkadêha, Ekânga;
Jña;
Tunga;
Pañchârchis; Praharsha, Praharshula;
Budha; Bôdhana;
Râjaputra; Rôdhana; Rôhiṇîbhava, Rôhiṇîsuta; Rauhiṇêya;
Śravishṭhâja, Śravishṭhâbhû; Śyâmânga;
Sômaja, Somabhû; Saumya;
Himna, Hêmnâ (Ἑρμῆς).

5. **Jupiter,** — Bṛihaspati, the preceptor or Guru of the gods, sits in a car called Nîtighôsha, drawn by eight pale horses. He is of a yellow or golden colour, dressed in white, with four arms, — in his upper right hand he holds a *rudrâksha-mâlâ* or rosary, in the upper left a waterpot (*karakâ*), in the lower left hand is a rod (*daṇḍa*), and, with the fourth in the *varadamudrâ*, he is giving a blessing; other accounts give the rosary, a lotus, and a sceptre. Sometimes, also, he is represented as seated on a *gaddi* (as in Moor's plate), on a lotus, or on a horse.[9] The *Sabdakalpadruma* adds that he is a Brâhmaṇ by caste, of the Âṅgirasa *gôtra*, belongs to the Sindhu country, wears a yellow robe, and sits on a lotus in a chariot drawn by a yellow horse (or horses); Brahmâ is the first presiding deity, and Indra is the second.

His names are as follows: —
Animishâchârya; Âṅgirasa;
Ijya; Indrêjya.
Giriśa; Gîrpati or Gîshpati; Guru; Graharâja;
Chakshus; Chitraśikhaṇḍija;
Jîva;
Dîdivi; Dvâdaśa-kara, Dvâdaśâṁśu, Dvâdhaśârchis; Dhishaṇa;
Phâlgunîbhava;
Bṛihatkîrtti, Bṛihaspati; Brahmaṇaspati;
Vâkpati, Vachasâṁpati, Vâchasâṁpati, Vâchaspati;
Suraguru, Surapriya, Surâchârya, Surêjya.

6. **Venus,** — or Śukra, the son of Bhṛigu and priest of the Daityas, is represented as of a white or bright appearance, blind of an eye, seated on a lotus, in a car drawn by a white horse (or horses), with four hands, and with the same symbols as Bṛihaspati; but Col. Delamaine ascribes to him a horse as *vâhana*, and holding a rod, rosary, lotus, and bow and arrows. On Moor's plate he rides an animal somewhat like a lynx, with rod and lotus-bud in his hands; on Jones's he is on a camel, and holds a large ring or hoop. The *Śabdakalpadruma* states that he is a Brâhman by caste, of the Bhârgava *gôtra*, of the town of Bhôjakaṭa; sits on a lotus; faces the sun; has four hands with the same symbols as Bṛihaspati. Śakra or Indra is the first presiding divinity, and Śachî, Indra's wife, is the second divinity.

The names of Śukra or Uśanas are as follows: —
Asurâchârya; Âsphujit (Gr. 'Αφροδίτη); Uśanas;
Kavi; Kâvya;
Daitya-guru, Daityapurôdhas, Daityapurôhita, Daityapûjya, Daityâchârya, Daityêjya, Daityêndrapûjya; Dhishnya;
Bhârgava, Bhṛiguja, Bhṛigutanaya, Bhṛigunandana, Bṛihguputra, Bhṛigusuta, Bhṛigusûnu;
Maghâbhava or Maghâbhû;
Śukra, Śukrâchârya; Śvêta, Śvêtaratha;
Shôḍaśâmśu, Shôḍaśârchis.

7. **Saturn,** — Śani, Koṇa or Kroda (Greek Κρόνος), as a divinity, is represented as black and in black clothing, old and ugly, with long hair and nails, four-armed — carrying a sword, two daggers, and an arrow, with a blue vulture for his vehicle (*nîlagridhrâ-vâhana*). On Sir W Jones's plate he is mounted on an elephant, and Budha on

[8] Such as are represented at Sâñchî; *cf.* Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art in India* (Eng. ed.), p. 34, fig. 10.

[9] On Sir W. Jones's plate it is hard to say whether the *vâhana* is intended for a horse or not.

a vulture; but possibly these should be transposed. According to the *Śabdakalpadruma*, Śani is a Śudra by caste, of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, belonging to Surâshtra, and born of the Sun; he sits on a vulture, holding an arrow in the upper right hand, the lower in the *varadamudrâ*, a *śûla* or trident in the upper left hand and a bow in the lower. Yama is the first presiding divinity, and Prâjâpati the second. Śani is a planet of ill-omen.

His names are given as, —

Asita; Âra;

Koṇa; Krûradṛiś, Krûralôchana, Krûrâtman; Kroda;

Grahanâyaka;

Chhâyâ-tanaya, Chhâyâtmaja, Chhâyâsuta;

Nîlavasana, Nîlavâsas, Nîlâmbara,

Pangu; Pâtamgi;

Brahmaṇya or Brâhmaṇya;

Manda, Maṇḍaga;

Rêvatîbhava;

Śani, Śanaiśchara; Śauri;

Saptâmsupuṁgava, Saptârchis, Saura, Sauri, Saurika.[10]

8. The ascending node, Râhu, is painted black, with four arms, holding a sword, a spear, a shield, and bestowing a blessing, and the body ending in a tail; the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* says eight black horses draw his dusky car, and, once harnessed, are attached to it for ever. Other representations give him a black lion, a tortoise, or a flying dragon as his vehicle. On Moor's plate he is represented as a headless man with two hands, holding a club and a lily and riding on an owl with a human face (? a female Kimnara); and on Jones's plate it is an animal like a lynx. He is of Śûdra caste and of the Paithînа *gôtra*, according to the *Śabdakalpadruma*, and born of the Malaya mountain, black in colour and wearing a black garment, sitting on a lion, and having four hands, — in the upper right he holds a sword, in the lower a *rada*, in the upper left a *śûla*, and in the lower a shield. Kâlâ is the first presiding deity, and Sarpa the second.

His names are these —

Abhrapiśâcha; Graha; Kabandha; Kayâna; Tamas; Bhanîbhû; Râhu; Vidhuṁtuda; Saiṁhika or Saiṁhikôya; and Svarbhânu.

9. The descending node is Kêtu, who is represented as a head, painted green and placed on a frog or against the cushion of a *gaddi*. He is of the Śûdra caste and Jaimini *gôtra*, and from the (?) Krauñchadvîpa country, of the colour of smoke, wears a smoke-coloured garment, and sits on a vulture; one of his hands is in the *varadamudrâ*, and the other holds a mace. Chitragupta is the first presiding deity, and Brahma is the second. He is called—

Akacha; Aślêshâbhava or Aślêshâbhû; Kêtu; and Muṇḍa.

J. BURGESS.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SOME DISAPPEARING PREJUDICES OF THE PARSIS.

CONSIDERING the position that the energetic Parsis now hold in the very front of all Indian peoples in regard to education, progress and social freedom, the following extracts from some reminiscences of one of the pioneers of reform among the Parsis will be of interest to those who would mark down old customs and superstitions before they disappear. Mr. K. N. Kabraji is the writer, and he writes of "Fifty years ago."

1. — Medical Education.

What a wonderful change has been effected in the popular sentiment with regard to higher education, in the course of fifty years! In these days the Grant Medical College is overflowing with students of all communities. But when it was established in 1845, so intense was the prejudice of the natives against what they regarded as the contamination of dead bodies and human bones, that for a time it was very much feared that the public endowment fund, amounting to Rs. 1,25,000, for the institution had been simply thrown away. Inducements were therefore held out to students in order to set the institution going. Not only were they admitted free, but every one was given a stipend of Rs. 10 per month.

Some of the boys attended it in opposition to the wishes of their parents, who were gravely offended and deeply scandalized by their sons' violation, as they fancied, of the canons of their religion I myself was a victim to this superstition. My father wanted me to go to the College;

[10] Hêmachandra (*Abhidhâna-Chintâmaṇi*, śll. 116-121) gives a list of the names of the planetary divinities, — which has been enlarged in the above. In śll. 121-22 he adds six names of Râhu and four of Kêtu.

but my mother would not, for a moment, entertain the idea of her son committing the grave sin of touching dead bodies. The first doctors were mostly Parsis and they employed Parsi compounders, because in those days the community had an inveterate prejudice against taking food or water touched by a "heathen." The first patients of these medical men were also chiefly Parsis, as the popular prejudice against European treatment was exceedingly strong amongst Hindus and Mussalmans. Even at the present day the ignorant masses prefer to die at the hands of a *hakîm* rather than be saved by Western methods of treatment. Again, in maternity cases the doctors had to bathe in the patient's house and change their clothes before leaving. After a time one or two medical men protested against the objectionable custom, which died out sometime ago.

2. — Lying-in Customs.

I wish I could say the same of the barbarous custom of consigning women, at a most critical period of their lives, to dark, damp, and noisome rooms on the ground floor of the house for forty days together. If there is no close room available in which to shut them out so long from heaven's light and air, then a huge curtain, often made up of old rags, is put up, forming a dark and dismal enclosure for the unfortunate woman. Here she is doomed, in the name of religion, to live or die, as the Fates may direct, and although she may be very weak and ill, it is that same religion which absolutely forbids her better and healthier surroundings. Although this custom is not yet quite dead, it is dying fast enough and will have perished altogether before another fifty years have elapsed. The Parsi Lying-in Asylum has contributed largely towards the accomplishment of this beneficent reform.

As if these hardships contrived by superstition were not enough, delicate women were subjected to other trials at the risk of their lives. Sometimes, parents took a vow to leave their daughters after delivery without food and water for a whole week. The *Rast Goftar*, assisted by the able pen of the late Dr. C. F. Khory, led a crusade against this senseless practice and succeeded in abolishing it. Among other superstitious rites performed on the occasion was one called **chokhiar**, in which, as the name implies, rice formed the principal element. It was usually performed as a last resort when a woman felt dangerously ill and her recovery by means of human skill was despaired of. The children of neighbours and relatives were invited; they were washed and arranged in clean linen, and were treated to a dinner consisting of rice, milk, and pulse curry. A lamp, fed by *ghî*, was kept alight near the spot, and water-pots, cocoanuts, fruits, and flowers were placed near it, to which the friends and relatives of the patient made *pâyâ*. If any one's children did not live to grow up, there was another ceremony for the invocation of divine grace on the unfortunate mother. It would take long to describe the various rites performed on such occasions. Suffice it to say that they have nearly all ceased to exist.

3. — The First English Doctors.

In the old days doctors went about in palanquins, which made a great impression on many of their patients. The early doctors, being the first in the field, had extensive practice, although at the commencement they had to contend against the prejudices of the people against Western methods of treatment. The people were mortally afraid of the application of a blister and regarded even the harmless mustard poultice with grave misgivings. Indeed, it was believed that the doctor applied a blister only in extreme cases, when all his resources had failed and when there were few chances of the life of his patient being saved. When this remedy was resorted to, there was mourning and lamentation in the house.

4. — The Importation of Ice.

Ice is now a blessing in many cases of sickness; but people looked askance at it when it first began to be imported from America.

In September, 1834, the first consignment of ice was sent from America to the firm of Jehanghir Nusserwanjee Wadia in Bombay. It was sold at 4 annas per pound. The native looked upon it as a great curiosity, and it was sometime before it made its appearance at the table of the rich. The first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy introduced ice at a dinner given to some friends, and a few days afterwards it was gravely reported in the *Bombay Samâchâr* that both the host and his guests had fallen ill with cold. They had had the temerity to use an unknown foreign substance, and had to pay the penalty.

I was once taken by my father to the ice-house — the globular building next to the Great Western Hotel — and brought home a piece with me, and I remember the ladies viewed it as a strange substance with great wonder and curiosity. Aerated waters, too, were a novelty in the old days. When a soda-water bottle was first brought to my father's house, on opening it, the cork flew up with a loud report, the ladies ran away affrighted, and they would not drink

the "smoking water" themselves, nor would they allow me to touch it.

5. — Social Reform.

Most unenviable was the lot of Parsi women fifty years ago. They could not freely walk forth in the street. They could not appear in public. If they went out in a *reklá*, all the curtains were down, that bold bad eyes might not look at them. I remember that the community was deeply scandalized when the late Ardesheer Hormasjee Wadia began to drive out in an open carriage with his wife.

Those were days when boots and stockings were not worn by women. Many a bitter controversy has raged round the vexed question of shoe-leather. The first wearers of boots and stockings were malignantly reviled and abused. Nay, in the good old days of country shoes, it required no little courage on the part even for men to change them for English boots, nor was it considered proper to wear socks with country shoes. I remember that some gentlemen began wearing socks on the plea of ill-health, before they ventured to adopt them as a regular part of their dress. Now that English boots and stockings are so common among both sexes of the Parsi community, it seems quite a far off age when the wearing of them provoked such rancour and resentment.

6. — Freedom for Parsi Women

It was not without a tough and prolonged struggle that rational freedom was obtained for Parsi women. Places of amusement were absolutely forbidden to them. When at last it was thought that it would be no crime to let them see a play or a circus, the performances were held exclusively for women I remember one of such performances given by Romanini's Circus forty-five years ago, when the male members of every family waited outside the tent till it was over at midnight. Not a few of them were wealthy Shethiâs, who complaisantly loafed about or enjoyed a comfortable doze in their carriages, awaiting the return of the ladies of their household. And what precautions and safeguards were then considered necessary, even in the case of such rigidly exclusive gatherings, at MacCallum's Circus forty years ago. The tickets were sold by means of a private circular confined to families of known respectability, and the names of intending visitors were recorded in a special list in order that no persons of doubtful repute might smuggle in. All the preliminaries in connection with MacCallum's Circus were carried out by the late Ardesheer Moos and Nanabhai Ranina, and the assemblage of ladies in their multi-coloured dresses and dazzling ornaments was so splendid and magnificent that the circus proprietor, new to such sights, exclaimed, "Ah! if I could get up such a spectacle in London, my fortune is made!" Not that women were then too ignorant to appreciate the happiness of freedom. In my early days, I have often heard women, even old ones, say, on beholding Europeans of both sexes driving together in open carriages, "Alas, that it should not be our lot to be as happy as they are!"

7. — Early Mixed Gatherings.

Many more years elapsed before mixed gatherings became common among the Parsis. The first notable gathering of Parsi ladies and gentlemen was witnessed on the occasion of the festivities attending the birth of the late Prince Albert Victor. An entertainment to the school children of the town was given on the Esplanade, when a number of respectable Parsis appeared with their wives and walked arm-in-arm with them. The sight created quite a sensation. The movement in this behalf was led by the late Maneckjee Cursetjee, a sturdy old veteran in the cause of social reform. He was among the very first of those who freely went about with their wives and daughters arrayed in boots and stockings, and he manfully braved the vile scandals and objurgations to which he was subjected for years by the foolish majority of his community.

Theatrical performances were ordinarily held for men only. When a special performance was advertised for families, it was carefully stipulated beforehand that no men unaccompanied by their female relatives would be allowed admission. As the promoter of theatrical companies in former days, I myself framed some strict rules in this behalf.

MUHAMMADAN WORSHIP OF FIRE.

DR. (now SIR DISTRICH) BRANDER, when at Gorakhpur 30 or 40 years ago, visited a certain Miyân Sâhib who kept a fire going as a religious duty — apparently a quasi worship of fire. He owned a *sál* forest: and this supplied fuel for his fire. He was a most interesting man and charmed his visitor: a man of liberal and loyal spirit, for he protected Christians in the Mutiny, and he subscribed to the schools attached to the local Mission, of which the Rev. Mr. Stern was the head. The memory of such a man should be preserved. I wonder if it still lives in Gorakhpur.

W. COLDSTREAM.

JANGNĀMAH OF SAYYAD 'ĀLIM 'ALĪ KHĀN, A HINDI POEM BY SŪDISHṬ.

BY WILLIAM IRVINE, LATE OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

(Concluded from p. 9.)

Yakāyak dhundhūkār paidā hū,ā,	All at once a dust arose,
Niẓāmāṇ kā lashkar huwedā hu,ā.	The Niẓām's army was descried.
Hū,ī hānk lashkar moṇ chāroṇ kadhan,	There were shouts in the army on all sides,
Zamīn thartharī aur larzā gagan.	The earth shook and the heavens trembled.
Kharā ho-ke jaẓbī senā nikāl,	He arose and brought forth a raging army,
Kīyā josh meṇ a-ke rukhiyā ko lāl:	By his ardour his face was reddened :
" Napaṭ kar-ke shokhī, wah chal ā,e haiṇ,	" Full of insolence he has advanced,
" Mūjhe kyā, magar mom kā pā,e haiṇ,	" What care I, for he has feet of wax,
" Zamīn dhas-ke gar ghār ho jāegā,	" The earth will give way, a hollow will form,
" Gagan tūt-kar sar pah ā-jāegā,	" The skies will melt and descend on his head,
" Laṛūn yā marūṇ kār-i-faujāṇ chalā,o,	" Let me fight or die, let the armies engage,
" Tū, 'Ālim 'Alī, lohū kī nadiyāṇ bahā,o,	" Thou, 'Ālim 'Alī, cause bloody rivers to flow,
" Ba-ḥaqq-i-khudāwand-i-parwardigār,	" By help of the Lord, who is the Cherisher,
" Jab lak jīū tan moṇ, karūṇ kārzār,"	" So long as I breathe, shall I prolong the battle."
Harāwal kīyā Mutahavvar Khāṇ koṇ,	He placed Mutahavvar Khān in the vanguard,
Dīyā sang Salīm Khān, Mathī Khān koṇ,	Sent with him Salīm Khān and Mathī Khān,
Dalel Mahamdī Beg, Mirzā 'Alī,	Dalel Muhamdī Beg, and Mirzā 'Alī,
Jahāṇ talag the sardār jodhā, balī.	Whatever leaders he had, brave and bold.
Kahā: " Tūm harāwal ke sabh sāth jāo,	He said : " Follow all of you the leader of the van,
" Harāwal ko ūn sāth begī milāo."	" Delay not, quickly engage with their vanguard."
Amīn Khān ko bole, kih: " Sun to tehū bāt,	To Amīn Khān he said : " Hark to my word,
" Tūmeṇ fauj kāmil le apne sanghāt,	" Take out a full force of your troops,
" Chalo mihrbānī soṇ sīdhī ṭaraf,	" Be pleased to move to the right wing,
" Tūmhārī shujā'at moṇ nahīṇ kuchh ḥaraf,	" Against your valour no word can be said,
" Tūmeṇ mard-i-Dakhin moṇ ho be-miṣāl,	" You among Dakhinis have not your equal,
" Yihī bāt taḥqīq be-qīl-o-qāl,	" This fact is admitted without contestation,
" Khaṛe ho-ke rahne moṇ dastā khalal,	" Mere standing idle brings ruin on the squadron,
" Gayā dūr harāwal hamārā nikal,	" My vanguard has advanced and is far off,
" Madad jo ā,e ho, to kūchh kar dikhāo,	" You came to help, so show what you can do,
" Ho be-shak āpas dīl moṇ, khāṇḍā bajāo,	" Cast out doubt from your heart, ply your sword,
" Ṭalo-ge, to sabh fauj ṭal jāegī,	" If you yield ground, the whole army gives way,
" Balā mūjh akele ke sar ā,egī,	" The calamity will fall on my friendless head,
" Wahī howegā jo hai Rabb kī raẓā,	" Whatever happens it is the Lord's will,
" Maiṇ hūṇ sab 'azīzāṇ soṇ sabh ṣafā."	" I have no grievance against any of my friends."
Kahā 'Umr Khān koṇ : " Raho dast-i-chap,	He said to 'Umr Khān : " Take place on the left,
" Marhattāṇ kī faujān koṇ le sāth sab,	" Make all the Mahrattahs follow you,
" Tūmhārī merī kuchh judā,ī nahīṇ,	" You and I can never have separate aims,
" Tūmeṇ khwesh ho, kūchh sipāhī nahīṇ,	" You are a relation not a mere trooper,
" Tumhārī merī sharm sabh ek hai,	" You and I shall be one in any reverse,
" Karoge wahī jis moṇ jo nek hai,	" You will perform whatever is right,

" Duniyā do pahar ke yah jyūn jahānon hai,	" This world is for a few hours, it seems more like hell,
" Janam lag kise kā nah abh thānon hai.	" No one has any power to cling to life.
" Agar hai sharm, to yah jiwanā bhulā,	" If we come to shame this life is a mere fraud,
" Wagarnah zahr khā-ke, marnā bhalā;	" In that case to take poison and to die is better;
" Khabardār ho, dil mon kūchh ḍar nah lāo,	" Be on the alert, let no fear enter into your heart,
" Jyūn hai shart, tyūn khūb hāthān chalā,o."	" As duty demands, strike oft and hard."
Līyā sāth apne rahā so hashm,	He took with him all his state and following,
Chale khūsh ho āhistah yak yak qadam.	He advanced rejoicing, slowly, step by step.
So īse mon ā-kar kahā ko suwār :	At this point there came a horseman and said :
" Harāwal pai Ṣāḥib ke hai rozgār,	" My lord's vanguard is engaged,
" Rahī fauj jahān ke tahān sab haṭak,	" The men on all sides were driven back,
" Chale hain jidhar ke ūdhar sab thaṭak,	" They have fled hither and thither in disorder,
" Parā shor jodhā barā par ṭhaṭhak."	" Confusion reigns, the fighters are all at a stand-still."
Sūnā aur chilāyā jaisī bijlī karak;	He heard and roared like a clap of thunder ;
Jo hote agar Rustam, Afrasyāb,	If Rustam and Afrasyāb had been there,
To hargiz nah karte wah aisā shitāb.	Never could they have been so quick.
Parā ṭūṭ jazbī so aisā kaṛak,	The order of this great army had fallen to pieces,
Kis-se mānjā jo sambhāle dhaṛak ?	Who was there to rally it after the crash ?
Uṭhā fauj, lashkar mon gard, ghabār,	From the army rose dust in clouds,
Kih jānon qiyāmat hū,ā ashkār.	It seemed as if Judgment Day had dawned.
Hū,ā shor o ghūl ghulghulā fauj mon,	Then arose shouts and cries from the army,
Sayādat ke daryā yak mauj mon,	That wave of the sea of Lordship
Maqābal hū,ā, ur kahā hānk mār :	Advanced to the attack, and said shouting :
" Waṭn hai sipāhī kā khānḍe kī dhār,	" The home of the soldier is the sword's sharp edge,
" 'Ajab din, 'ajab waqt hai, āj kā,	" A chosen day, a choice time is this,
" Bhale mard ke qadr-i-mi'rāj kā."	" To brave men it is as the ascent to heaven."
Kahā : " Kahān hai sardār is fauj kā,	He said: " Where is the lord of this army,
" Jo dekhe tamāshā merī mauj kā,	" That he may see the vision of my wave-like ranks,
" Milen ham o tum ham ko armān hai,	" Our meeting, you and I, is what I ardently long for,
" Ṭalo mat, yah mardon kā maidān hai,	" Evade me not, this is the battle-plain of heroes,
" Mūjhe bān golī son tūm mat ḍarā,o ;	" Think not to daunt me with rocket or bullet.
" Nishā hai to haudaj son haudaj milā,o."	" If assured, then range our haudahs side by side."
Lagā mārnen tīr kar-kon pe ā,	He began to shoot arrows, moving his hands,
Dīyā fauj yakbārgī sabh halā ;	With a sudden shout, he urged on the charge :
Chalāne lagā tīr par tīr kon.	His arrows flew one after the other.
Hazār āfrīn mard-i-randhīr kon !	A thousand bravos for the man of battle, the hero !
Guzar jā,e chillah, aur baktar kon phoṛ,	His bow-string wore out, his armour was rent,
Zirah kī kaṛiyān, ḍhāl ke phūl toṛ ;	The links of his mail, the bosses of his shield all broken,
Jaisī tīr marī karo mon milā,e,	As an arrow struck, he added it to its ring,
Sakat kīyā ūse jodh phir sar ūṭhā,e.	Ever he fought on, raised his head once more.

Hū,ā do gharī lak hazāroṇ kadhal,
Chaleṇ fauj mūṇh par taiṇ sārī nikal,
Jo haudaj thī mūṇh par seṇ sabh ṭal ga,e,
Phirā pīṭh yakbāragī chal ga,e.
Kahīṇ the, 'azīzāṇ, yah 'Ālim 'Alī !
Magar āj ḥāẓir hū,ā hai 'Alī.
Ilāhī ! yūh kis nūr kā nūr hai,
Jawānī, shujā'at so ma 'mūr hai !
Kīyā tab ḥukm : " Beg naubat bajā,o,
" Rakho dil qavvī aur ghoṛe chalā,o.
Raho jyūṇ the tyūṇ, ho khare ṭhār ṭhār,
Hathī urbadī kul piyāde, suwār,
Chaliyā koī mashriq, chaliyā koī janūb,
Chaliyā ko shamāl, aur gayā ko gharūb.
Bulāneṇ lage fauj koṇ : " Ā,o, re !
Fatḥ hai, fatḥ, koi mat jā,o, re !
" Phiro, re, phiro, nang soṇ dūr hai,
" Namak khā-ke bhāge, so maqhūr hai !"
Yah sun-kar kahā Sayyad-i-pāk-bāz ;
" Ayā, bas hai hamanā madad-i-kārsāz ;
" Jo bhāgā, so kyā ūske bhar ās hai,
" Yah marnā shahādat mūjhe khāṣ hai."
Kharā ran moṇ Sayyad āpas ẕāt soṇ,
Ga,ī fauj sārī nikal hāth soṇ.
Mahāwat ko bolā kih : " Hāthī chalā,o."
Kahā tab Ghālib 'Alī Khān soṇ yahī yūṇ bulā,o :
" Maiṇ is fauj koṇ āzmāyā nahīn,
" Kapaṭ in ke dil kā maiṇ pāyā nahīn,
" Daghā de-ke mūjh ko nikālā shitāb,
" Qiyāmat moṇ kyā deṇge Ḥaqq kā juwāb ?
" Muḥabbat ke kūchh kis mane yās nahīṇ,
" Dekho, dostāṇ ko mere pās nahīn,
" Ba-har-ḥāl, dunyā yah guzarāṇ hai !
" Haṭūn kyā maiṇ ! Ab kyā merā shāṇ hai !"
Ghālib Khān yūn bolā : " Ai Sayyad ! Imām !
" Nako kūchh karo dil moṇ ab fikr-i-khām !
" Jab lak tan moṇ hai dam, lareṇ jān-niṣār,
" Rahegā yah 'ālam mane yādgār."
Nāṣir Khāṇ, Ghorī, soṇ bole Nawāb :
" Mile mil ga,e sabh ih khānah-kharāb ;

For full forty minutes there were a thousand efforts,
The army all fled from before his face,
The canopied elephants all retreated,
They turned tail and all at once made off.
Say, O friends, was this then 'Ālim 'Alī !
Was it not rather 'Alī himself ?
O God ! what perfect effulgence is this,
Full of youth, complete in valour !
Then he gave order : " Quickly beat the drums,
" Be bold of heart and urge your horses on."
They stuck where they were : they stood in groups,
Horse and foot, all were in a flurry,
Some went east, some went south,
Some to the north, others to the west.
He began to rally his men : " Come on ! Hie !
" It is a victory, a victory, let no one retire ! Hie !
" Turn, I say, turn, this is fatal to honour !
" He who eats salt, then flees, is accursed ! "
Having shouted this, said the pure-hearted Sayyad :
" The help of the Helper remains to me ;
" What sort of hope can there be from fugitives,
" To die thus is a favoured martyrdom."
The Sayyad stood solitary in the battle-field,
His army had gone, was all out of hand,
He said to the elephant man : " Urge on the elephant."
Then turning to Ghālib 'Alī Khān he spoke on this wise :
" I had never put these troops to the test,
" Their falseness of heart I had not found out,
" They have deceived me, and at once thrown me over !
" At the Resurrection what will they say to the Judge ?
" They have no affection, nothing can be expected of them,
" See, there are no friends left around me,
" Be it so, this world is only a passing show !
" I will never budge ! What would then be my reputation !
Ghālib Khān spoke thus : " O Lord and Priest !
" Do not let your mind take up wrong ideas,
" So long as breath remains, we fight and give our lives,
" In this world we shall be ever remembered."
To Nāṣir Khān, the Ghorī, spoke the Nawāb :
" They are traitors, all these scoundrels ;

"'Azīzāṇ! jo kūchh hai, so taqdīr soṇ,
"Miṭā nā sake koī tadbīr soṇ."
Kīyā Shekh Faiẓū ne ā-kar 'arẓ,
Jo jānā kih marnā hū,ā hai farẓ:
"Nawāb! ab rahā shahr kā dekhnā,
"Larā,ī nahīṇ, yah hū,ā sekhnā."
The is guftgūe moṇ, o thā yah bichār,
Phirī fauj-i-Sayyad, pare gul ekbār,
Paṛā ma'rkā tīr aur bān kā,
Machā raṇ-kadhan phir pareshān kā,
Kīyā qaṣd ik dil kā ahl-i-gharūr,
Kih chadhe jyūṇ ā-ke daryā kā pūr.
Hazār āfrīn tūjh koṇ, 'Ālim 'Alī!
Kahūṇ sūryā, bīr, jodhā, balī!
Barā chhoṭ āsan soṇ mahāwat nikal,
Lagā pānw hāthī dhakāya akal.
Ghiyāṣ Khān koṇ itne moṇ golā lagā,
Lagā sūjh hāthī ūpar soṇ dhakā,
Parā morchhal hāth soṇ chhuṭ-kar,
Rahā dekh Sayyad to ho khūṇṭ-kar.
Ṭake the kam-o-besh kul sau jawān,
Hote karo Sayyad ke sabh khūn-fishān.
Hāthī thā, wa thā āp, yā thā Khudā,
Hū,ī sāth soṇ sabh sanghātī judā.
Do tarkash le īse moṇ khālī kīyā,
Sakal tan ko zakhmāṇ soṇ jālī kīyā.
Lagī tīr bhar le ūsī tīr koṇ,
Chalāwe bharā kar badī dhīr soṇ,
Lagā kar chille koṇ bhī ainchī kamān,
Lagāwe jis-se sūr hī Alā māṇ.
Yakāyak lagī mūṇh par ā, pānch tīr,
Hū,ī pār gāliyāṇ ke, pardāṇ ko chīr,
Līyā ainch kar aur kīyā khūb zor,
Rahā so saṭā pānch kādha maror.
Lagā tīr phir anyā gosh koṇ;
Saṭā kādh bhī is koṇ, ā hosh moṇ.
Naẓīk ā-ke ūs fauj kā ko amīr,
Lagāyā peshānī mo angekht-i-tīr,
Nikāle, to hargiz nikaltā nahīṇ,
Kīyā zor, pun zor chaltā nahīṇ.
Saṭā chūr aur bhār kar wahāṇ kā wahāṇ,
Dīyā juwāb ūs tīr kā dar zamān;
Paṛā āge ghoṛe soṇ jab wah amīr,
Kahā: "Kyā jawān-mard hai, be-naẓīr!"
So iti moṇ ko aur haudaj-suwār
Hū,ā sāmhne, dil koṇ kar istwār;

"My friends! whatever happens is the work of Fate,
"It cannot be wiped away by any device."
Shekh Faiẓū came and made his statement,
He who knew that to die was strict duty:
"Nawāb! Now has come the time to repair to the city,
"This is not a fight, it is a lesson."
Talk was going on, plans being discussed,
When the Sayyad's troops returned, there was sudden outcry,
A battle with arrows and rockets began.
Fierce fighting was renewed by the fugitives,
Men of repute resolved with one intent
To ride on into the midst of the battle-flood.
A thousand bravos to thee, O 'Ālim 'Alī!
I call thee hero, champion, fighter, valorous!
He knocked the driver from his seat with a mighty blow,
Began to kick the elephant vigorously.
Soon Ghyāṣ Khān received a bullet,
He lay stretched on his elephant motionless,
His peacock fan fell from his hand,
He gazed at the Sayyad, then lay like a log.
More or less, a hundred men stood fast,
They all gave their life-blood for the Sayyad.
One elephant, and himself! What else but God!
All his followers had quitted his company.
Two full quivers he took then and emptied,
His whole body was pierced like a sieve.
Whatever arrow struck, he drew out and returned it,
He advanced shooting with great coolness,
He seized his bow-string, he drew his bow,
He shot as if he were the hero Alah.
Of a sudden five arrows struck his face,
They pierced his cheeks and cut his eyelids,
He drew them out, making great effort,
As all were in a clump, the five came out by one twist.
Once more a sharp arrow hit him on the ear;
Coming to his senses he pulled it also out.
Drawing near, some noble from the other army,
Hit him on the forehead by shooting an arrow,
No effort succeeded in drawing it,
He tried hard, but force did not avail.
He applied dust, and filled it there and then,
Answered by another arrow as soon as he could.
As he fell from his horse that noble
Exclaimed: "How brave he is, without rival!"
Meanwhile someone drew near riding an elephant
And faced him, bracing up his heart;

Lagāyā use tīr aisā shıtāb,
Jo de nā sakā pher ūskā jawāb.
Yahī īse moṇ ā koī, nezā sambhāl,
Gharūrī seṇ Sayyad pah de de nıkāl.
Jo dekhā ūse tīr māryā ūchhal;
Paṛā nīche ghoṛe ūpar teṇ nikal,
Dikhā mūṇh jhokāwe, nigaroṇ phir ā,e.
Hathī ko ishārat soṇ āge chalā,e.
So īse moṇ ko pīrzādah, faqīr,
Napat bānk, paṭe moṇ thā be-naẓīr,
Hathī hūl ā-ke hū,ā ıū-ba-rū,
Kıh jānoṇ Niẓāmu-l-mulk hū-bah-hū.
Yakāyak ūse tīr aisā jaṛyā
Jo haudaj meṇ be-hosh ho wah paṛyā;
Zakhm par zakhm jab lage pech-o-tāb,
Hū,ā sust ṭuk Sayyad-i-'alā-janāb.
Prān ā-paṛe, mār talwār ke,
Baḍe zor ke, aur bade thār ke;
'Azīzāṇ ga,e chhūṭ, sāre nikal,
Nah sīdhī baghl ko, nah dāṇwī baghl;
Jıdhar dekhtā hai, ūdhar "Mār! Mār!"
Kahā: "Jo raẓā-i-pāk-i-parwardigār!"
Saṭā hāth himmat soṇ shamsher par,
Neohar-kar lagāwe jis haudaj ūpar,
Saṭe ḍhāl, haudaj kī dandiyāṇ ko kāt,
Lage jahāṇ tahāṇ khol de chaukiyāṭ.
Līyā ā-ke jodhāṇ ne haudaj koṇ gher;
Rakhā jīwanā bahut hīyā dil daler,
Do hāthāṇ soṇ shamsher-bāzī kīyā;
Magar Karbalā bhar-ke tāzī kīyā.
To īse moṇ ā ek golī lagī,
Wah golī nahīṇ, balkih haulī lagī.
Kahā: "Ko nafr hai, to pānī pılāo,
"Kahāṇ āb-bardār hai, leo, bulā,o!"
Nah pānī athā wahāṇ, nah koī āb-dār.
Lagā ronheṇ jo laṛne ke tān be-yās mār;
Jase tīr mārī, karī chūr chūr,
Jab lak tan moṇ jīū thā, o tab lak shu,ūr;
Ankhiyā par teṇ lohū chal-āyā be-shumār,
I agā pūnchhan apne rūmāl kār,
Bandhī muṇh pai jālī lohū ke tamām,
Rahā dekhne soṇ wah Sayyad, Imām.
Sūnwāe 'azīzāṇ-i-roshan-ẓamīr,
Lagī ekale tan pai chhatīs tīr,
The nau wār neze o talwār ke,
Wahm nahīṇ kīya kūchh is azār ke,
Nawāre luhū ke ūchhal ban lage,
Nikal bhār haudaj soṇ chalnan lage.
Yah thā ek tan, wah hazārāṇ ke ghol,
Hū,ā ma'rke moṇ judā sar soṇ khol,

He shot him, too, with an arrow so quickly,
That he had no time to give it an answer.
On this came someone grasping a spear,
With boldness advanced to attack the Sayyad.
Seeing this he sprang up and shot an arrow;
The man fell from his horse to the ground,
He reeled, showed his face, his eyes turned.
With a touch he urged on his elephant.
Thereupon one of a saintly line, a mendicant,
Absolutely peerless with bent dagger and rapier,
Driving his elephant came face to face,
You might take him for Niẓām-ul-Mulk himself.
Of a sudden this man so struck him with an arrow
That he fell down on his seat and fainted;
From wound after wound he twisted and turned,
He was a little weakened, was the lofty Lord.
Coming to his senses, he used his sword,
With great force, with the greatest skill;
His friends had left him, all had bolted,
None was on the right hand, none on the left;
Wherever you look, there came "Strike, Strike."
He said: "The pure will of the Cherisher be done!"
He laid hand with courage on his sword.
When, stooping, he brought it down on a haudah,
It pierced the shield and cut the haudah's frame,
Wherever it fell, the woodwork broke to pieces.
The fighters came and stood round the haudah:
He held his breath, hardened his heart,
With both hands he wielded his sword;
Nay, he played out Karbalā in full.
On this there came a bullet and hit him,
It was not a ball, it was Fate itself.
He said: "Is there no one, give me water,
"Where is the butler, bring him, call!"
No water was there, no butler to be found.
He fell to weeping, all hope of fighting o'er;
He had shot on, cut them into little bits,
So long as breath was left, and any sense;
From his eye much blood did flow,
He began wiping it, taking his handkerchief,
His face was all covered with streaks of blood,
That Sayyad and Priest could see no longer.
Friends have told us, clear of mind,
That on his single body were thirty-six wounds,
Nine were gashes of spear and sabre,
He paid no heed to these hurts.
Fountains of blood began to spurt,
Came out of the haudah and flowed onward.
This was one man, they a crowd of thousands,
In battle-field the head was severed from its case,

Lagā jab sete ā-ke golā nadān,	When there came a ball of a sudden.
Nikal rūḥ tan taiṇ, kīyā tab ūdān,	His soul fled from his body, he gave up vital breath,
Jigar ṭūṭ, lohū jab āya haluk,	His liver burst, and when blood came lightly
Chale, ḥaif! tan par taiṇ lagan ḍhaluk.	It began, alas! to run down from the body.
Mug̲h̲al ā chaḍhe ṭūṭ haudaj ūpar,	A Mughal climbed violently on to the haudah,
Mū,e par lage mārneṇ phir k̲h̲anjar.	Began once more to strike the face with his hanger.
Nah jīū thā, nah kūchh rūḥ kā thā nishān,	There was no life, nor any sign of breath,
Nah dam thā, nah kis kār hāthā na jān,	He breathed not, he had no movement of life.
Dīyā ḍāl haudaj tale K̲h̲ān koṇ,	The K̲h̲ān was thrown down from the haudah,
So ūs koṇ bhare la'l-i-be-jān koṇ;	Thus they dealt with that life-bereft jewel;
Thī tārīk̲h̲ navvīṇ jo Shawwāl kī.	It was the 9th of the month of Shawwāl.
Hū,e s̲h̲ahr moṇ k̲h̲abar is hāl kī,	News was brought to the city of this thing,
Maḥal moṇ dīyā jā kaheṇ yah k̲h̲abar	They went into the women's rooms to tell them
Kih tal ūpar hai āj sārā shahr,	That to-day all the city is in confusion,
Kahte haiṇ jo 'Ālim 'Alī K̲h̲ān koṇ,	It is said that 'Ālim 'Alī K̲h̲ān,
Sayādat ke masnad ke Sultān koṇ,	King of the throne of the Sayyads,
Līyā mār las̲h̲kar awārā hūwā.	Has been killed by an invading army.
Imāmat ke ghar moṇ andhārā hūwā,	Darkness has fallen on the Priestly house,
Chhipā jag sete wah mubārik-badan,	That blessed body is hidden from the world,
'Alī ke k̲h̲izānah kā k̲h̲āṣā ratn.	That choice jewel of the treasure house of 'Alī.
Lejāne kī begī, s̲h̲itābī kīyā,	In taking his army forth he was too quick and hasty,
Le jā-kar, dekho, k̲h̲arābī kīyā.	Having taken it, see what harm has been done.
Hū,ā g̲h̲ulelā gul maḥal moṇ tamām,	There was weeping and wailing throughout the palace,
Jo khānā o pānī hū,ā sabh ḥarām,	All eating and drinking were forsaken.
Ūthī māeṇ afsos kar, āh mār,	His mother arose, with sadness and sighing,
Kare g̲h̲ul soṇ be jān-ke kahāṇ, be-chār!	She wailed, knowing not where she was, poor soul!
Zamīn sak̲h̲t hai, āsmān dūr hai,	The earth is hard, the heavens far away,
Dard māṇ dekho K̲h̲ān kī ḥūr hai!	Behold the woe of the K̲h̲ān's mother, O Houri!
Kahī mā: "Ai farzand mere, nau-nihāl,	His mother sobbed: "O son of mine in youthful beauty!
"Hū,ā dekhnā mujh-koṇ terā maḥāl!	"To see thee once more is not allowed me!
"Kahāṇ hai tū, farzand, 'Ālim 'Alī!	"Where art thou, O son, my 'Ālim 'Alī!
"Terī g̲h̲am soṇ sar paṇw lag maiṇ jalī!	"For grief of thee I burn from head to foot!
"Falak-i-be-mihr ne kyā kīyā sitam!	"Oh cruel heavens, what violence have you done!
"Ganeo āyā mere dhakdhakī kā padam!	"Lost is my necklet's most lovely jewel!
"Ūjālā mere ghar ke īwān kā!	"Cast down the gateway-pillar of my house!
"Falak badr pūr-i-nūr āsmān kā!	"My moon of heaven in a sky of light!
"Mere zeb o zīnat kā thā gul, gulāb,	"Of all adornments he was the rose of roses,
"Toṛā-kar kīyā sabh chaman koṇ k̲h̲arāb.	"By pulling it the whole flower-bed is ravaged.
"Hū,ā 'ais̲h̲ o ārām moṇ kyā k̲h̲alal,	"O how are my ease and delight destroyed,
"Qiyāmat lagoṇ tab rahega yah maṣal —	"To Resurrection Day this will stand an example—
"Hazār ārzū aur armān soṇ	"With a thousand desires and longings
"Maiṇ pālā thā 'Ālim 'Alī K̲h̲ān koṇ,	"I have tended my 'Ālim 'Alī K̲h̲ān,
"Kahāṇ wah, kahāṇ ūs kī jawānī ga,ī?	"Whither is he fled, where has his youth vanished?
"Sakal k̲h̲āk moṇ ūskī jawānī ga,ī.	"Under the earth has his whole youth vanished,

" Kahūn kya, jo pūchhenge mūjh kon Nawāb:
" ' Kahān hai wah farzand, mubārik-naqāb ?
" ' Apas hāth son kyūn ganwāyā ūsen
" ' Nanhan 'umr men kyūn khapāyā ūsen,
" ' Mana' nā kīyā kyūn tum is bāt kon,
" ' Ganwāyā bahādur mere sāth son!' "
Nah khāwe, nah pīwe, achhe zār zār,
Machhī jyun taraphtī hai, tyūn be-qarār,
Ho be-khūd kahe tal milā hānk mār;
" Ai Hāfiz ! Ai Nāsir ! Ai Parwardigār !
" Pakar hāth sompā thā, yā Rabb, tūjhe !

" Sabab kyā jo phir nā dikhāyā mūjhe !
" Thī umed yahī dil mon dīdār kī,
" Merī fauj, lashkar ke sardār kī ;
" Kahte the : ' Fath pā par ke jab āwenge,
" ' Yahī sūrat navvīn sar tain dikhlā denge.'
" Phir āwan kī khabarān men khairāt kī,
" Khhabar kūchh nah thī mujh kon is bāt kī.
" Are ! Koī is gham kā dārū batāo,
" Mūjhen is ghadryān sen begī chhodāo."
Ho be-sudh parī, hosh, sudh, budh ghawāe:
Ankhiyān tain anchhū dhal jhote jawāe,

Mahal ke jite log zer-o-zabar,
Pare haif khā khā-ke, sabh be-khabar,
Kahen kyūn, mahal mon andhārā dise ;
Khudā bāj ko nahīn kahīn ab kise,
Na faryād kon ko, na kafr dayād kon.

Ga,e har tarah Daulatābād kon ;
Shahr, mulk thā, jin ke farmān mon,
So yūn jā pare, koh-i-wairān mon.
Nah thā kis kon zahrah, na kis kon majāl,
Sake mār dam, yā kare kūchh suwāl,
Chhadhāwe le-jā pal mon aflāk par,
Sate pal mane khāk kā khāk kar.
Tūlā Rām, dīwān, Kāyath, qadīm,
Ithā sāth ūs hādisah men khadīm.

Parinde ko tāqat nah pankh mārne,
Nah yārāe athā, kis kon dam kārne ;
Jase pāedārī, so nā-yāb hai,
Yah dunyā, dekho, sar-ba-sar khwāb hai.
Gyā lūt mon māl, asbāb sab,
Yah qissah nahīn, hai hikāyat-i-'ajab ;
Jo bolen bachan sūjh dastūr thā,
Karm rāt-din jin kā mashhūr thā,
Kahān wah damāme, naqāre, nishān,
Kahān wah 'arābah, kahān top, bān,

" What shall I say when the Nawāb asks me :
" ' Where is that blessed son, O veiled one ?
" ' From your hand why allow him to be lost,
" ' In youthful years why made you away with him,
" ' Wherefore did you not forbid his action,
" ' You have lost for me that brave one !' "
She ate not, she drank not, wept without ceasing,
Ever restless like a fish in its death-throes,
Out of her senses, tossing about, calling aloud ;
" O Guarder ! O Helper ! O Cherisher !
" Taking his hand I made him over, O Lord, to Thee !
" Why have you not restored him to my sight !
" This hope I cherished in my heart, to see him,
" This leader of my army and forces ;
" He said : ' After the victory I will return,
" ' This form I will display to you anew.'
" For news of his return I bestowed much alms,
" Of this event I had not the least knowledge.
" Alas ! Tell me the physic for this sorrow,
" Someone rescue me at once from this oppression."
They lay senseless, all understanding eclipsed :
From the eyes of the young and lovely fell torrents of tears,
All those dwelling in the palace were lost in grief,
With sobbing and sighing lying senseless,
What can I say, darkness fell on the palace ;
Except it be God, who else is there now,
No one to complain to, no one to provide a winding-sheet.
Somehow or another they reached Daulatābād ;
She under whose orders had been city and country
Went out thus, camped among the lonely hills.
No one had the spirit, nor was it feasible —
No one could say a word, or ask a question,
He was carried off in a moment to the skies,
Hurriedly, in one moment, he returned to dust.
Tulā Rām, his dīwān, a Kāyath, of long service,
Did his duty and followed him in this sudden calamity.
A bird had not the power to flap its wings,
No one had the power to breathe a word ;
Lasting fame no one can attain,
This world, behold, is nothing but a dream.
Lost by plunder was all his baggage,
It is not an idle tale, it is a strange true story ;
He whose custom it was to speak truth,
He whose constant generosity was notorious,
Where are his big drums, kettle-drums, standards,
Where are his guns, where his cannon and rockets,

Hazārāṇ the ghoṛe, hāthī be-shumār,
Hazārāṇ jhaṛī dār the jinke duwār,
Ṣadr masnadāṇ jā-ba-jā, thār thār,
Āgeṇ ḥauẓ-i-lab-rez ur gul-i-bahār,

Kahāṇ ṣalābat, kahāṇ wah hukm,
Kahāṇ fauj, lashkar, kahāṇ wah ḥashm ;
Hazārān so bakhshish kareṇ the madām,
Sakal bādshāhī moṇ 'izzat-i-tamām.

Sūdishtā ! yah kyā kīyā sitām ! Hāe ! hāe !
Yah dunyā hai aise koṇ, kīyā koī na pāe,
Kahāṇ hai wah daulat, kahāṇ wah ḥāl,
'Ajab qudratāṇ teriyān, ẕu,l-jalāl !
Kahe mil apas mon apan ahl-i-rāz,
Sayādat kā nā-haqq dubāyā jahāz,
Nabwat kī angushtarī kā nagīn,

Jigar goshah-i-Fāṭimah bi,l-yaqīn,
Parā gard lohū mane lāl ho,
Girā ekalā ran moṇ be-ḥāl ho ;
Yah gham jag moṇ jab āshkārā hū,ā
Jigar ṭūṭ 'ālam kā, pārā hū,ā.
Hazār āh, afsos, ai dostān !
Chhipā, ḥaif !, dunyā taiṇ wahū nau-jawān !

'Ajab Sayyad, 'ālā-nisbat, khān thā,
Farāsat ke daftar kā Sulṭān thā,
Kahāṇ dhūndhiyāṇ ab, kaho, Khān koṇ,
Risālat kī motī pareshān koṇ ?
Nanhe 'umr moṇ kyūṇ khapāyā ūse ?
Le jā-kar, dekho, dūkh dikhāyā ūse.
Nah ārām dil kon, nah khātir qarār,
Jigar jal dharaktā hai, jaisā angār,
Jī,e lag nah ab kis taiṇ yārī kareṇ,
Yah gham dil moṇ rakh, burd-bārī kareṇ;

Dunyā hai daghā-bāz, fānī-maqām,
Hai dil bāndhnāṇ is soṇ bi,l-kull ḥarām.
Qila'h kā qila'h-dār-i-'ālā-qadr
Sayādat ke nāte pe rakh kar naẕr,
Līyā qila'h moṇ, ur kahā āshkār ;
" Maiṇ momin, musulmān, dīndār,
" Tumhāre mere lāj ik lāj hai.
" Merā qaul tūmanā sete āj hai,
" Rafāqat tūmhārī jī ke sanghāt,
" Maiṇ jāgīr, manṣab taiṇ dhoweṇ haiṇ hāth,
" Jo kūchh ho thārā haregā so ho,
" Maiṇ baiṭhā hūṇ, sab bāt soṇ hāth dho,

Thousands of horses, uncounted elephants,
With their abundance of jerks and whirls,
Seats of authority spread out in rows,
Before him full fountains and the blossoms of spring,

Where is all that show, where all that splendour,
Where army and camp, where all that array ;
For ever gave he thousands of gifts,
Throughout the Empire had he completest honour.

O Sūdisht ! what crime is this ? Alas ! woe is me !
Such is this world, no one gets his due,
Where is that wealth, where that position,
Strange are Thy judgments, O Omnipotent !
Those in the secret say, gathered together,
The ship of the priestly line is wrecked,
The central stone in the signet ring of the Prophet's house,

The heart in the bosom of Fāṭimah, the veritable,
He fell in the dust reddened with his blood,
He fell in single combat all exhausted ;
When this grief became known to the world
Everybody's heart broke and fell in pieces.
Alas ! a thousand times alas ! O friends !
Vanished from the world, O woe ! is that comely youth !

A wonderful Lord of high degree, a Khān was he,
King in the council of the sagacious.
Where now shall we seek, tell me, for that Khān,
That scattered pearl of heavenly mission ?
In tender age why have you destroyed him ?
He was taken, you see, and beheld sorrow.
No peace for my mind, the heart never at rest,
My liver on fire, blazing like a hot coal,
All my life long no further friend have I,
Hiding this grief in my heart I will silently suffer ;

The world is but a deceiver, a passing show,
Attachment to it is altogether wrong.
The fort-commander of high degree
Looked with favour on the Prophet's descendant,
Took her into the fort and said openly :
" I am orthodox, a believer, a religious man,
" Your desires and mine are one and the same.
" This day I pledge you my word,
" I take your side with heart and soul,
" I wash my hands of rank and lands,
" Come what come may,
" Here I sit, having washed my hands of everything,

"'Rakho dil-jama', aur khātir qarār,
"Laṛūngā, jo chal āweṇge lak suwār."

Dılāsā dīyā, aur kahāyā salām,
Dīyā khūb rahne koṇ, khāṣā maqām.
Mubārik terā naṇwṇ tūjh par achho!
Yah nīyat terā tūjh rahbar achho!
Shujā'at ke ṭaure meṇ tūṇ mard hai,
Bahādur, shujā', ṣāhıb-i-dard hai,
Marātib soṇ mardī ke hai be nazīr,
Muhammad se nit ūchho dastgīr!
Jo bolā bachan so rakhā bar qarār,
Achho shāh mardān kā tis din adhār,
Dū jag moṇ natījah bada pāega.
Dunya sahal hai, nā tūn iah jāegā.
Hū,ā ba'd-az-ān ghul Hindūstān moṇ,
Hūwā jang Mughal ur Miyān Khān soṇ,

Shahādat kare Khān taiṇ ikhtiyār,
Kare maghfarat Khān koṇ Parwardigār!
Hū,ī jab khabar jā yah Nawāb koṇ,
Risālat ke mimbar kī mihrāb koṇ,
Kih 'Ālim 'Alī, Sayyad bā-khair,
Kīyā 'ālame ma'navī par safar,
Sūnā ur parā gham ke jā āg moṇ,
So 'Ālim 'Alī Khān ke bairāg moṇ.
Kahā: "Khod ḍārūn Dakhin kī zamīn,
"Yah kyā bāt hamanā pah āwe kamīn,
"Ba ḥaqq-i-Khudāwand-i-gun-o-makān
"Nah Mughalāṇ koṇ chhoḍūṇ nah Mughale kā nāṇ."
Mangā topkhānā baḍe dāb kā,
Bangālā, Pūrab, aur Panjāb kā,
Mangāe kahak bān sabh Hind ke,
Dilī, Āgare, aur Sahrind ke,
Jazāīl, shutarnāl, ka,e hazār;
Kī,e ṣāf dho-dhā-ke sabh ko tayār,
Ghilāfāṇ kī,e sabh koṇ bānāt ke,
Surkh, sabz, aur zard ke bhānt ke.
Hazārāṇ jawān-mard, shamsher-zan,
Mile ā-ke Bārhe soṇ, saṭ de watan,
Līyā sāth ahshām chauṇsaṭh hazār,
Apas the shujā'at moṇ ik nāmdār.

Ūthe bol: "Agar hai mere tan moṇ jān,
"Lagā kar Lankā lag karūṇgā ūdān."
Kahā jazab soṇ: "Ai Khudāwandigār!
"Nizāmāṇ soṇ mujh ko milā ek bār!
"Agar mujh-ko dushman merā pāe to,
"Nikal jāweṇ, jo sāmhne ā,e to."

"Make yourself easy, set your heart firmly,
"Fight I will, should thousands of horsemen arrive."
He reassured her, sent his compliments,
He made over to her excellent quarters.
Fortunate be thy name to thee!
May this thy purpose lead thee aright!
In the ranks of the brave you are a true man,
Valorous, bold, of compassionate heart,
In the ranks of the valiant unequalled,
May Muhammad ever protect thee!
The word he had spoken he acted up to,
On the day when salvation is granted to brave men,
In both worlds he will obtain great reward.
This world is an illusion, nor shalt thou endure.
After this began an outcry in Hindūstān,
There had been fighting between the Mughal and the Miyān,
The Khān had elected for martyrdom,
May the Cherisher give the Khān pardon of sins!
When this report was brought to the Nawāb,
This chief place in the pulpit of religious effort,
That 'Ālim 'Alī, the Sayyad of lucky fate,
Had journeyed to the Eternal Mansions,
He heard, and with grief was set on fire
At being separated from 'Ālim 'Alī.
He said: "I will dig up all the Dakhin lands,
"What thing is this done to me in ambush,
"I swear by the Ruler of Heaven and Earth
"Not one Mughal, nor shall any Mughal's name be left."
He sent for artillery of the heaviest calibre,
From Bengal and the East and the Panjāb,
Sent for the screeching rockets of all Hind,
From Dillī and Āgrah and Sahrind,
Of wall-pieces, camel-guns, many thousands;
They were cleaned and washed out, all made ready,
For all he made covers of broad cloth,
Scarlet, green, and yellow-coloured.
Thousands of strong fighters, wielders of swords,
Came and joined the Bārha, leaving their homes,
Bringing a gathering of sixty-four thousand,
Among themselves one and all renowned for valour.
He spoke aloud: "If life be left in my body
"I will work down to Lankā and give it as a gift."
He said with rage: "O Lord Most High!
"Bring me but once in face of the Nizām!
"If ever my enemy should be found by me,
"He will be wiped out, should he confront me."

to a Ṛishi called Kharōshṭha. The name is certainly not flattering, but there are analogies among the names of saints.[2] On the other hand, European savants have made ingenious comparisons to Kharōshtra, particularly with such names as Zardusht, Zarathushtra.[3]

Other information, also of Chinese origin, seems to open up fresh theories as to the source of the name Kharōshthī. This is independent of the schools of the Siddham, where the Sanskrit characters were studied with regard to their mystic value. It is not offered in support of any theory, but as [247] an independent fact, so that critics may accept it without any doubt as to its honesty and correctness.

I borrow from the *Sin-yi Ta-fang-kuang Fo-hua-yen-king yin-yi* of Huei-yuan. This is one of the texts, which have fortunately been preserved in the Corean collection, and which, in the excellent Japanese edition of the Tripitaka, are now at the service of science. The author, Huei-yuan, according to the catalogue, lived under the T'ang Dynasty.[4] The biographical dictionary of celebrated monks, which I brought from Japan, confounds him with the priest Hiuan-yuan, also called Fa-yuan and Huei-yuan, whose biography may be found in the *Siu-kao-seng-ch'oan*, ch. xxviii.; but this priest flourished in the Cheng-kuan period (627-649) and lived in the Monastery of P'u-kuang, whilst the author of the *Yin-yi* resided at the Monastery of Tsing-fa; besides, the *Yin-yi* is, as its complete title indicates, an explanation of the difficult words of "the new translation of the *Avataṁsakasūtra*," by Śikshānanda, 695-699. The work cannot be earlier than the 8th century.

In the 45th chapter of the new translation of the *Avataṁsaka* (Jap. ed. I. fasc. 3, p. 22[b]), which corresponds to the 29th chapter (Jap. ed. I. fasc. 8, p. 46[b]) of the old translation by the Indian monk Buddhabhadra, of the family of the Śâkyas (between 399 and 421), the Buddha enumerates the localities predestined to serve for all time as residences for the Bōdhisattvas, and the Bōdhisattvas destined for all time to preach the law in each of these localities.

The list opens with a series of imaginary mountains, situated at the cardinal points, at the intermediate points, and also in the sea; then comes the real world.

To the South of *Pi-che-li* (Vaiśālī) is a place called Good Resting-place (Susthāna ?); from earliest antiquity the Bōdhisattvas live there.

In the town of *Pa-lien-fu* (Pātaliputra) is a place named the Seng-kia-lan of the Lamp of Gold (Suvarṇa-dīpa-saṁghārāma); from earliest antiquity, &c.[5]

In the town of *Mo-t'u-lo* (Mathurā; Buddhabhadra writes *Mo-yu-lo*: Mayūra) is a place named the Grotto of Abundance (*Man-tsu-k'u*; Buddhabhadra says: "the Merit of the Upkeep which yields Increase," *Ch'ang-yung-kong-to*); from earliest, &c.

In the town of *Kiu-chen-na* (Buddh.: *Kiu-chen-na-ya*, Kuṇḍina) is a place named the Seat of the Law (Dharmāsana); from earliest, &c.

[2] Bühler, *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morg.* Bd. IX, S. 66. [3] Cf. Weber, *Ind. Streifen*, Bd. III., S 8-9.

[4] M. Lévi has here added a note, as follows — I have since ascertained that the edition of the Ming contains still another recension of the same work, it is entered under No. 1603 in Nanjio's Catalogue. The author's name, written Hwui-wān by Nanjio, figures in Appendix III. of the same Catalogue, under No. 32 · "Hwui-wān, a priest who in about A. D. 700 compiled 1 work, viz., No. 1306" The Sung-kao-seng ch'oan, compiled in A. D. 988, gives a biographical notice of that person (Japanese ed XXXV 4, 94[b]): it does not contain any precise date; but it is inserted between two biographies, of which one refers itself to A. D 766 and the other to A. D. 782. We might thus be tempted to place Huei-yuan about that same period. But he is certainly earlier, because his name and his book are mentioned in the K'ai-yuen shi-kiao lu (Japanese ed. XXVIII 4, 83[a]), a catalogue compiled in A. D. 730. Huei-yuan is there shewn after I-tsing and Bōdhiruchi, — of whom the former died in A D 713 and the latter in A. D. 727, — and immediately before Tche-yen and Vajrabōdhi, of whom the former began to translate in A. D 721 and the latter in A D. 723. Huei-yuan, then, composed his work in the first quarter of the eighth century.

[5] This is wanting in the translation of Śikshānanda.

In the town of *Tsing-tsing-pei-ngan* (Pure-Pure this border ?) is a place named the Grotto (Buddhabhadra says : " the Merit ")[6] of *Mu-che-lin-to* (Muchilinda) ; from earliest, &c.

In the kingdom of *Mo-lan-to* (? ; Buddhabhadra says: in the Land of the Wind) is a place named the Institution of the King of the Dragons without Obstacle (apratigha) ; from earliest, &c.

In the kingdom of *Kan-pu-che* (Kambōja) is a place **[248]** named Supreme Benevolence (Uttama-maitrī ?) ; from earliest, &c.

In the kingdom of *Chen-t'an* (Chīna-sthāna) is a place named the Grotto of *Na-lo-yen* (Buddhabhadra writes: the Mountain of *Na-lo-yen* : Nārāyaṇa-parvata) ; from earliest, &c.

In the kingdom of *Shu-le* (Buddhabhadra says: of the Neighbouring Barbarians: *Pien-yi*) is a place named Head of the Cow (Gōśīrsha) ; from earliest, &c.

In the kingdom of *Kia-she-mi-lo* (Kāśmīra ; Buddhabhadra : of *Ki-pin*) is a place named the Series (Buddhabhadra : the Mountain *Wu-ti-shi*, Uddēśa) : from earliest, &c.

In the town of Intense Joy (Buddhabhadra : *Nan-ti-po-tan-na*, Nandipattana) is a lake named the Grotto of the Honourable (Buddhabhadra : *Ti-lo-feu-ho*) ; from earliest, &c.

In the kingdom of *Ngan-feu-li-mo* is a place named the Splendour of a Hundred-thousand Treasures (*Yi-tsang-kuang-ming* ; Buddhabhadra says: Straight and Oblique) ; from earliest, &c.

In the kingdom of *Kien-t'o-lo* (Gandhāra) is a place named the Grotto of *Shen-po-lo* (Jambhala ; Buddhabhadra says: of the Pure Retreat) ; from earliest, &c.[7]

Huei-yuan's *Yin-yi* gives very few comments on this passage : among so many interesting names, he glosses only : Vaiśālī, Mathurā, Kuṇḍina, Chīna, Nārāyaṇa, *Shu-le*, *Ngan-feu-li-mo*, and Gandhāra. We learn nothing from him, except with regard to *Shu-le*. "The correct form," he says, "of the name *Shu-le* is *K'ia-lu-shu-tan-le*.[8] We have for a long time accepted the abbreviated *Shu-le* : and it has become customary to substitute the sound *shū* for the sound *shú*." This is the name of a mountain of this kingdom, whence it is derived. It is said also to mean 'Evil Nature,' and to refer to the temperament of the inhabitants."

This gloss is found word for word in the commentary on the *Avataṁsaka-sūtra*, composed at the end of the 8th century by Ch'eng-kuan, the fourth patriarch of the Avataṁsaka school, who died at over seventy years of age, between 806 and 820. He has copied his predecessor's work, without the slightest alteration, in the 47th chapter of his commentary, the *Ta-fang-kuang Fo-hua-yen-king-shu* (Nanjio, No. 1589 ; Jap. ed. XXVIII. fasc. 4, p. 8b). In his enormous sub-commentary to the

[6] In this as in the preceding case Buddhabhadra seems to have read the last term of the phrase *guṇa*, whereas Śikshānanda read *guhā*.

[7] M. Lévi has here added a note, as follows : — I have found another list, analogous and almost parallel, in the collection entitled Mahā-saṁnipāta-sūtra (Ta-tsi king ; Japanese ed. III. 3, 52-53), a section of the Sūrya-garbha-sūtra : —

At Vaiśālī is the residence of the holy man Shen-chou (good-stay) meu-ni (muni) ; . . . . in Magadha, that of the holy man Pi-pu-lo peng-kia meu-ni (? Vipulāpāṅga muni) ; . . . at Mathurā, that of the holy man Ngai-yu-yen (loves-mist-fire) ; . . . . in Kōsala, that of the holy man She-ye sheou-t'o meu-ni (? Jayaśuddha muni) ; . . . . at Su-po-la-ka-sa-che-meu-chi-lin-to-lo (*sic*: Supāraka [Sōpāra ; evidently corresponds to Tsing-tsing pei-ngan, 'pure bank,' su-pāra]) sacha (?) Muchilinda that of the holy man Hiang (perfume) ; . . . . in Gandhāra, that of the holy man Ta-li-she-na jou-mo-lo meu-ni (Darśanajñāmala muni) ; . . . . in Kipin (Kapiśa or Kāśmīra), that of the holy man Kong-[kong-]mo-ni-k'ia meu-ni (? Kuṅkuma . . muni) ; . . . . in Ngan-feu-li-mo, that of the holy man Yi-ts'ang-yen meu-ni (myriad-depot-flame) ; . . . . in Chen-t'an, that of the holy man Na-lo-ye-na fo-lo-po-so meu-ni (Nārāyaṇa . . . . muni) ; . . . . at Yu-t'ien [Khotan], on the mountainous bluff of the river near the mountain Meu-t'eu (cow-head ; Gōśīrsha), that of the holy man Kiu-mo-po-(*or* so-)lo hiang (? Gōma-sāra-gandha).

In this list Khotan (Yu-t'ien) replaces Kashgar (Shu-le) ; but this last town is mentioned a little further on, in another exposition.

The Chinese translation of the Sūrya-garbha-sūtra has for its author Narēndrayaśas, and for its date between A. D. 589 and 618.

[8] The text of the Japanese edition presents by mistake *yi* for *k'ia* ; but a comparison with following texts allows us to restore *k'ia* with confidence.

Sūtra, the *Ta-fang . . . shu-yen-yi-ch'ao* (Nanjio, No. 1590; Jap. ed. XXVII. fasc. 9, p. 84[a], chap. 77) he again speaks of *Shu-le* and *K'ia-lu-shu-tan-le* as being equivalent. The same gloss on the name *Shu-le*, *à propos* of the same passage, is found in the excellent *Yi-tsie-king yin-yi* (chap. 22) of Huei-lin, a contemporary of Ch'eng-kuan, who also died in the Yuan-ho period (806-820), aged eighty-four years; this colossal compilation, which was not included in the Chinese canon, forms part of the Corean collection, and it is again to the editors of the Japanese Tripiṭaka that Western science owes this precious document. Huei-lin was a native of Kashgar; it was there, [249] without doubt, that he acquired the knowledge of Sanskrit, which he has utilised in his *Yin-yi*; in identifying *Shu-le* and *Kia-lu-shu-tan-le*, and in tracing the traditional interpretation of the name, he seems to recognize and prove the value of it (Jap. ed. XXXIX. fasc. 8, p. 144[a]).

Hi-lin, author of the *Siu-yi-tsi-king yin-yi*, who continued Huei-lin's work, repeats exactly the notice of his predecessor, with regard to *Shu-le*, in the itinerary of Wu-k'ong (Jap. ed. XXXIX. fasc. 8, p. 11[a]). I do not know the precise date of Hi-lin, but it can easily be inferred. Hi-lin represents his work as a supplement to the *Yin-yi* of Huei-lin, and the last of the texts which he glosses is the *Ta-t'ang cheng-yuan siu k'ai-yuan she-kiao lu* or Supplementary Catalogue edited by Yuan-chao who flourished in 778. The *Siu . . . . . yin-yi* of Hi-lin therefore belongs to the first half of the 9th century, and is immediately posterior to the *Yin-yi* of Huei-lin.

Thus the identity of *Shu-le* and *K'ia-lu-shu-tan-le* was accepted and taught in the Buddhist schools of China, during the 9th century. The transcription *K'ia-lu-shu-tan-le* leads directly back to an original *Kharōshṭra*. The use of *shu* in this case exactly corresponds to the only example which Stan. Julien gives in his *Méthode* (No. 1622). In the transcription "Pushpa: *Pu-shu-pa*," as in that of "Kharōshtra, *K'ia-lu-shu-tan-le*," *shu* serves to represent the cerebral sibilant immediately followed by a consonant, and placed after a syllable with a labial vowel: *u* in the one case, *ō* (= *a* + *u*) in the other.

The value of *Shu-le* itself is well known. It is the name which has been regularly employed since the time of the first Han Dynasty to denote the town of Kashgar. The Kharōshtra is therefore the country of Kashgar, and the Kharōshṭrī is very probably the writing of this country.

A few years ago this hypothesis would have seemed a very rash one. In his *Indische Palaeographie*, 1896, p. 19, Bühler wrote: "The Kharōshṭrī, as at present known, is an ephemeral "alphabet, almost purely epigraphic, of the North-West of India. Its proper domain lies between "69° and 73° 30′ E. long. and 33°—35° N. lat." The Kharōshṭrī manuscript of the *Dhammapada*, discovered in the environs of Khotan, and acquired partly by the mission of Dutreuil de Rhins, partly by M. Petrovski, at once confuted these two assertions; the Kharōshtrī was a writing of scribes and copyists, and was employed, exactly as the Brāhmī was, to reproduce literary or religious texts; and the limits of its domain extended at one leap to 77° E. long. and 37° N. lat. The districts of Khotan and Kashgar have continued ever since then to supply new documents. In a recent communication, M. Stein, who has explored the region of Takla Makan, announced that, on the old banks of the Niya River, 37° N. lat. and 82° 20′ E. long., he had found five hundred inscriptions on tablets of wood in Kharōshṭrī characters. It appears more and more evident that the Kharōshṭrī was the writing of Central Asia, [250] of the country of Kharōshṭra. Henceforth it would be wise to abandon the incorrect form Kharōshṭhī and to return to the authentic form Kharōshṭrī, set aside by mistake.

Can this name Kharōshṭra be explained? The Chinese interpretation, which renders it "evil-nature," recalls the interpretation of the name *Ki-pin*, also supplied by Chinese tradition. *Ki-pin* would signify "miserable race." On all sides there is the same tendency to give a contemptuous etymology to names of barbarian countries. The name Kapiśā naturally evoked the Sanskrit *kapiśa*, "monkey colour," and *kapi* "monkey": the temptation to apply such an etymology to barbarians was too grateful to be resisted. Kharōshtra could also be analysed in Sanskrit: *khara*, "ass," + *ushṭra*, "camel." The facetious monks, who came from India, would spread this false etymology, and the

Chinese admitted that the name of the country was explained by "the natural perverse temperament of the inhabitants."

The first term indeed of the name may be "Kara," which enters into the composition of so many geographical names in Turki countries. From this point of view it may be interesting to notice that according to the *Sūrya-garbha-sūtra* (*Je-tsang-king*; Nanjio, No. 62; Jap. ed. III. fasc. 3, p. 53a) the name of Khotan (*Yu-t'ien*) under Kāśyapa Buddha, — that is to say the most ancient known name of Khotan, — was *Kia-lo-sha-mo*, where the element *Kara* again seems to appear. Because of its singular assonance, I again recall the name of the Prince Royal "Kharaosta Yuvaraja," son of Mahachhatrava Rajula, and brother of Chhatrava Śudasa, whose name is on the famous lion-pillar of Mathurā. Is it possible that the name of this Yuvarāja is a souvenir of the origin of this family with foreign names, which, coming into the heart of India with the Scythian conquest, was elevated to the dignity of Satraps?

The name of the country, Kharōshṭra, met with in the Chinese texts, sheds an unexpected light on a long description by Ktesias. The résumé of the Greek Doctor, incorporated in the Bibliotheca of Photius, gives a long description of the singularities of an Indian population called the *Kalystrioi*, which is equivalent to the Greek *Kynokephaloi*, otherwise the "Dog-heads." The *Kalystrioi* live in the mountains, in which the Hyparkhos (or Hypobares) has its source. This river flows from the north to the Eastern Ocean; its name means "the bearer of all good things" (*pherôn panta ta agatha*). The form and the meaning recall the Suvāstu of Sanskrit geography, designated by the pilgrim Hiuan-tsang by the name Subhavastu (*sic*) which becomes the Svât of modern geography. Buddhist tradition places the abode of the Nāga Apalāla, one of the most popular and important of the Nāgas, at the source of the Svāt. The Eastern Ocean, which receives the waters of the Hyparkhos, means for Ktesias nothing more definite than the seas to the east of Persia. Whether we have to do with the Svāt or another stream, the country of the Kalystrioi is to be found in the Hindu Kush, as their mountains "extend to the Indus." The Greek *Kalystrioi* leads directly to a [251] Sanskrit Kalushṭra; from Kalushṭra to Kharōshṭra the path is too simple for us to refuse to accept it, especially when one considers the route that this name must have traversed to reach Ktesias.

Greek tradition, it is true, does not take any notice of the real or supposed elements in the Sanskrit word Kharōshṭra; but the Chinese interpretation on the other hand is not more literal. The generic parentage of the two glosses is evident. "Dog-heads" or "evil-natures" indicate the disagreeable tendency to depreciate one's neighbour; the "natural coarseness" which the Chinese commentators lay to the credit of the Kharōshṭras to justify their name, is a counterpart of the wild roughness of the *Kalystrioi* of Ktesias. But there is no need to search far from the country of the *Kalystrioi* or Kharōshṭras to meet "Dog-heads" in the classic geography of India. The astronomer Varāha-Mihira (6th century), in his description of India (*Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, xvi. 28), places the Turagānanas, "Horse-faces," and the Śvamukhas, "Dog-heads," in the North, in the region of the Himālayas, between Trigarta (Jalandhar) and Takshaśilā (the town of Taxilēs). These two peoples are found together in a modern work, derived from an original Persian, the *Rōmakasiddhānta* (Cat. MSS. Oxon. 340a, 16); after them come the Kiṁnara-mukhas, "Kiṁnara-faced," other monsters with horse-heads who are usually placed on the borders of China. Lastly, the "Dog-heads" are again mentioned in a long list of populations of Central Asia which I intend to publish shortly; there, also, they are classed near the "Horse-headed," between the people of Khotan and Nepal, that is, in the Tibetan Himālayas. The Tibetan populations have exactly the traits of the *Kalystrioi* mentioned by Ktesias: mountaineers, hunters, eaters of meat, herdsmen, rich in sheep, above all dirty, with a dirtiness which is rendered still more striking by contrast with the regular and frequent ablutions of the Hindus. Their physiognomy, and their harsh language, bristling with monosyllables, also correspond with the description of the *Kalystrioi*.

Separated by an interval of a thousand years, the Greek and the Chinese evidence by their agreement show that the name Kharōshṭra was used, from the 5th century B. C., to denote the

barbarian peoples, Turks or Tibetans, who lived on the North-North-West confines of India, scattered among the Hindu Kush and the Himālayas, and on the slopes of the Pamirs. Having thus established the antiquity of the term, the antiquity of the name applied to the writing would seem to follow: the Kharōshtrī must have received this name at a time when the name of Kharōshtra was in ordinary use. Ktesias' passage proves that this name was known in the Iranian world, in the Persia of the Achemenides, four hundred years before the Christian era.

I think it will be useful to reproduce the notice of Ktesias here. The precise and natural details, while contrasting advantageously with his usual love for the marvellous and fabulous, are a warrant of the truthfulness of his evidence as to the *Kalystrioi*, which is not to be despised :—

[252] (20) "On these mountains, he writes, live men having the heads of dogs, wearing the skins of wild beasts, and using no articulate language ; they communicate with each other by barking like dogs. Their teeth are larger than the teeth of dogs, and their claws resemble those of dogs, but are larger and rounder. They live in the mountains, and are found as far as the Indus. They are swarthy, and, like all other Indians, very erect. They can communicate with the Indians, for, though they cannot answer in words, they understand what they say ; and by barking, and making signs with their heads and fingers, like deaf-mutes, they make themselves understood. The Indians call them *Kalystrioi*, which means in Greek *Kynokephaloi* (that is, "Dog-headed"). They live on raw meat. The whole tribe includes no less than 120,000 men."

(22) "The Kynokephaloi, dwelling in the mountains, practise no art, and live on the products of the chase. They kill their prey, and roast the flesh in the sun. But they rear sheep, goats, and asses, in great numbers. They drink the milk of sheep, and the whey which is made from it. They eat also the sweet fruit of the siptakhora, the tree which produces amber. They dry this fruit, and pack it in baskets, as the Greeks do the grape. They construct boats, load them with baskets, as well as with the blossoms of the purple flower, after having cleaned it, and with a weight of 260 talents of amber and an equal weight of the pigment which dyes purple, and 1,000 talents more of amber. They send all this cargo, which is the product of the season, annually, as tribute to the King of the Indians. They also take quantities of these same products to sell to the Indians, from whom they receive in exchange, bread, flour, and material made from a substance which grows on a tree (cotton). They sell swords similar to those which they use for hunting wild beasts, also bows and javelins, in the use of which they are expert. They cannot be conquered, owing to their mountains being rugged and without roads; the king also sends them, once in six years, as presents, 300,000 arrows, as well as javelins, 120,000 shields and 50,000 swords."

(23) "These Kynokephaloi have no houses, but live in caves. They hunt wild animals with the bow and boar-spear, and run so quickly that they can catch them. Their women bathe only once a month, at their periods. The men do not bathe at all, but simply wash their hands. Three times a month, however, they anoint themselves with an oil which they extract from milk, and dry themselves with skins. Dressed skins are the costume of the men and women. Rich men, however, who are few, wear cotton clothing. They have no beds, and sleep on litters of straw and leaves. Sheep constitute the only wealth, and the richest man is he [253] who possesses the greatest number of them. The men and women have a tail behind like dogs, but it is larger and more hairy. They copulate like quadrupeds, after the manner of dogs, and any other mode is considered shameful. They are erect, and live longer than any other men, attaining the age of 170 and sometimes of 200 years." — *Cf.* also fragm. XXI. (Tzetzes, *Chil.* vii., v., 716) ; XXII. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 2) ; XXIII. (Ælian, iv. 46).[9]

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[9] [See, also, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X., 1881, p. 310 ff.]

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS FROM A XVIITH CENTURY MS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART.

(Continued from Vol. XXXII. p. 470.)

GUDGE.

Fol. 94. They measure timber, planke brick or Stone walls, Callicoes, Silks &c pr the **Guz**: each **Guz** doth containe 27 inches.

See Yule, *s. v.* Gudge, with hardly any quotations.

GUNDA.

Fol. 94. One **Gunda** is 4 Cowries . . . 5 Gundas is one burrie or 20: Cowries.

Not in Yule. [*Vide ante,* Vol. XXVII. p. 171 ff., for the system of counting by *gaṇḍâs* or quartettes. See also Vol. XXVII. p. 266.]

GUNJA.

Fol. 39. but they find means to besott themselves Enough wth Bangha and **Gangah**.

Fol. 40. **Gangah** is brought from ye Island Sumatra and is oftentimes Sold here [Metchlipatam] at Very high rates. It is a thinge yt resembleth hemp Seed and groweth after ye same mannar . . . . **Gangah** beinge of a more pleasant Operation . . . . . They Study many ways to Vse it, but not One of them yt faileth to intoxicate them to admiration.

See Yule, *s. v.* Gunja, who, however, gives no history of the word.

HALALCORE.

Fol. 8. Soe that this very party is a most Scandalous person and accompted but a **Hololcore** untill he hath regained his cast.

See Yule, *s. v.* Halalcore: a very low-caste man, a "sweeper," scavenger.

HARSAPORE.

Fol. 59. from Point Conjaguaree to Palmeris ye River is called **Haraspoore.**

Not in Yule: a very early Factory and the first landing-place of the English in the Bay of Bengal: but see Yule, *s. v.* Factory, where he gives it doubtfully as **Arzapore**, on the Eastern or Coromandel Coast. [There is, however, no doubt about it: Haraspur or Harsapur was perhaps the earliest Factory in the "Bay": earlier even than Balasor and Pipli. See Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal,* Vol. I. p. 1 ff. The quotation above is very valuable.]

HAUT.

Fol. 94. They measure . . . . Callicoes, Silks &c . . . . . by ye Covet wch cont 18 inches and is called **hawt.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Haut, who gives, however, no quotations.

HINDOSTAN.

Fol. 25. Naiques (for soe ye **Hindoo** Governours are Entitled).

Fol. 59. Severall Radjas who before (ye Mahometan Conquest of ye **Hindoos**) possessed this Kingdome.

Fol. 71. always kept in his Court Sharpe witted fellows, yt made it theire businesse to prye into ye Estates of ye **Hindoo** Merchants.

See Yule, *s. v.* Hindoo.

HINDOSTAN.

Fol. 61. Bengala: It is one of ye largest and most Potent Kingdoms of **Hindostan** . . . . . . Chah Jehan (then Emperour of **Hindostan** . . . . The great Emperour of **Hindostan** . . . . . In the Throne of ye Vast Empire (of **Hindostan**).

Fol. 62. wch Soon after caused bloody Civil warrs in **Hindostan.**

Fol. 63. Moh-barock-bad, Hazarot, Salamet, El-hamd-ul-ellah, vizt God Save your Majestie, you have Obtained the Victorie, why Stay yu longer Upon your Elephant, in ye name of God come downe, he hath made yu the great Kinge of **Hindostan** [! !].

Fol. 77. The Elephants of Ceylone are best Esteemed here and all **Hindostan** over.

Fol. 84. Most Mahometans &c: of accompt in **Hindostan** Vse them [Gonges] at theire doors in ye Street where they have generally a Porch built . . . The English and Dutch have them at ye Gates of all there jnland ffactories: in this Kingdome and Others in **Hindostan**: Verifieinge ye Old Proverbe: Cum fueris Romæ, &c:

Fol. 97. Pattana: A Very large and potent Kingdome, but longe Since become tributarie to ye Emperours of **Hindostan** (or great Mogol).

See Yule, *s. v.* Hindostan. [Yule's earliest quotation in the restricted sense of the text is 1803.]

HINDOSTANEE.

Fol. 35. **ye Hindostan ore Moors Languadge.**

Fol. 41. fancyinge himselfe to be at ye Gates of the Pallace at Agra, Singeinge to that purpose in ye **Hindostan Languadge.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Hindostanee.

HOBSON-JOBSON.

Fol. 54. Of a great Giant called **Jansa Bainsa** . . . . . They place him in a great Chaire made for ye Same purpose runninge Vpon 4 Wheels for ye Easier drawinge of him through ye towne, he is called **Iansa Bainsah**: made of pasteboard leather &c: Stuffed wth Straw and Other Combustible ingredients; covered wth blew cloth, his head and face painted with Redd and White, Severall Resbutes and Others danceinge Round him with great drawne Swords, after ye manner of fenceinge, callinge Vpon him by his Name, wth many torches flaggs, Pipes and drums, and in this Posture he is drawne through the Principall Streets of ye towne [Golcondah], They burne him to dust in the Open Street about ye 12th houre in ye night.

See Yule, *s. v.* Hobson-Jobson. [There is, however, a doubt as to the ceremony in the text relating really to the much corrupted ceremony of the Muharram, though it might well be so.]

HOOGLY.

Fol. 73. he wold Every yeare Send downe to ye Merchants in **Hugly.**

Fol. 74. One of ye most admirable of wch arms [of the Ganges] is ye **Hugly riuer** . . . . This Riuer is soe named from ye great towne of **Hugly** Scituated Vpon ye banks of it neare 150 miles up from ye Braces or Shoals that lye at ye Entrance thereof . . . . The English ffactory here in **Hugly** is ye head or Chiefe ffactory in the 3 beforementioned Kingdoms and the residence of ye Chiefe in Place.

Fol. 75. in ye very place where ye Dutch ffactory stood wee ride with our Ships and Vessels in noe lesse then depth 16 fathoms and it is called **Hugly hole.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Hoogly. [The quotations are valuable, and the Hugly Hole, though it exists, is not mentioned in Yule.]

HOOKA.

Fol. 45. Often Smoakeinge their **Hoocars** as they call [them] of tobacco.

Fol. 46. **Hoocar or hubble-bubble.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Hooka, where earliest quotation is, however, 1768.

HOOLAK.

Fol. 77. My Purser Mr Clemt Jordan was just then come downe with a Small **Olocko.**

Fol. 99. This is called an **Olocko**: they row Some wth 4: Some wth 6 Owers and ply for a faire as wherries doe in ye Thames.

See Yule, *s. v.* Woolock.

HUBBLE-BUBBLE.

Fol. 46. Hoocars: commonly called **hubble-bubble.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Hubble-bubble. See *ante*, Vol. XXIX. p. 60.

JACKAL.

Fol. 96. Infinite Number of Wild hogge in this countrey as alsoe a creature called a **Jackall,** resemblinge both dogge and fox, and are as large as good ordinary hounds in England.

See Yule, *s. v.* Jackal.

JAGGERY.

Fol. 40. another Sort from ye **Jagaree** or Very Course Sugar.
See Yule, *s. v.* Jaggery.

JAFNA.

Fol. 77. They are bought [in Ceylone] from ye Dutch . . . in Gala or Colomba or **Japhnapatam.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Jafna, in the north of Ceylon. [Yule's quotations stop at 1566. *N. and E.* p. 47, has **Japnapatam,** for 1680.]

JAMBEE.

Fol. 159. There are Severall Radjas Vpon Sumatra . . . Especially those of **Iambee.**

Not in Yule. [Jambi is a Malay State on the North-East of Sumatra.]

JAN PERDO.

Fol. 76. now beinge got into ye reach called **Jno Perdo.**

Not in Yule. The Island "Jan Perdo" in the Hughly River has now disappeared. See Yule, *Diary of William Hedges*, Vol. III. p. 212 f.

JAVA.

Fol. 97. Ye Elephant is not found wild there nor dare ye tame ones frequent the Woods [for fear of the Rhinocerots] As for instance Pattana: Bengala: & **Iava Major.**

Fol. 157. Many Ships and Vessels doe . . . arrive in this Port [Achin] from . . . . **Iava Major.**

Fol. 159. This Citty (Achin) is ye fairest and most populous of any that Ever I saw or heard of that is inhabited by Malayars or **Iavas.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Java. [The use of the word for the people as well as the country is remarkable.]

JESSORE.

Fol. 73. he wold Every yeare Send down to ye Merchants in . . . **Jessore.**

Not in Yule. [A town in Lower Bengal, still well known under the same name and spelling.]

JOHORE.

Fol. 142. but doe rather wish they were Served soe in . . . **Johore.**

Fol. 143. as in Achin **Johor** &c: Malay Countries.

Fol. 145. Hee hath always been a great peacemaker amonge ye Naighbouringe [to Queda] Kings Vizt Pattany & **Johore.**

Not in Yule. [A well-known Malay State in the neighbourhood of Singapore.]

JUGGURNAUT.

Fol. 4. these they often bow to in representation of their God **Jno Gernaet,** beinge as he is Vpon Some festivals carried about in a large triumphant Chariot.

Fol. 7. Of all ye false gods these jdolatrous people worship (save **John Gernaet**) a Cow is held in greatest reverence.

Fol. 8. must take his travaile to ye great Pagod **Jno Gernaet**: ye remotest part of ye Golcondah Kingdome North Eastwards from ffort St Georgs ; neare 1000: English miles.

Fol. 9. In this theire Cathedral Pagod.

Fol. 11. In that great and Sumptuous Diabolicall Pagod, there Standeth theire greatest God **Jno Gernaet,** whence ye Pagod receiued its name alsoe.

Fol. 12. to behold their graven God **Jno Gernaet** . . . . . In ye Middle of that great Diabolicall Chariot is placed theire great Patron **Jno Gernaet.**

Fol. 13. he beinge very rich had Vowed to bestow liberaly on ye Pagod **Jno Gernaet.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Juggurnaut. [This is the most interesting variant I have come across of this much-corrupted name. The word is Jagan-nâth, by metathesis such as is common in India, Janga-nâth ; hence, of course, John Gernaet. See *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 352.]

JUNK.

Fol. 78. ye Danes : who might have ruined all theire fforaigne Commerce with their owne Ships or **Junks.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Junk. See *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 160.

JUNK-CEYLON.

Fol. 131. **Oedjange-Salange commonly called Janselone** Is an Island that lyeth to the Southward of all the Jsles of Tanassaree; nearest middway betweene yt and Queda : ye North End of it lyeth in Lattd North 08d 50″: ye South End in 07d 35″: Lattd North. Jt is almost in ye forme of ye Island Ceylone but not more then a Sixth part soe large.

Fol. 131. The Saleeters are absolute Piratts, and often cruiseinge about **Ianselone** & Pullo Sambelon &c Jsles neare this Shore.

Fol. 138. When I was in **Ianselone,** Employed by Mr William Jearsey an Eminent English Merchant att ffort st Georges.

Fol. 139. Soe longe as they were Vnder ye **Radja of Janselone's** protection . . . . killed two of ye **Ianseloners.**

Fol. 148. The tallest and best Sett Elephant yt ever I beheld was in **Ianselone.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Junk-Ceylon, the European name for an Island off the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula. [The quotations are valuable as showing the origin of the name, which is a corruption of Ujang Salang, or Salang Head, the most prominent point on Salang, the real name of the Island.]

KIRMAN.

Fol. 97. Pattana . . . . is a Countrey of Very great Trafficke & Commerce . . . . . into most parts of Jndia: Vizt from ye Northerne Kingdoms or Empires (by land) namely Persia : **Carmania**: Georgia: Tartaria: &c:

Not in Yule. [The portion of Persia nearest to India.]

KISTNA, RIVER.

Fol. 51. famous for yͤ River **Kishna.**

Not in Yule.

KITTYSOL.

Fol. 42. Sumbareros or **Catysols,** are here very Vsefull and necessarie for yͤ Same purpose. wᶜʰ are carried 3 or 4 foot or more above a mans head and Shade a great matter, beinge rather more Convenient then yͤ Other [roundel] but not soe fashionable or Honourable.

See Yule, *s. v.* Kittysol. [An umbrella, especially the Chinese variety of paper with a bamboo handle. See *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 347.]

KORAN.

Fol. 45. The **Alcoron** wᶜʰ cont: yͤ Scope of theire jrreligious Religion . . . . [Ramazan] is Observed annually in Celebration of yͤ **Alcoron.**

Yule has no entry for Koran.

LAC.

Fol. 56. with infinite quantities of butter and **Lacca.**

Fol. 61. affordinge great plenty of . . . **Lacca.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Lac. [Crawford, *Dict. of the Indian Archipel.*, *s. v.*, says the term is used for a red-wood used in dyeing: and it may be important to note this for the history of the word in old writers.]

LACK.

Fol. 67. his revenue came to **a lack Viz: 100000** rupees p: diem wᶜʰ is 12 thousand 500 pounds Sterlinge . . . . he Sent the Emperour **80 lacks** of rupees.

Fol. 70. The Nabob (Smileinge Vpon him) demandeth wᵗʰ all Speed **one lack of rupees i e: 100000.**

Fol. 71. now thought he had another Opportunitie fallen into his hand of acquireinge **one lack or two** of rup: . . . . demanded noe lesse then **2 lack** of Rupees as a present.

See Yule, *s. v.* Lack. [It is to be noted that about 1675 one lack = £12,500: nowadays it = £6650.]

LADAS, ISLANDS.

Fol. 149. Vpon an Island about 30 or 40 English miles in circuit called **Pullo Ladda:** viz: Pepper Jsland Pullo in yͤ Malay tongue Signifieth Jsland and **Ladda** pepper, it is 8 leags to yͤ NW: of Queda River's mouth.

Not in Yule.

LANDOCK.

Fol. 158. yͤ Diamonds of **Landock (upon Borneo)** are accompted yͤ best in yͤ World.
Not in Yule. [Landak is on the western side of Borneo.]

LAXIMANA.

Fol. 143. next to whom [the Sultan] are yͤ **Leximana.**
Fol. 161. yͤ **Leximana** the Lord Generall.

See Yule, *s. v.* Laximana: no quotation after 1553. [The word is usually translated by "admiral" in the old books.]

(*To be continued.*)

'My dear Chandrakântâ, my mother, O lotus-eyed, I am your best friend. If you have any secrets, you can freely communicate them to me. Does your husband obey your orders? The may of feminine life is ephemeral. So are time and place. Do you enjoy sexual happiness independently? If not, I shall put you in the way of your doing so.' The lady, hearing the poisoned horrible words of the woman, was overcome by shame and said, 'How dare you talk such trash before me with an evil heart? If I do not reply to you, you will ruin me by spreading all sorts of fabricated rumours against me.' Thinking thus, and fearing the consequences of silence, she replied, 'The best period for copulation is from the fifth day after menstruation till the sixteenth, and my husband, well versed in *srutis* and *smṛitis*, will cohabit with me during these twelve days, exclusive of the days unenjoined by law. We are enjoying temporal felicity as ordained by the *śâstras*, and are paving the way for celestial bliss. The wise say that if conception is formed on a good day of copulation, the son that will issue forth from such an act, will be intelligent, live long, and be rich; while those born at other times will be short-lived and sickly, and will be a source of woe to the parents. The following days are excluded for copulation: the sixth, eighth, eleventh, twelfth, fourteenth, new moon, full moon, the passage of the sun into the various signs of the zodiac, the annual ceremony (*śrâḍḍha*) days for parents, the star of birth, star by the name of Śravaṇa, *vrata* period, morning, twilight, &c. During the abovementioned period, the person that shaves, copulates, anoints or cleans his teeth, though he be well versed in all the four *Vedas*, will assuredly become an outcaste. Thus have I briefly told you the ordinances enjoined for a *gṛihasta* (a family man)." To which Vidyâvatî, intent on bringing Chandrakântâ to her own level, replied, "O madcap, you have spoiled all your happiness. Hear my word, therefore. As this sickly coil is dear to all animate existences, why do you waste your flush of womanhood? Why not enjoy sexual happiness? In old age the constitution will be shattered by disordered breasts, and abstinence will bring on its attendant evils — premature old age and disease. You are practically unaware of the humbug of your husband. He is keeping himself engaged with the maid-servant from morn to night. You are too plain, unhyprocritical and pure-hearted, whereas your husband is a firebrand and pretends to be a good man externally. I heard too well of his misdeeds from an intimate prostitute-friend of mine. I have told you all this as I am a sharer in all your joys and sorrows." After hearing the sinful words of Vidyâvatî, Chandrakântâ said, "A husband is a god to women, be he a mischievous, hot-tempered, sickly, ireful, vile, pudding-headed fellow. Apart from the adoration of the husband, there are no observances or free-will offerings of any sort or kind enjoined by the *Vedas*. To those women who aspire after *Svarga*, a husband is the greatest of gods. The woman who abuses her lord will be born a dog." The vile wretch of a Vidyâvatî, determined on outraging the chastity of Chandrakântâ, replied, "O mad fool! Have not Ûrvasî, Mênakâ, Rambhâ, Gṛitâchî, Punjikasthalâ and other angelic women acted independently and cohabited with innumerable hosts of men, and yet have been coveted by the greatest of Ṛishis, and but for all that remained happy? The wise, considering the ephemerality of this mortal coil, enjoy happiness, terrestrial and celestial. All must covet felicity. Who has seen heaven or hell? Whatever we actually enjoy is heaven. I am aware of the truth of happiness and misery. Independence is happiness. I became independent and rid myself of all fear by murdering my husband. The free man is the happiest being. He alone is filled with *tapas*. He alone is fortunate. Is there any happiness for a servile wretch?" With illustrations like these which would abuse the mind and make it as fickle as possible, with thoughts hard as adamant which would lead one to hell-gate in no time, with breasts resembling the frontal lobes of fattened elephants, Chandrakântâ set at naught all hereditary *âchârâs* and remained a prostitute in private for a month, owing to the strange irony of fate, feminine fickleness, mental unrest and a hankering after perceptible happiness, being overcome by the finely-pointed darts of Cupid. Then her lord found out by her questionable reputation, conduct in life, foul tongue, &c., that she was immoral, ejected her out of the house, was wonder-struck at what happened even to his wife, made gifts of cattle, money, grain, houses, &c., to the deserving, was sore dismayed for illicit intercourse with a prostitute-wife, and, as an expiation for the sin committed, went and reached the banks of the Kâvêrî.

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 31.)

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

FAMILY GODLINGS AS INDICATORS OF TRIBAL MIGRATIONS.

It is an accepted principle that local godlings were from time to time introduced to the family altar as divine fathers, mothers, protectors, or deified faithful servants. The following remarks show that family godlings may also indicate the migrations of the tribe to which the family belongs.

In one family of the Prabhus of Thanâ, near Bombay, there is a godling Mârtaṇḍ *alias* Khandêrâv. He is shown riding a horse, and attended by a dog, his faithful companion, and represents the sun. Sir Thomas Wardle traces its seat in Kashmir.[1] Another godling is Bhairav or Bahiri, also on horse-back (the Kâl-bhairav of Ujjain); a third is Ekvîra of the Western Ghâts near Poona; a fourth, the Bâpdêv (from *bâp* = father, and *dêv* = god) of Cuddapa, on the slopes of the same mountain range at the southern end of what is known as the Madras Deccan, or that part of the Deccan plateau which is under the jurisdiction of the Madras Government; a fifth is a "group" of goddesses called the Parshik-karnîs, or residents of the Parshik Hill near Thâna, 21 miles from Bombay. There *was* besides one attendant sub-godling with a human body and equine head, which stood in front of the altar with folded hands, but is said to have been thrown into the sea by one of the ancestors of the family five generations ago, whose *pâduka* (foot-prints) are still placed before the altar on the *Kuladharma* day, once a year. **The family is called Guptê, and belongs to the Chândrasênî subdivision of the Prabhus.**

As the name Guptê is derived from *gup* = a cave, vale, or valley, or *gup* to protect, and *pati*, ruler or lord, the above facts seem to show that the Guptês came from some mountainous valley or were its protectors. They are Chândrasênî Prabhus, and this seems to show that they came from the valley of the river Chandra,[2] now known as the Chenâb in the Punjâb, the suffix *sênî* being possibly derived from Sanskrit *śreni*, a clan, tribe.

The Guptês have, further, a tradition[3] that they were defeated and disarmed by the ubiquitous conqueror Paraśurâma, but Puruśî is also a name of the river[4] Râvî, and as the Chenâb and the Râvî are both the affluents of the Indus, and form a *dûâb* or enclosed tract, it is more probable that the tradition preserves a recollection of the fact that the Râvs, or people of the Râvî Valley, and the Chandras, or people of the Chandra or Chenâb Valley, lived in constant warfare, and that the latter were ultimately defeated and driven out. This conjecture is supported by the fact of the establishment of a Râmnagar on the banks of the latter, just as "Alexandria" towns were established along the route of the great Greek conqueror. From the valley of the Chenâb to that of the Gharià or Hyphasis, into which it flows, would be a natural line of flight. Thence southwards to the Âbu mountains and the Chambal Valley was possibly a further progress, as these people have a tradition that their forefathers performed an *aśvamêdha*,[5] or horse sacrifice, in that tract. Wandering along the Chambal Valley they may have established themselves at Ujjain on the Shhiprâ, where Vikramâditya, the last of the Guptas, established the Samvat Era. Here they would naturally have acquired, as a godling, Kâlbhairav,[6] to whom they still make vows when taken ill, having shortened his name into Bhairav. In the Bhânpura District of the Indore State, there is a god Guptêśwar, and at Mânduga ḍh, or fort of Mându, in the Dhâr State, there are traces of their ascendancy (*vide* Enthoven's *Monograph*). Further south at Mandalêśwar, on the banks of the Narbadâ, there is another god Guptêśwar. Further wanderings southwards would seem to be marked by the godlings Ekvîra and Mârtaṇḍ of the Deccan, and the southernmost point of the migration by Bâpdêv, or father-god of Cuddapa. Then there seems to have been a return northwards towards Thâna or Thânêśwar, a name the wanderers carried in their heads from the great Thânêśwar temple of the north. The flourishing condition of Sôpâra,[7] the Ophir of ancient trade as Sir James Campbell believes from the valuable relics he found there, followed by the more modern trade due to the connection of that coast with the Portuguese and the British, seems to have finally settled the Guptê clan in and near Bombay with one

[1] *The Leek Post*, Saturday, June 13, 1903. (Second letter from Sir Thomas Wardle.)

[2] Elliot's *History*, but there are many Chândrasênî Râjpûts.

[3] Vide *Rênukâ Mahâtmya*, *Skandh-Purâṇa*.

[4] Hewitt's *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, p. 113.

[5] Enthoven's *Monograph on the Prabhus*.

[6] It may be noted that Enthoven mentions Vinzâî, another mountain-mother of the Vindhyâchal, by which route a portion of the Prabhu tribe may have come to the Deccan *vid* Benares, another eminent seat of Kâlbhairav, the God of Death.

[7] Sir J. Campbell's *Sopara Relics*.

offshoot at Mâval near Poona, and another at Damân, also on the Western coast. The Parshikkarnî goddesses were introduced within the memory of the oldest living representative of the clan. Thus, the father of the present head of the family was the son of a woman from a village at the foot of the Parshik Hill, and she induced him only 60 years ago to admit these goddesses, the family deities of *her* mother, a Pradhân, into that of her son, a Guptê, a resident of Thâna, only three miles from the hill.

These facts and speculations show that local godlings may supply valuable links of evidence when taken with the traditional history of a clan, and the results of British archæological researches in the East.

The horseman godling Mârtaṇḍ, worshipped with his horse and dog, recalls in this case the Turkish horsemen or cavalry mentioned at page 307 of Hewitt's *Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, and the ancient system carried on to quite modern times of burying[8] alive the servants and favourite animals of the chiefs, involving the deification of the animals so sacrificed, accompanied by their transformation into mythological beings, "half man, half beast," such as Garuḍa (the eagle), Hanumân (the monkey), and even Muhammad's mare.

The worship of the mother-mountain by the Northern Races is described at p. xxxii in Mr. Hewitt's preface, and thus the name Parshik as a sacred hill of the Prabhus, whence godlings come, may throw light on the history of the race. Parshik may possibly mean Persian, if Parsika be taken to mean "belonging to or occupied by the Persians." The Prabhus are fairer than the generality of the local residents. MacCrindle's *Ancient India*, p. 46, mentions the marriage of a Gupta chief with the Macedonian bride that Alexander gave him, and further possibility of the absorption of foreign blood on the *coast* is mentioned in Vol. II., p. 27, of Ratzel's *History of Mankind*, and "girl traffic" at p. 438 of Vol. I. The Macedonian colonies of Koh-Daman,[9] and the existence of a Daman on the Western coast, with Davanê or Damnê Prabhus as its residents at the present day; the mention of the Prabhus among the pre-historic Ruling Races by Mr. Hewitt (p. 310); Dr. Hove's description of a "Parvoo"[10] (misspelt for Prabhu) caste at Râjâpur, near Limrî in Gujarât; Ratzel's[11] mention of bride-slaves as a favourite commodity, his description of their treatment as poor[12] relations; Hove's colony of "remarkably fair" slaves from[13] Mghılta (Mahıkâ) at "Jahauna," only 5 days' voyage from Bombay; Mr. Edwardes' mention of "handsome young women of Hellas[14] destined to attend on the kings of the country and carry *chauris* in his court"; Ratzel's mention of "women[15] as merchandise" and of "the tendency to accumulate it," as also his description of the desire for owning slaves as "insatiable";[16] his mention of "women willing prizes of whoever can catch them"; Mr. Edwardes' description[17] of the early Jews who "brought (to Bombay) a living freight of women," and the existence of the Pârsîs in that locality, — taken with the name of the hill Parsik, may all indicate the infusion of Western blood into the more powerful of the Bombay coast tribes, including the Prabhus (*lit.*, Lords, Masters), in the days when inter-marriages were freely allowed between different races, and the hard and fast rules of caste had not yet been conceived.

Again, coming from the Indo-Aryan tract in the North, under the name Chândrasênî, and perhaps marrying fair Western maids purchased at high prices, the Prabhus may have also acquired a tinge of the local Dravidian blood from Southern tracts like Cuddapa, and this would account for their forming a caste midway between the accepted types of the Indo-Aryan and Scytho-Dravidian races, and their present average cephalic index 79·9 (medium), average nasal index 75·8 (medium), and average orbito-nasal index 113·4, and also their "hereditary dexterity"[18] and intelligence. These qualities proved to be of value to Śivâjî, the founder of the Marâṭhâ Empire, as he found among the Prabhus a material at once literary, martial, and loyal, and made the best use of it So also has the British Government found in them a people, whom Sir James Campbell describes thus in his Thana and Poona volumes of the *Bombay Gazetteer*:— "As a class the men are middle-sized, and slightly built, fair with regular features and handsome, intelligent faces. Their women are refined and graceful. Śivâjî on one occasion dismissed all the Brâhmaṇs, who held financial posts, and engaged (Chândrasênî) Prabhus in their places. In reply to the complaints of Môropant

[8] Dr. Hove's *Tour in India in 1794*, pages 166 and 167.
[9] Pp. 38 and 39 of MacCrindle's *Ancient India*.
[10] Hewitt's *Ruling Races*, pp. 85 to 89.
[11] Ratzel's *History of Mankind*, Vol. II. p. 98.
[12] *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 447.
[13] Hove's *Tour in India*, p. 5.
[14] *Town and Island of Bombay*, p. 3.
[15] Ratzel's *History of Mankind*, Vol. I. p. 123.
[16] *Ibid.* p. 273.
[17] *Town and Island of Bombay*, p. 7.
[18] Ratzel's *History of Mankind*, Vol. I. p. 364.

Pinglè and Nilopant, his two Brâhman advisers, he reminded them, that while all Musalmân places of trust held by Brâhmans had been given up without a struggle, those held by Prabhus had been most difficult to take, and that one of them, Râjpurî, had not yet been taken. They are generally richly and most carefully and neatly dressed. They are hardworking, hospitable, orderly and loyal, but extravagant and fond of show. They send their children to school and hold their own in spite of the competition of Brâhmans and other non-writer classes."

Valuable, therefore, to ethnographists may be a study of the family godlings, who have clung to the family altars of the Hindus through generations and through many stages of evolution.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NICK-NAMES OF VILLAGES AND FAMILIES IN KURRAM, GIVING DOUBTFUL TRACES OF TOTEMISM.

AMONG the Tûrî and Bangash Tribes there are several septs which derive their names from some act or incident, of which somewhat puerile accounts are often given. Such are the Magak Khêl or Rat Sept in Dôparzâi, so called because their first ancestor was once sitting in a *jirga*, and seeing a rat (*magak*) running about he killed it. The Gîdar Khêl, whose ancestor killed a jackal (*gîdar*). The Lêwâ Kôl or 'Wolf Family' of the Musthu Khêl, whose ancestor once killed a wolf with his stick. The Kunriak Kôl or 'Ant Family' in Paiwar, so named because their beds contained many of those insects when a guest was once stopping at their house. The Parkhaiî family in Zeran, so called because their ancestor once shot at a bird, and, though he missed it, boasted that he had knocked some of its feathers out. The Spagan Kôl or 'Lice family,' so nick-named because their beds were full of those insects. The Sôiân Kôl, so called because their ancestor once declared that he had seen 100 hares when out shooting, but meeting with no credence he reduced the number to 50 and finally to one, and so his descendants are called the 'Hare Sept' to this day. The Span Khêl of Malânâ, so named because a man of a poor family once killed a dog belonging to a rich one, whereupon the rich family demanded a damsel from the poor one in compensation, and her descendants are still called the 'Dog Sept.' The Dagh Kalai hamlet[1] of Shingak Village, so named because its founder only gave the workmen rice with very little *ghî* in it when he built the hamlet. The Urkhârî Kalai, so called because its founder only gave his workmen *urkhôrî* (a kind of vegetable) when he built it.

A village in Shingak is called Tarwo Kalai because its inhabitants used to mix *tarwî* with the food given to their guests: *tarwî* is water mixed with curds (called *dahî* in Urdu), and the food made from this mixture is called *lâsî* or *tarwî* in Pashtu. A family in Paiwâr had many sparrows' nests in their house and so their descendants are now called Chanchanrî Kôl: *chanchanrâ* in Pashtu means a sparrow. A village in Shingak is called Khowaro Kalai because the villagers did not feast their guests there one night: *khowar* means poor. A village near Kunj Abzai is called Shibi Kalai: *shiba* means a shower: during the Afghân rule the Mughals used to attack the Tûrî villages, and this village, being the first in their way, was so constantly besieged that it became known as Shibi from the attacks 'showered' on it.

A woman of a family in Shalozân[2] once made a shirt for her child from cloth which was then used by Hindus only. a Hindu in Kurram is always called *châchâ*, and so the family is now called Châchâ Kôl Another family in Shalozân, from their constant quarrels, is called Shaukh Kol: *shaukh* means bad-tempered. A third family in Shalozân is called Pât Kôl: *pât* means one who does not do things thoroughly: the founder of the family was a big *malik*, but any dispute referred to him by the people was never properly settled and so he was called Pât and his family Pât Kôl.

A village is called Ghalo Kalai: *ghal*[3] means 'thief,' because its inhabitants were all thieves during the period of the Afghân rule.

A family in Kaj Kina is called Kharporân Kôl: *kharporân* means 'donkey-like': the founder of the family once got a nail stuck in the sole of his foot, but instead of taking it out he walked home and there showed it to his wife; she found that he had a big nail stuck in his foot and so called him donkey: since then the family is called Kharporân Kol.

These derivations are specimens of Pathân humour rather than attempts to account for relics of totemism.

H. A. ROSE.

Simla, 6th August 1903.

[1] When a little *ghî* is boiled and put into rice, broth, &c., it is called *dagh*.

[2] Shalozân is a very ancient place, and was once called Sankurân apparently.

[3] *Cf.* Ghal-zai or Ghilzai.

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES.

BY H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; ROSTOCK.

(Continued from page 41.)

No. 11. — Mathurâ Buddhist inscription on base of pillar of Saṁ. 47;
edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 127, No. 1, and Plate; by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 182, No. 1, and Plate; by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 12, and Plate.

Cunningham's transcript of this inscription, which is engraved round the base of a pillar, is on the whole correct. It differs, however, from the facsimiles in reading *Dêvaputrasya Huvishkasya* and *sukham*, for which the facsimiles distinctly show *Dêvapûtrasya*, *Hûvishkasya* and *sûkha*[*ṁ*]. The form of the king's name with the long vowel is found also in the Bombay University Library inscription edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 269.

Another difference between the transcript and the facsimiles occurs in the description of the donor. Cunningham, following Dowson, read *bhikshusya Jîvakasya Udeyanakasya*,[31] but if there is any trust to be placed in the facsimiles, the last word is really *Ôḍiyanakasya*. As Jîvaka is said to have been a monk, *Ôḍiyanaka* cannot be a term denoting a caste or profession, but most probably is the name of some nation or tribe and corresponds to a true Sk. *Auḍiyanaka*, a derivative of *Uḍiyana*. I am unable to point out such a name in the earlier Sanskrit or Prakrit literature. But perhaps it is connected with Uḍḍiyâna, mentioned after Sindhu, Saurâshtra and Pâñchâla in a list of different countries in the *Srîshavâyaṇa*, a portion of the *Rômakasiddhânta*.[32]

With these corrections and some changes in the transliteration Cunningham's text runs as follows:[33] —

Saṁ 40 7 gṛi 4 di 4 mahârâjasya râjâtirâjasya Dêvapûtrasya Hûvishkasya vihârê dânaṁ bhikshusya Jîvakasya Ôḍiyanakasya ku[ṁ]bhako 20 5 sarvva-satva-hita-sûkha[ṁ] bhavatu ı sa[ṁ]ghê ch[â]turdiśê.[34]

"In the year 47, the fourth (*month of*) summer, the fourth day. Gift of the monk Jîvaka, the Ôḍiyanaka (*native of* Uḍiyana ?), to the *vihâra* of *mahârâja râjâtirâja* Dêvaputra Hûvishka. Base of pillar 25. May welfare and happiness of all beings prevail in the community belonging to the four quarters.[35]"

No. 12. — Mathurâ Buddhist inscription on base of pillar of Saṁ. 47;
edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 18, and Plate.

Of this inscription Rajendralala Mitra offered the following text: —

Datana ra sara (44 ?) divasa 5 prabu(?)ddhâya dânaṁ bhikshusya Dhammadattasya.

Unsatisfactory as the facsimile is, it makes it pretty certain that the true reading is: —

Samvatsarê 40 7 va . divasê 5 asya purvvayê dânaṁ bhikshusya Dharmmadêvasya.[36]

"In the year 47, in the . . . (*month*) of the rainy season, on the fifth day, — on that (*date specified as*) above — the gift of the monk Dharmmadêva."

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[31] Rajendralala Mitra read *bhikshu Jîvakasya Ḍadiyanakasya* in the text and 'the mendicant (Bhikshu) Jivaka Udiyanaka' in the translation.

[32] Aufrecht, *Cat. Cod. Sanscr. Bibl. Bodl.* p. 340.

[33] The bracketed letters are not visible in the facsimiles. The third *â* in *râjâtirâjasya* is distinct in Dowson's facsimile.

[34] Cunningham read *chaturdise*.

[35] With regard to this term compare the remarks of Mr. Senart, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 59 f.

[36] The *va* of the last word looks more like *ta*, but this is the case also in the preceding inscription where the reading undoubtedly is *Dharmmadêvasya*.

With the exception of the date of the month, this text would be identical with that of the Mathurâ pillar inscription edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *ibid.* No. 17, by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 183, No. 5, and by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 11. It reads according to Cunningham's facsimile: —

Saṁvatsarê 40 7 gṛi 3 divas[ê] 5 asya purvvayê dânaṁ bhikshusya Dharmmadêvasya.

It cannot be denied that the close agreement of the two inscriptions is rather suspicious and apt to lead to the supposition that the *va* in Rajendralala Mitra's facsimile is merely a mistaken *gṛi*, and the whole facsimile nothing but a second copy of Cunningham's No. 11 and his own No. 17. On the other hand, Rajendralala Mitra expressly states that the originals of both inscriptions were deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society, and it is not impossible, after all, that Dharmadêva presented more than one pillar and at different times.

No. 13. — Mathurâ inscription on base of pillar of Saṁ. 47;
edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 127, No. 2, and Plate;
by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 183, No. 2, and Plate;
by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 13, and Plate.

Rajendralala Mitra's transcript of this inscription reads: —

Dânaṁ Dêvilisya Dadhikurṇṇadêvikulikasya saṁ 59 divasa 80.

Dowson reads: —

Dânam Devilasya Dadhikarnna-devi-kulikasya San 40 7 gri 4 Divaes 20 5.

Cunningham reads: —

Dânam Devilasya Dadhikundi . . Devikulikasya, Sam. 47, — Gr. — 4, Divase 25.

To judge from the facsimiles published together with the three editions, the actual reading appears to be: —

Dânaṁ Dêvilasya Dadhikarṇṇadêvikulikasya saṁ 40 7 gṛi 4 divasê 20 9.

There is some doubt attached to the last figure of the date which, as Dowson remarks, is partly defaced. The *i* of the *akshara vi* in °*dêvikulikasya* is quite distinct in the facsimiles of Rajendralala Mitra and Cunningham, but wanting in that given by Dowson. As, however, the latter also reads *vi* in his transcript, I think it almost certain that it is really found in the text.

With regard to the purport of the inscription my three predecessors substantially agree in considering it to record 'the gift of Devila of the race (*or* of the family) of Dadhikarṇadêvi.' There are two objections to this translation. Firstly, Dadhikarṇadêvi would be a name unparalleled in the Mathurâ inscriptions, and secondly, there is no other instance of a man being described in this way as belonging to the family of some woman. In my opinion Dadhikarṇadêvikulika means 'the servant (*or* priest) at the shrine of Dadhikarṇa.' Dadhikarṇa is the name of some Nâga, and we know from an inscription edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 390, No. 18, that there was a shrine or temple dedicated to him at Mathurâ. That inscription records the setting up of a stone slab '*bhagavatô nâgêndrasya Dadhikarṇṇasya stânê*,' and although Bühler translated this 'in the place sacred to the divine lord of snakes Dadhikarṇṇa,' he added himself that *stâna*, which stands for Sk. *sthâna*, might also mean 'temple.' The word *dêvikulika* is derived from *dêvakula*, and in correct Sanskrit ought to show *vṛiddhi*-strengthening of the first syllable. The *i* of the second syllable is striking, but an exact parallel is furnished by the Mathurâ inscription edited by Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes à Leide*, Part III. p. 143, where the drawing plainly shows the words *ârahatâ dêvikulâ*, 'a shrine for the Arhats.' Similar instances of the transition of *a* into *i* will be found in Prof. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, par. 101-103.

I translate the whole inscription: —

"The gift of Dêvila, the servant (*or* priest) at the shrine of Dadhikarṇa in the year 47, in the fourth (*month of*) summer, on the twenty-ninth day."

This and the inscription mentioned above are valuable evidence of the great antiquity of serpent-worship in India, although unfortunately neither of them contains any hint as to the creed which the worshippers of Dadhikarṇa at Mathurâ professed. That Dadhikarṇa is invoked in the *âhnika mantra* of the *Harivaṁśa*, was pointed out already by Bühler, *loc. cit.* p. 381. It may be added that his name is also found in a list of Nâgas quoted by Hêmachandra in his own commentary on the *Abhidhânachintâmaṇi*, verse 1311.

No. 14. — Mathurâ Jaina stone inscription of Saṁ. 48;
edited by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 15, and Plate.

Cunningham read this short fragment: —

1 Mahârâjasya Huvishkasya Sam. 48 — He. 4 — Di. 5
2 Bama Dâsayakula ukonasaya Siviya dharâ.

The photograph of the stone belonging to Prof. Kielhorn shows that the true reading is :—

1 Mahârâjasya Huvishkasya sa 40 8 hê 4 di 5
2 Bramadâsiyê kul[ê] U[ch]ênâgariya śâkhaya[37] Dhar. . .

The only difficult letter is the ninth of the second line. There can be little doubt that it is meant for *chê*, and that the tail at the base is merely accidental, but it is easy to see how Cunningham came to read *kô*. The Brahmadâsika *kula* and the Uchchânâgarî *śâkhâ* are mentioned together in numerous Mathurâ inscriptions; see, *e. g.*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 381, No. 1; p. 383, No. 4; p. 384, No. 5; p. 389, No. 14, &c.

No. 15. — Mathurâ Jaina image inscription of Saṁ. 40;[38]
edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 11, and Plate.

Bühler read in line C.1 *âryya-Haṭikiyatô kulatô*, but the second *akshara* of the name is wrong. It cannot be *ṭi*, because the curve denoting medial *i* is always open to the left, whereas this sign, on the contrary, shows a curve open to the right. The *akshara* is therefore to be read *ṭṭa*, and, leaving aside the short vowel of the first syllable, the spelling *Haṭṭakiya* agrees with that of two other Mathurâ inscriptions edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 201, No. 11 (*arya-Hâṭṭakiyâtô*[39] *kulatô*), and Vol. I. p. 397, No. 34 (*aya-Hâṭṭiyê kulê*).

The last three lines, which contain the description of the donatrix and her gift, are transcribed by Bühler as follows :—

A. 3 — [sya] dhîtu grami[ka]-Jayadêvasya vadhûyê
B. 3 — mikô Jayanâgasya dharmmapatniyê Sihadatâ[yê]
C. 3 — [lathaṁbh]ô danaṁ.

The reading *Sihadatâyê* is impossible. What is still visible of the last *akshara* of the line is the left portion of a *sa*,[40] and the correct reading apparently is *Sihadatasya*. This word must have been followed originally by *mâtu*, which probably stood at the beginning of line C. 3. The description of a female donor in her fourfold character as daughter, daughter-in-law, wife and mother is exactly the same as in the inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 382, No. 2, and probably also in two others edited *ibid.* Vol. I. p. 395, No. 28, and Vol. II. p. 208, No. 34.

The *aksharas lathaṁbhô* Bühler wants to restore to *śilâthaṁbhô*, which would be a very peculiar term for the object which it is meant for. The inscription is incised on the four faces of the pedestal of a quadruple image consisting of four erect naked standing Jinas, placed back to back, and in all other instances (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 382, No. 2; Vol. II. p. 202, No. 13; p. 203, No. 16; p. 210,

37 Compare for the locative, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 397, No. 34: *aya-Hâṭṭiyê kulê Vajanâgariyâ śâkhâyâ.*
38 The unit of the date is illegible.
39 Possibly *arya-Haṭṭakiyâtô*, the â-stroke being not clear in the photo-lithograph.
40 Compare the same letter in °*Jayadêvasya* in line A. 3.

No. 37) statues of this sort are termed *pratimâ sarvatôbhadrikâ* in the inscriptions.[41] Bühler's reading is therefore *a priori* improbable. But quite apart from this consideration, I own that I do not see how these letters can possibly be read *lathaṁbhô*, even assuming, as Bühler did, that the last two consonants are only half formed. The last sign can hardly be anything but *ya*, which would seem to indicate that the word is the name of the donatrix, but unfortunately neither the vowel-sign above the *ya* nor the preceding letters are distinct enough in the photo-lithograph to allow any positive reading on this authority alone.

Nos. 16 and 17. — Mathurâ Jaina image inscriptions of Saṁ. 52 and 54; edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 203, No. 18, and Vol. I. p. 391, No. 21, and Plates.

Bühler's transcripts of these two inscriptions, placed side by side, read as follows :—

Siddha saṁvatsara dvâpanâ 50 2 hêmanta-[mâ]sa pratha . . divasa paṁchavîśa 20 5 asmâ kshuṇê K[o]ttiyâtô gaṇât[ô][43] Vêrâtô śakhatô Sthânikiyâtô kulât[ô] Śrîgṛihatô saṁbhôgâtô vâchakasy=âryya-Ghastuhastisya śishyô gaṇisy=âryya-Maṁguhastisya shaḍhacharô vâchakô aryya-Divitasya nirvvartanâ Śûrasya Śramaṇakaputrasya Goṭṭikasya lôhikâkârakasya dânaṁ sarvvasatvânaṁ hita-sukhây=âstu I	. . . dham sava 50[42] 4 hêmaṁta-mâsê chaturtthê 4 divasê 10 asya purvvâyâṁ Koṭṭiyâtô [ga]ṇâtô Sthâni-[y]âtô kulâtô Vairâtô śâkhâtô Śrîgṛih[â]tô saṁbhôgâtô vâchakasy=âryya-[Ha]stahastisya śishyô gaṇisya aryya-Mâghahastisya śraddhacharô vâchakasya aryya-Dêvasya nirvvarttanê Gôvasya Siha-putrasya lôhika-kârukasya dânaṁ sarvvasatvânâṁ hita-sukhâ êka-Sarasvatî pratishṭhâvitâ avatalê raṅgâna-[rttan]ô mê [II]

The two records so closely agree with each other as to leave no doubt about the identity of the persons mentioned in the first portion. *Ghastuhasti* and *Hastahasti*, *Maṁguhasti* and *Mâghahasti*, are nothing but various spellings of the same names. A very similar case occurs in two other Mathurâ inscriptions, *Vienna. Or. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 172, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, No. 19. They contain the name of a preacher which in the former is spelt *Kakasaghasta*, while in the latter it reads *Karkuhastha*. However, I am not quite sure that Bühler was right in reading *Maṁguhastisya*. The *anusvâra* is very indistinct in the photo-lithograph, and the true reading may be *Mâguhastisya*, which would come nearer to the form used in the other inscription.

Bühler's reading °*Divitasya* in the first inscription cannot be upheld. Neither the first nor the second vowel-sign can be *i*, as the *i*-sign is much more rounded in this alphabet, and Bühler appears to have been aware of it himself, as in a note he quotes °*Dêvêtasya* as a possible reading. The correct reading undoubtedly is *aryya-Dêvô tasya*, and I think I can discern the traces of the second *ô*-stroke in the photo-lithograph. The spelling of the name therefore is the same in both inscriptions. As for the construction compare the inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 382, No. 3 (*aryya-Mâtṛidinaḥ tasya nirvvarttanâ*), p. 383, No. 4 (*vâchakô aryya-Sîhâ tasya nivvarttanâ*), Vol. II., p. 204, No. 19 (*Grahabalô âtapikô tasa nivartanâ*), p. 209, No. 37 (*aryya-Kshêrakô vâchakô tasya nirvatana*), &c.

In the second portion of the first inscription Bühler translated the words *Śûrasya Śramaṇakaputrasya Goṭṭikasya lôhikâkârakasya dânaṁ* by 'the gift of the worker in metal Goṭṭika, the Śûra, the son of Śramaṇaka,' taking the word Śûra as the name of Gotṭika's family or clan. But from the parallel description of the donor in the second inscription as *Gôvasya Sîhaputrasya lôhikakârukasya* it is evident that, on the contrary, Śûra is the real name and Goṭṭika a qualifying epithet. The meaning of this word is difficult to ascertain. It may be a proper name characterising Śûra as the

[41] Compare the analogous term *sarvatôbhadra*, applied to a *ślôka* the single *aksharas* of which, if written twice on the squares of a chessboard, yield the same text from whatever side they may be read. For examples, see *Kirâtârjunîya* XV. 25; *Śiśupâlavadha* XIX. 27, &c.

[42] The figure is quite distinct.

[43] The bracketed signs of the last two words are distinct in the photo-lithograph.

member of some tribe or as the native of some country or town, but no such name is known to us, and I venture to suggest a different explanation. Bühler has shown[44] that in the dialect of these inscriptions the aspiration of conjunct hard aspirates is frequently neglected; in the present inscription also the photo-lithograph shows *Sṭânikiyâtô*[45] instead of *Sthânikiyâtô*, as transcribed by Bühler. *Goṭṭika* may therefore possibly stand for *goṭṭhika*, the Prakrit equivalent of Sk. *gôshṭhika*, which means the member of a Pañch or committee entrusted with the management of religious endowments and in this sense occurs, *e. g.*, in the Pehevâ inscription from the temple of Garîbnâth.[46]

With regard to the last words of the second inscription I am unable to offer any explanation, though it will be readily admitted, I think, that neither Bühler's reading nor his translation of them are satisfactory. The date also of this inscription has been called in question, but, as it seems to me, without sufficient reason. Bühler originally took the date of the year to be 84,[47] but changed it into 54 on comparing Growse's inscription No. 5,[48] where the date 57 is given both in words and figures. Lately Mr. V. A. Smith, in his monograph on '*The Jain Stûpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurâ*,'[49] has asserted that the plate clearly reads 44. I own that I cannot discover any resemblance between the first figure of the date and the numeral sign for 40, whereas, on the other hand, I do not see how that figure differs from the signs for 50 occurring in the Mathurâ inscriptions, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 219, No. 11; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 203, Nos. 17 and 18. And the date Saṁ. 54 is also in perfect keeping with the facts to be derived from the first inscription. If Dêva was acting as the spiritual adviser of a member of the *lôhikakâraka* caste in Saṁ. 52, it is quite natural to find him in exactly the same capacity in Saṁ. 54.

No. 18. — Mathurâ Jaina inscription of Saṁ. 60;
edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate.

Buhler read the numeral sign indicating the year of this inscription as 40, adding 60 in brackets and with a note of interrogation, but from his remark in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, note 61, it may be gathered that he would have adopted the second alternative himself, if he had had an opportunity of reverting to this inscription. As to the rest, I only want to point out that instead of *ayya-Vêriyâṇa śâkhâyâ* in line 1, the plate clearly reads *aryya-Vêriyâṇaṁ śâkhâyâ*.

Vṛiddhahasti, the *vâchaka* in the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Sthânikîya *kula* and the *śâkhâ* of the venerable Vêriyas, mentioned in this inscription, is probably identical with the person of the same name and vocation referred to in the Mathurâ inscription of Saṁ. 79, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, No. 20.

No. 19. — Mathurâ Jaina image inscription of Saṁ. 62;
edited by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. XX. p. 37, and Plate V. No. 6, and by Bühler, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 172.

This inscription appears to record the dedication of a statue by the Jaina lay-woman Vaihikâ at the request of some ascetic. The phrase containing the latter statement was first read by Bühler *Rârakasya Aryakakasaghastasya śishyâ Âtapikôgahabaryasya nirvartana*, and translated '(*this being*) the *nirvartana* of Âtapikôgahabarya, the pupil of Arya-Kakasaghasta (*Ârya-Karkaśagharshita*), a native of Rârâ (*Râḍhâ*).' But when he had got another Jaina inscription from Mathurâ, dated in the same year and recording some donation *vâchakasya âya-Karkuhastha*[*sa*] *Vâraṇagaṇi-*

[44] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 376.

[45] Compare *sṭitâ* in the Girnâr version of the Aśôka edicts, VI. 4; also *dhaṁmânusastiya* III. 3; °*sastiyâ* IV. 5; °*sastî* VIII. 4; °*sasṭiṁ* XIII. 9; *tistaṁtô* IV. 9; *tisṭêya* VI. 13; *dhâmadhisṭânâya* V. 4; *sêsṭê* IV. 10; *Risṭika* V. 5, and below, No. 31.

[46] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 186, 188, 190, note 50. See also *gôṭhi* in the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions Nos. 3, 5 and 9, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 327 ff.

[47] *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. III. p. 239.

[48] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 218, and Plate; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 210, No. 38, and Plate.

[49] *Arch. Surv. of Ind.* New Imp. Ser. Vol. XX. p. 56 f. Mr. Smith also thinks that the number of the day, according to the plate, is rather 11 or 12 than 10, and in this he may be right.

yasa śishô Grahabalô âtapikô tasa nivartanâ,[50] he recognised at once that the persons referred to in the two inscriptions were identical, and that *Âtapikôgahabaryasya* was to be altered into *âtapikô Grahabalasya*.[51] Another correction seems to be equally certain. The facsimile makes it quite sure that the second *akshara* of the word read by Bühler *Rârakasya* cannot be *ra*. What appears in the facsimile, evidently is nothing but the right and lower portion of a *cha*, and as Kakasaghasta or Karkuhastha is called a *vâchaka* in the inscription quoted above, I have no doubt that also the supposed *râ* of the word is simply a mistake for *vâ*. With these emendations the phrase reads: *vâchakasya arya-Kakasaghastasya śishyâ âtapikô Grahabalasya*[52] *nirvartana*, 'at the request of the *âtapika* Grahabala, the pupil of the preacher, the venerable Kakasaghasta.' The epigraphical evidence for a country of the name of Rârâ thus falls to the ground. As to the rest of Bühler's transcript, Cunningham's facsimile suggests some minor alterations, such as *ârahaṁtânaṃ* for *arahaṁtânaṁ*, *siddhânaṁ* for *siddhâna*, but, of course, these are not certain.

No. 20. — Mathurâ stone-slab inscription of Saṁ. 74;

edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 129, No. 15, and Plate; by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 183, No. 4, and Plate; and by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 32, No. 8, and Plate.

The upper right corner of the slab which bears this inscription, is broken off, so that the first two lines of the text are mutilated. But the next three lines are complete, and a transcript of what is actually preserved of the first five lines would therefore read as follows[53]:—

1 Mahâr[â]jasya r[â] . . . .
2 sya Dêvaputrasya Vâsu . . . .
3 saṁvatsarê 70[54] 4 varsha-mâ-
4 sê prathamê divasê
5 tri[ṁ]ś[ê] 30 asya purvvayê.

The three editors agree in restoring the first lines as

1 Mahârâjasya râ[jâtirâja]-
2 sya Dêvaputrasya Vâsu[dêvasya].

However, if one takes the trouble to measure the available space, it will appear that the restoration of the second line is highly improbable. There is room for two *aksharas* at the most, especially as the letters are cut pretty carefully and of uniform size. Under these circumstances we are forced, I think, to restore the name of the king to *Vâsu[shkasya]*, and this is exactly the name that is to be expected for the time to which the inscription belongs.

The last epigraphical date of Huvishka is the year 60 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8; see above, p. 105). The inscriptions which refer to the reign of Vâsudêva are dated in the years 80 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 392, No. 24), 83 (*Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 16, and below, No. 21), 87 (*ibid.* p. 35, No. 18, and below, No. 22), and 98 (*ibid.* No. 20, and below, No. 23). From the period between 60 and 80 we have only two records mentioning a king's name, besides the present one, a Mathurâ inscription dated in 76[55] and recording repairs in the reign of Vâsushka, and another from Sâñchi,[56] dated *[mahârâja]sya râjâtirâjasya [Dêva]putrasya Shâh[i] Vâsushkasya saṁ [70] 8 hê 1 [di 5] [ê]tasy[âṁ] [p]u[rv]v[âyâṁ]*.

One is accustomed to look upon Vâsushka as a mere variant of the name of Vâsudêva, because the inscriptions dated in his reign seemed to be mixed up with inscriptions referring to the reign of

[50] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, No. 19.
[51] *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. V. p. 63.
[52] The correct reading, however, is possibly *âtapikô Grahabalô tasya*.
[53] Of the next lines I can make as little as the former editors.
[54] The first figure of the date was originally read 40, but Cunningham corrected it to 70; see *Num. Chron.* Ser. III. Vol. XII. p. 50, note 6. Compare the sign for 70 in the Mathurâ inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2, and in the Kâman inscription, *ibid.* p. 212, No. 42.
[55] Führer, *Progress Report, 1895-96*; according to V. A. Smith, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 13.
[56] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II p. 369; compare also Buhler's note 10, *ibid.*

Vâsudêva. From the facts collected above it will appear that this is not the case, and I see no reason whatever why Vâsushka should not be treated as an individual name and different from Vâsudêva. In that case we should have four Kushaṇa rulers at Mathurâ, whose dates would be according to the inscriptions: Kaṇishka 5-18, Huvishka 33-60,[57] Vâsushka 74-78, Vâsudêva 80-98. But even those who should prefer to adhere to the belief in the identity of Vâsushka and Vâsudêva, will probably admit that the difference in the use of the two names cannot be due to mere chance, and they will have to assume that about the year 79 Vâsushka, in order to please his Hindu subjects, adopted the name of one of their national heroes.[58]

No. 21. — Mathurâ Jaina image inscription of Saṁ. 83;
edited by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 184, No. 6, and Plate,
and by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 16, and Plate.

Cunningham's transcript of this inscription is a great improvement on Dowson's tentative reading, and taking no account of the inaccuracies of his transliteration, his reading of the first line may be called correct. The second line he transcribes : —

. . tridattasya vagrayevya . cha . sya gad-dhikasya . . vichitiye Jina-dâsiya protima.

Bühler has already suggested (*Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. IV. p. 324) to alter *gaddhikasya* into *gandhikasya*, and from Cunningham's facsimile it appears that we have to read *tu* instead of *tri*, and *pra* instead of *pro*, which perhaps is only a misprint. Before the *tu* in the beginning of the line there are traces of another *akshara* which cannot be anything but *dhi*. The *gra* looks rather queer, and I have no doubt that in reality it is *dhu*. Finally, I am convinced that the word between *gandhikasya* and *Jinadâsiya* is to be read *kuṭumbiniyê*. The *ṭu* is quite distinct, and that the next sign in fact is *mbi* and not *vichi*, is proved by Dowson's facsimile which in this case is the more accurate of the two. Besides, the latter facsimile has some letters omitted in Cunningham's drawing. On the right, almost between the first and the second line, it shows a *dha*, and on the left, at the beginning of the first line *ânaṁ*, which certainly is to be restored to *dânaṁ*. Of course, the text cannot have commenced with this word. Apparently the inscription runs in a circle round the pedestal of the statue, and [*d*]*ânaṁ* is to be read at the end of the first line. And this also cannot have been its proper place, but it was probably placed there only for want of space in the second line. A similar disarrangement of the words of the text is found in the inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 202, No. 15. The *dha* which I take to belong to the second line I would hesitatingly restore to *dharma* and connect with [*d*]*ânaṁ*. With these corrections the whole text reads: —

1 Siddhaṁ mahârâjasya Vâsudêvasya[59] saṁ 80 3 gṛi 2 di 10 6 êtasya pûrvvayê Sênasya

2 [dhi]tu Dattasya vadhuyê Vya . . cha . . sya[60] gandhikasya kuṭumbiniyê Jinadâsiya pratimâ dha[rmad]ânaṁ.[61]

"Success! In the year 83 of *mahârâja* Vâsudêva, in the second (*month of*) summer, on the sixteenth day, — on that (*date specified as*) above, — an image, the pious gift of Jinadâsi (*Jinadâsî*), the daughter of Sêna, the daughter-in-law of Datta, the wife of the perfumer Vya . . cha . . ."

The description of the donatrix agrees with that of the inscriptions quoted above, p. 37.

[57] Probably Huvishka was already on the throne in 28; see above, p. 39.

[58] I would state that it was Dr. Fleet who first expressed his doubts about the identity of Vâsushka and Vâsudêva in a letter to me, but his arrangement of the list of the Kushana kings is different from mine. I should like to add that these notes were written before Dr. Fleet's paper on the subject had appeared in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1903*, p. 325 ff.

[59] According to Dowson's facsimile the reading would rather be *Vasudêvasya*.

[60] Dowson's facsimile seems to read *Vṛidacadasya*, which cannot be correct.

[61] The last two syllables stand at the end of line 1.

No. 22. — Mathurâ Jaina image inscription of Saṁ. 87;
edited by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 35, No. 18, and Plate.

The photograph of this stone which Prof. Kielhorn possesses, enables us to supplement and to correct Cunningham's reading of the date, though, unfortunately, it is not sufficient to restore the rest of the inscription. The first lines read: —

1 Siddhaṁ ׀ [62] Mahârâjasya râjâtirâjasya Shâhir=Vvâsudêvasya

2 saṁ 80 7 hê 2 di 30 êtasyâ purvâyâ . . . [63]

" Success! In the year 87 of *mahârâja râjâtirâja* Shâhi Vâsudêva, in the second (*month of*) winter, on the thirtieth day, — on that (*date specified as*) above . . . "

No. 23. — Mathurâ Jaina image inscription of Saṁ. 98;
edited by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 35, No. 20, and Plate,
and by Bühler, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 177, No. 8.

In his paper on this inscription Bühler first gave a revised transcript of Cunningham's facsimile, and then tried to emend the first two lines in accordance with the statements of the *Kalpasûtra.* I have compared his corrected text with the photograph of the front of the stone in the possession of Professor Kielhorn. It is not large and distinct enough to allow a thorough reading of the inscription, but it is sufficient to show that not all of Bühler's emendations can be accepted. The facsimile reads as follows :—

1 Siddha ô namô arahatô Mahâvirâsyê dêvanâśasya ׀ râjña Vâsudêvasya saṁvatsarê 90 8 varsha-mâsê 4 divasê 10 1 êtasyâ

2 purvvayâ aryya-Dêhiniyâtô[64] gaṇa . . Puridha . . kâ kulava Pêtaputrikâtê śâkhâtô gaṇasya aryya-Dêvadata . ya[65] na

3 ryya-Kshêmasya

4 prakagiriṇaṁ(?)[66]

5 kihadiyê praja

6 tasya Pravarakasya dhitu Varaṇasya gandhakasya[67] ma . uya Mitrasa . . . . datta gâ

7 yê . . . . vatô mahâ . . . .

In the first line Bühler corrected *siddha ô* to *siddham*, but the photograph shows that the supposed *ô* or *m* is the peculiar stop mentioned above, No. 22, followed here by two vertical strokes. Above the *ddha*, I think, I can discover the sign of an *anusvâra.* The word *dêvanâśasya* was taken by Bühler as an epithet of *Mahâvirasya* in the sense of 'destroyer of the gods,' but he had grave doubts about the correctness of the word. On the photograph the *dê* is faintly visible, whereas no trace is recognisable of the second and third *aksharas.* The last *akshara* is distinctly *sya*, and the last but one may be *gra* or *śra*, only the subscript *r* being quite certain. Under these circumstances I fail to see which word can possibly be meant here.[68]

[62] The stop is expressed by a curve open to the left with a horizontal bar in the centre, which sign is found also in the Mathurâ inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 9, and in the Kâman inscription, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 212, No. 42, see Bühler's note on the latter passage.

[63] Three *aksharas* after *purvâyâ* are uncertain.

[64] Bühler: °*Rêhiniyâtô.*

[65] Bühler: °*Dêvadata . va .*

[66] Buhler: *prakagirinê.*

[67] Bühler: *gatvakasya.*

[68] The restoration *Dê[vaput]rasya*, which at first sight would seem natural, becomes improbable by the one, or perhaps even two, horizontal strokes after the word, which apparently are meant as a sign of punctuation.

Of greater importance are the names of the *gaṇa*, the *kula*, and the *śâkhâ*. Instead of *aryya-Dêhiniyâtô* Bühler read *Aryya-Rêhiniyâtô* which he at first proposed to correct to *Aryya-Rôhaṇiyatô* and afterwards[69] to *Aryyôdehikiyâtô* or *Aryyadêhikiyâtô*. The photograph proves that he was right in his last conjecture, though which of the two forms is to be accepted, is here just as doubtful as in the other inscription which contains the name of this *gaṇa*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 391, No. 19. The words *Puridha . . kâ kulava* were corrected by Bühler to *Parihâsakakulatô*, but the photograph has *Paridh*[*â*]*sikâtô*[70] *kulâtô*. The form *Paridhâsika* shows that the *Pârihâsaya* of the *Kalpasûtra* must be rendered in Sanskrit by *Pâridhâsaka*, and not by *Parihâsaka* as done in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII. p. 290. We next come to the name of the *śâkhâ*, which Bühler altered from *Pêtaputrikâtê* to *Pônapatrikâtô* in order to conform it to the *Pûrṇapatrikâ* of the *Kalpasûtra*. But the reading *Pêtaputrikâtô* is beyond all doubt in the photograph, and the various readings of the *Kalpasûtra*, *Puṇṇa°*, *Panna°*, *Sunna°* or *Suvaṇṇapattiyâ*, must be considered corruptions. Such distorted names are by no means rare in the '*List of the Sthaviras*,' other examples being *Chârana* for *Vâraṇa*, *Vâṇijja* for *Ṭhâṇijja*, *Pîidhammiya* for *Pîivammiya*, &c., and the fact and even the reason thereof was known already to the Jaina theologians of the fourteenth century. Thus Jinaprabhamuni says in his *Saṁdêhavishaushadhi*[71]: *bahavô 'tra vâchanâbhêdâ lêkhakavaiguṇyâj jâtâḥ | tattatsthavirâṇâṁ cha śakhâḥ kulâni cha prâyaḥ sâṁprataṁ nânuvartantê nâmântaratirôhitâni vâ bhavishyanti | atô nirṇayaḥ kartuṁ na pâryatê pâṭhêshu.*[72]

Bühler's corrections of *Mahâvirâsyê* to *Mahâvirasya*, of *purvvayâ* to *purvvâyê*, and of *gaṇasya* to *gaṇisya* are confirmed by the photograph. In line 6 the photograph has *Varuṇasya gandhikasya vadhûyê* and in line 7 *bhagavatô Mahâ*[*vira*]*sya*, as conjectured by Bühler. With these emendations the text will run as follows :—

1 Sidddha[ṁ] ||[73] Namô arahatô Mahâvirasya dê . . . . . rasya | râjña Vâsudêvasya saṁvatsarê 90 8 varsha-mâsê 4 divasê 10 1 êtasyâ

2 purvvâyê aryya-Dêhikiyâtô[74] ga[ṇâtô] Paridh[â]sikâtô kulâtô Pêtaputrikâtô śâkhâtô gaṇisya aryya-Dêvadata[s]ya na-

3 ryya-Kshêmasya[75]

4 prakagiriṇaṁ (?)

5 kihadiyê praja

6 . . tasya[76] Pravarakasya dhitu Varuṇasya gandhikasya vadhûyê Mitrasa . . . . datta gâ(?)

7 y̆ê . . . . bhagavatô[77] Mahâ[vira]sya.

"Success! Adoration to the Arhat Mahâvira (*Mahâvîra*) the . . . . . . ! In the year 98 of *râjan* Vâsudêva, in the fourth month of the rainy season, on the eleventh day, — on that (*date specified as*) above, [at the request of] . . . the *gaṇi* (*gaṇin*) the venerable Dêvadata (*Dêvadatta*) out of the venerable Dêhikiya (*Dêhikiya*)[78] *gaṇa*, the Paridhâsika *kula*, the Pêtaputrikâ (*Paitâputrikâ?*) *śâkhâ*, [the gift of] . . . . . . of the venerable Kshêma . . . . the daughter of Pravaraka, the daughter-in-law of the perfumer Varuṇa, . . . Mitrasa . . . . [Adoration] to the holy Mahâvira (*Mahâvîra*)!"

69 *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. II. p. 144.

70 The supposed *u*-stroke in the first syllable of this word seems to be a flaw in the stone. The *â*-stroke of the third syllable is not quite certain.

71 *Kalpasûtra*, ed. by Jacobi, p. 119.

72 *Pêtaputrikâ* seems to be equivalent to Sanskrit *Paitâputrikâ*. In the *Kalpasûtra* it is preceded by the name of *Maipattiyâ* which is rendered by *Matipatrikâ*, but in analogy to *Pêtaputrikâ* one feels tempted to correct it to *Mâyâputtiyâ*, Sansk. *Mâtâputrikâ*.

73 Regarding the sign of punctuation see above.

74 Or, possibly, *aryy-Ôdêhikiyâtô*.

75 Lines 3-5 are quite unintelligible.

76 Before *tasya* traces of an *akshara* are visible in the photograph.

77 Probably *namô* is to be restored before *bhagavatô*.

78 Or Udêhikiya (*Uddêhikîya*).

FURTHER NOTES ON THE INDO-SCYTHIANS.

BY SYLVAIN LÉVI.

Extracted and rendered into English, with the author's permission, by W. R. PHILIPPS.

THE articles which were written and published by M. Lévi under the express title of "Notes on the Indo-Scythians" have been presented to the readers of this Journal in Vol. XXXII. above, pp. 381 and 417, and at p. 1 ff. of the current volume, with a few supplementary notes and remarks. The present article brings together, under a title which has been adopted to mark the connection prominently, some more contributions on the same subject, found in other articles written by M. Lévi, which could not be conveniently incorporated in the "Notes on the Indo-Scythians."

A. — The relations between China and Kanishka.

From the "Journal Asiatique," July-Dec., 1897, pp. 526 ff.

The *Fa-yuen-tchou-lin* [already mentioned in Vol. XXXII. above, p. 420] enables us to complete and correct one of the data furnished by Hiouen-tsang as to the relations between China and Kanishka. The compiler took his information from an official collection, the *Si-yu-tchi*, "Memoirs on the Western Countries," drawn up in A. D. 666 by the Emperor's orders, and divided into two sections, the text in 60 chapters, and the illustrations (maps, &c.) in 40.

The *Si-yu-tchi* says : — "In the kingdom of Ki-pin (Kapiśa) the doctrine of the Buddha is "very wide-spread. In the interior of the capital there is a monastery (vihāra) called *Han-seu* "(monastery of the Han). Formerly an envoy of the Han, yielding to his own inclination, "erected a *Feou-t'ou* (Buddha, pagoda). He made it of stones laid together, a hundred *tch'eu* "(feet) high. The practices of worship there differ from the ordinary. In the monastery there "is a bone of the skull of the Buddha and there is a hair of the Buddha : the colour of it is "deep blue, and it is twisted like a shell. They have deposited them in the seven jewels, and "they have placed them in a casket of gold. To the north-west of the capital there is the "monastery of the king. In the monastery there is a milk-tooth of the infant Śākya "Bōdhisattva. It is an inch long. On going from there to the south-west, one finds the "monastery of the king's wife. In the monastery there is a *Feou-t'ou* of copper, a hundred "*tch'eu* high : in this *Feou-t'ou* there are relics. Every six days, it diffuses during the night "a luminous effulgence ; the brightness spreads all around from the base to the cupola ; it "re-enters the interior when the dawn appears."[1]

Hiouen-tsang (*Mémoires*, 1, 53) describes the monasteries mentioned in this passage. He gives to the convent which possessed the milk-tooth the same name and the same location ; but, according to him, the convent which had the skull-bone and hair was called the "convent of the ancient king."

The Itinerary of Ou-k'ong (*J. A.*, July-Dec., 1895, p. 357) also points out this monastery "which has as relic a bone of the skull of Śākya the Tathāgata." He calls it the "monastery of *Yen-ti-li* of the king *Ki-ni-tch'a*." It is therefore certain that the person styled "the ancient king" is Kanishka. Under the enigmatical name *Yen-ti-li* is perhaps hidden the solution of the problem set by the text of the *Si-yu-tchi ;* perhaps the name in some way refers to the Chinese envoy who came to Kanishka's court. To this, however, M. Lévi, in revising this abstract, has now added a remark, as follows : — Compare, now, Marquart, *Ērānshahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenaci*, Berlin, 1901, p. 282. We must read *Yen-ti chai*, instead of *Yen-ti-li*. The character *chai* transcribes exactly the title which the Sanskrit denotes by *Sāhi*, and which the kings of Kapiśa bore regularly from the time of Kanishka. The reference therefore is to "the monastery of *Yen-ti śāhi* of the king Kanishka."

[1] [For a later translation, presumably a revised one, see further on, p. 112 f. — W. R. P.]

Moreover, while the *Si-yu-tchi* places this convent inside the capital, Hiouen-tsang seems to put it outside. The disagreement of the two texts makes one think that the "monastery of the Han" of the *Si-yu-tchi* really corresponds to the convent which Hiouen-tsang calls by the enigmatical name *Jin-kia-lan*, "the monastery of the men," which had been founded by Chinese hostages in the time of Kanishka (*Mêmoires*, 1, 42). The Si-yu-tchi version recalls in a striking manner the history of King-lou or King-hien already discussed (Vol. XXXII. above, p. 419). It confirms the coming of an envoy (*cheu*) from the Han to the country of the Indo-Scythians ; and, as the foundation of the convent goes back to Kanishka's time, the Chinese envoy, who is said to have founded it, must have come to Ki-pin during the reign of Kanishka. This is one reason more for believing that King-lou's mission belongs to Kanishka's reign, and that this reign must be placed about the beginning of the Christian era.

On the identity of Ki-pin and Kapiśa, M. Lévi has an interesting footnote, and refers to the *Journal Asiatique*, July-Dec., 1895, 371-384, and Jan.-June, 1896, 161. The passage in Hiouen-tsang (*Mémoires*, 1, 41 ff.), corresponding to the one in the *Si-yu-tchi* quoted above, is another testimony to the identity. Moreover, the political state of Kapiśa in the time of Ou-k'ong was still as it had been described by Hiouen-tsang.

In the time of Hiouen-tsang, Gandhāra had already "fallen under the domination of the kingdom of Kapiśa" (*Mêmoires*, 1, 104), and the capital of Gandhāra, *Ou-ta-kia-han-tch'a* (Udabhāṇḍa: *cf.* Stein, *Zur Geschichte der Çâhis von Kabul*) was one of the residences of the king of Kapiśa (*Vie*, 263). Nagarahara (*Mém.* 96), Lampaka (*Mém.* 95), &c., a total of a dozen kingdoms, belonged to Kapiśa (*Mêm.* 41). The city of Takshaśilā had passed recently from Kapiśa to Kashmir (*Mém.* 152).

As the identification is now well established, the name of Kapiśa becomes of great historical importance, and we may ask if the names of the Scythian princes given on coins as "Kujula-Kapsa" and "Hima-Kapiśa" do not contain the name of their capital city.

It is of interest to note that the Chinese character used to transcribe the first syllable of Kapiśa is employed to designate hair-cloths which came from *Si-hou*, *i. e.* from the western barbarians. According to Couvreur's dictionary the word has that value in The History of the First Han.

A note appended to the *Na-sien-king* (Milinda-praśna) in the Ming edition, says:— Ki-pin is a *fan*, *i. e.* Indian, word, meaning "a race without value."

The name Kapiśa, though so rarely mentioned by western authors, is found unexpectedly in the Midrasch, *Vayikra Rabba*, ch. 5, where Kapiśa is represented as the most distant country (Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*). There a commentator on Isaias 22, verse 18, "he will toss thee like a ball into a large country: there shalt thou die," says of the "large country": — "It is Kapiśa." The *Vayikra Rabba* is a Palestinian work of the 7th century.

B.— The missions of Wang Hiuen-ts'e in India.

From the "Journal Asiatique," Jan.-June, 1900, pp. 297-341, and 401-468.

Wang Hiuen-ts'e was a contemporary of Hiouen-tsang. He had been prefect of Hoang-choei in the district of Young. Afterwards he was attached as second to the mission of Li I-piao, who started for India in the third month of 643 with an escort of twenty-two men. The object of the mission was to escort back to India a brahman, an official guest of the empire, or to convey to the king Harsha-Śīlāditya a reply from the emperor. The brahman no doubt was an ambassador of this king. After a journey of nine months, the mission arrived at Magadha in the twelfth month of 643. It remained some time in India. In 645, at the end of the first month, it was at Rājagṛiha; it ascended Gṛidhrakūṭa, and left an inscription there. Fifteen days after, it was at Mahābōdhi, and there also left an inscription. In going to or returning from India, it passed through Nepal, where the king Narēndradēva treated Li I-piao with honour.

Wang Hiuen-ts'e was soon again sent to India. In 646 apparently, he received the title "chief of the guard and archivist," and was sent again to Magadha, with Tsiang Cheu-jenn as second, and an escort of 30 horsemen. While the mission was on its way, the king Harsha-Śīlāditya died. His minister Na-fou-ti O-lo-na-choen had usurped the throne, and he received Wang Hiuen-ts'e as an enemy. His escort was murdered: but he and his assistant escaped into Nepal, where Narēndradēva was still reigning. The king of Tibet, Srong-tsan Gam-po, was an ally of China, and in 641 had married a princess of the imperial family. These two kings gave Wang Hiuen-ts'e their aid. With 1,200 Tibetans and 7,000 Nepalese horsemen, he fell upon Magadha, took the capital, and carried off the king to China, where he arrived in 648, the fifth month, on the day *keng tzeu*. Wang Hiuen-ts'e was promoted to the dignity of *tch'ao-san-ta-fou*. Afterwards, when the mausoleum of the emperor T'ai-t'soung, who died 649, was built, the statue of O-lo-na-choen was placed in the avenue leading to the tomb, along with the statues of Srong-tsan Gam-po, and of the kings of Kou-tche, Kao-tchang, &c.

In 657, Wang Hiuen-ts'e with the title of *wei-tch'ang-cheu* was sent again by imperial order to the western countries. This time, it was to offer a *kashāya* at the holy places. The object of the mission was also to bring back to China a certain Hiuen-tchao, whom Wang Hiuen-ts'e had previously met in India, and whose eminent virtue he had pointed out in his report. We know some of the stages of this journey. The mission passed through Nepal in 657: in 659 it was in the kingdom of Fo-li-che: in 660 it was at the convent of Mahābōdhi, which it left on the first day of the tenth month; and in 661 it was at Kapiśa, returning to China. Vaiśālī had also been visited on the way, and a grand entertainment had been there given by the emperor of India in honour of Wang Hiuen-ts'e.

We know no more of the life of Wang Hiuen-ts'e, but he must have written his memoirs regarding his journey before 666.

The memoirs written by Wang Hiuen-ts'e have been lost. Some fragments have been preserved in the *Fa-yuen-tchou-lin*, the famous encyclopædia of Buddhism, compiled by Tao-cheu and finished 668. The memoirs of Wang Hiuen-ts'e and of Hiouen-tsang served also as a basis for the official compilation, the *Si-yu-tchi* (or *Si-kouo-tchi*), written in 666.

M. Lévi, in the present article, has given a translation of all the fragments contained in the *Fa-yuen-tchou-lin*, together with much connected information. He has also given several extracts from the *Si-yu-tchi*, which are of interest to Indologists. The entire article seems well worth their attention, but here we are necessarily only concerned with what may serve to complete or correct M. Lévi's Notes on the Indo-Scythians, *viz.*, with the 5th and 11th fragments given by him from the *Fa-iouen-tchou-lin*.

The 5th fragment is from Chap. 29, p. 93 b, col. 10, where the compiler, summing up the journey of Hiouen-tsang, mentions the convent of the Ancient King in Kapiśa (*cf.* Hiouen-tsang, *Mém.* 1, 53). "At this very time, at the beginning of the spring of the first year "Loung-so (661) of the Great T'ang, the envoy Wang Hiuen-ts'e returning from the kingdoms "of the West, officially makes offerings there."

The 11th fragment is from Chap. 38, p. 62 a, col. 9: — "The *Si-yu-tchi* says: — In the "kingdom of Ki-pin (Kapiśa) the doctrine of the Buddha is very wide-spread. In the interior "of the capital there is a monastery called the convent of the Han. Formerly an envoy of the "Han came into this country and erected there a *Feou-t'ou* (stūpa); he made it of stones "heaped up a hundred *tch'eu* (feet) high. The practices of the worship there differ from "all the other rites. In the convent, there is a bone of the skull of the Buddha, and also a "hair of the Buddha which is deep blue and twisted round in the manner of a shell. They "have deposited it with the seven jewels, and they have inclosed it in a little casket of gold.

"To the north-west of the capital there is the convent of the king. In this convent there "is a milk-tooth of the infant Śākya Bōdhisattva; it is an inch long.

"On going from there to the south-west, one finds the convent of the king's wife. In "this convent there is a *Feou-t'ou* of copper, a hundred *tch'eu* high. In this *Feou-t'ou* there "are relics. On the six days of abstinence it diffuses in the night a luminous effulgence; the "brightness spreads all round it from the base to the cupola, then re-enters the interior at the "break of dawn."

On pp. 447-468, under the sub-heading *Les monastères du Kapiça — Les Han et les Yue-tchi*, M. Lévi comments upon these passages.

The monastery of the Ancient King, where Wang Hiuen-ts'e was in 661, is mentioned by Hiouen-tsang (*Mém.* 1, 53). The other monasteries named in the *Si-yu-tchi* are also described by Hiouen-tsang; the pilgrim Ou-k'ong, who visited the same region between 760 and 764, gives the names of several monasteries ; but these names are not Sanskṛit : they are probably Turkī. The convent of the Ancient King is the monastery of the king Yen-t'i-li (read Yen-ti chai; see page 110 above) of Ou-k'ong (*J. A.*, July-Dec., 1895, 357). The convent of the king with the milk-tooth of the Buddha is described under the same name by Hiouen-tsang (1, 53). The convent of the wife of the king (*ibid.*) is the convent Pin-tche of Ou-k'ong (*loc. cit.* 356), a designation which recalls the title of Pin-tcheou given to the queen of the Kingdom of the Women, Niu-Wang (History of the T'ang, quoted by Bushell, *Early History of Tibet*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1880, N. S., 12, 532).

There remains the monastery of the Han. The relics deposited there, according to the *Si-yu-tchi*, are exactly those which Hiouen-tsang saw in the convent of the Ancient King. But the origin which is here attributed to it, closely recalls the tradition related by Hiouen-tsang, regarding a convent enigmatically designated in the Memoirs by the name *Jin-kia-lan* (1, 42), and *Cha-lo-kia* in the Biography (1, 71 and 75). Neither of these names can be reduced to Sanskṛit originals.[2]

It is probable that the name "Monastery of the Han" given in the *Si-yu-tchi*, corresponds to the *T'chen-tan-hou-li* of Ou-k'ong. "Hou-li" seems to be the Tartar translation of "vihāra" (*J. A.*, July-Dec., 1895, 389). As to *Tchen-t'an*, M. Lévi has shewn (*Mélanges de Harlez*, 182 *seq.*) that it corresponds to *Chīna-sthāna, Chīn(a)tthān(a)*, "China," and subsidiarily to the title *dēvaputra*, "Son of Heaven" [see also Vol. XXXII. above, p. 421]. In fact, the Chinese origin of the monastery is hardly doubtful : the disagreement between Hiouen-tsang and the *Si-yu-tchi* does not even imply two divergent traditions. The official compilers of the *Si-yu-tchi* would have had a repugnance to relate the history of a Chinese prince kept as a hostage by the Yue-tchi, and would have transformed the prisoner into an official envoy. Perhaps also they borrowed from Wang Hiuen-ts'e, or some other traveller, the tradition they adopted.

Founded among the Yue-tchi, whether by a Chinese hostage or by a Chinese envoy, the monastery of the Han links together the Indo-Scythians and the Chinese. It brings forcibly to mind the journey of that enigmatical "King," who passes as the first propagator of Buddhist texts in China. M. Lévi's discussion of this tradition has been given above (Vol. XXXII. p. 419). M. Specht, in the *J. A.*, July-Dec., 1897, p. 166, disapproved of his translation and interpretation; and M. Lévi here meets these criticisms, and publishes new texts which he has since collected.

The dispute is essentially about a passage in the *Wei-leao*, "Abridged History of the Wei," quoted in an annotation in the *San-kouo-tchi* and other compilations. The text, as it has come down to us, is full of uncertainties and obscurities. Its author, in dealing with the introduction of Buddhism into China, relates that a person named King entered into communication with a king of the Yue-tchi in 2 B. C. But did this Chinaman receive Buddhist sūtras from the Yue-tchi, or did they from him? The question may seem idle : it is really of

[2] On the convent of *Cha-lo-kia*, compare, now, also Marquart, *op. cit.* (page 110 above), p. 283. — S. L.

great importance. The conversion of the Yue-tchi is involved, and this conversion dominates the history of Buddhism. It marks a new phase.

To solve the difficulties of the text, M. Specht called to his aid the redaction given in three works later than the *San-kouo-tchi*, and dated respectively in the 9th, 10th, and 12th century. M. Lévi has discovered four new citations in works of the 7th century. Their testimony is weighty, as they are not far from the epoch when the existence of the *Wei-leao* was still attested; the annotations of the *San-kouo-tchi* belong in fact to the 5th century. The original still existed, or the tradition regarding it was still solid and precise.

The four new citations given by M. Lévi are from: —

1. The *Koang-houng-ming-tsi* by Tao-siuen (founder of the Vinaya school in China), compiled 650-667 (K).

2. The *Tsi-cha-men-pou-ing-pai-siu-tang-cheu* by Yen-ts'oung, in 662 (T).

3 and 4. The *Pien-tcheng-loen* by Fa-lin, between 624 and 640 (T and P′).

These four citations, K, T, P and P′, all differ from the *San-kouo-tchi*. They also differ among themselves.

The following translation shews the variations: — "The abridgment of the Wei, in the "chapter on the Countries of the West, says: — The king of *Lin-i* had no son. He therefore "sacrificed to the Buddha. His wife *Mo-ye* (Māyā) saw a white elephant in a dream and "became pregnant. And a son was born to her. He came out from her right side, and came "to the world spontaneously. He had a roll of hair [chignon] at the top of the head; shaking "the earth he was able to walk seven paces. As he had the appearance of a Buddha, and as "he had been obtained thanks to a sacrifice to the Buddha, they gave to the prince the name "of Buddha. In the kingdom (of Lin-i: T, P′, K) there was a holy man named *Cha-liu*. (Here "is what they tell of him: P′, K.) Being very aged, he had white hair and resembled Lao-"tzeu. Constantly he instructed the people (the men: T, P′, K) on the subject of the Buddha. "If heaven sent a calamity on men, if for example they had not sons, he bound them to "practise the penances and the observances of the Buddha, and to part with what they "possessed in order to redeem their faults. It is not long ago, the Yellow-Caps, on seeing that "he had an entirely white face, have substituted for this Cha-liu the designation of *Lao-tan*; "they have been able in security to cheat and deceive China. In the time of Ngai-ti of the "First Han (in the period Yuen-cheou: T), Ts'in King went (was sent: T, P′, K) to the king-"dom of the Yue-tchi. Their king ordered his son, the heir presumptive, to communicate "(so in the four texts, not "receive") orally the holy books of Buddha (to King: T, P′, K). "On returning into China, that which he reported of Buddha was in sum altogether in "accordance with the books of the Tao. (And it is thus that the doctrine of the books of the "Buddha came early among the First Han: T, P′, K)."

In order to fix the text of this important passage, the redaction cited in the *San-kouo-tchi* is also given. The following is a translation from the French: —

"Kingdom of *Lin-eul*. The sacred books of the Buddha say: — The king of this kingdom "begot the Buddha. The Buddha was heir presumptive. His father was called *Sie-t'eou* "(Śuddhōdana); his mother *Mo-ye* (Māyā). The Buddha had the body and the garment of "yellow colour, the roll of hair [chignon] blue like blue silk, the breast blue, the hair "[of the body] red like copper. First Māyā saw in a dream a white elephant and she became "pregnant; afterwards she brought forth a child. He came out in being born from the right "side of his mother and he had a knot. Shaking the earth, he was able to walk seven paces. "This kingdom is in India; the capital is the centre of India.

"Moreover, there is a holy man named *Cha-liu*. Formerly, the first year of the period "Iouen-cheou of Ngai-ti of the Han, King-lou, titular student of the imperial college, was "sent on a mission among the Great Yue-tchi; having received them orally, he preserved

"sacred books of the Buddha, which said: — 'The second founder, it is this man.' In the "sacred books which he brought, *lin pou se* (?) *sang men pe wenn chou wenn pe chou wenn pi-*"*k'iu cheng men*, are all the titles of the disciples. The books of the Buddha which he brought, "agree completely with the Chinese books of Lao-tzeu."

Compared with the others, the text annexed to the *San-kouo-tchi* appears clearly as altered and truncated. It has preserved some details which are wanting elsewhere regarding the person of the Buddha, the name of his adepts, the precise year of King-lou's journey, and the alleged situation of Kapilavastu at the centre of India. But it omits the information, curious but nevertheless correct in the main, regarding the worship of the Buddhas before the Buddha Śākyamuni, the propitiatory sacrifice offered by Śuddhōdana, and the origin of the name of the Buddha. It preserves the mention of *Cha-liu*, but omits the curious episode which justifies such mention, and which attaches the remembrance of this person to the history of the internal dissensions of China in the 2nd century. The passage telling of the relations between King(lou) and the Yue-tchi is so obscure, that it apparently lends itself to contradictory interpretations. The disorder seems to increase gradually, and towards the end is very obvious.

The kingdom *Lin-eul* (= *Lin-ni*), or *Lin-i* by a slight modification of the second Chinese character. has its name from the garden of Lumbinī, where the Buddha was born. M. Lévi here makes some observations on the Chinese forms of the name (*Loung-pi-ni*, *La-fa-ni*, *Lin-pi-ni*, *Lin-pi*), and afterwards remarks that the author of the *Wei-leao* seems to have mistaken the name of the garden for the name of the kingdom (Kapilavastu).

M. Lévi has already shewn (see Vol. XXXII. above, p. 425) that *Cha-liu* may be the common translation of Śāriputra (Prākṛit Sariyut). Here he adds that, according to Fa-hien (ch. 16), the Buddhist monks of India, wherever they established themselves, put up towers in honour of Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana and Ānanda, and parallelly in honour of the Abhidarma, the Vinaya and the Sūtras. Śāriputra and the Abhidharma, which corresponds to him, are put in the first rank. As to the use, in the name *Cha-liu*, of the Chinese character *cha* to represent an Indian non-cerebral sibilant, compare *p'ing-cha* for the name of the king Bimbisāra in a translation by Tchi just at the time of the Wei (223-253). The traditional forms *cha-men*. *pi-cha-men* for "śramaṇa," "Vaiśravaṇa," shew also the same character used in the same way before the time of scholarly transcriptions. It happens also that in these various examples the *cha* uniformly represents sibilant + *ar*, the *r* being moveable within the Sanskṛit syllable *cf.* σαρμανες with *śramaṇa*, *dhrama* and *dharma*, &c.).

The different titles of the disciples of the Buddha given in the text can only in part be brought back to Sanskṛit originals. *Pi-k'iu* and *cheng-men* and *sang-men*, are the ordinary transcriptions of "bhikshu" and "śramaṇa." The expressions containing the word *wenn* "to hear" (*pe-wenn*, *pe-chou-wenn*) probably equal "śrāvaka" (the hearer).

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M. Lévi adds some further information he has collected about the Yue-tchi.

The *I-tsie-king-in-i* of Hiuen-ing, composed about 649, in the notes upon the *Mi-tsi-king-kang-li-cheu-king* (sūtra on the Malla [or Licchavi] Guhya-pada-vajra [?])[3] has the following note: — "Yue-tchi. It is the kingdom of *Pou-kia-lo*; it is situated to the north-west of the mountain "of the Snows (Himālaya)."

Pou-kia-lo is clearly *Pukkhalavatī*, Pushkaravatī (Πευκελα of the Greeks), mentioned as capital of the Yue-tchi in the passages quoted in *J. A.*, Jan.-June, 1897, pp. 9 and 42 (see Vol. XXXII. above, p. 423). The compiler Hiuen-ing no doubt reproduced a gloss in the translation, but we do not know when the sūtra was translated, or what sūtra it was. The

[3] I have since established that this sūtra is in fact the third sūtra of the Ratnakūṭa, Japanese edition, II, 1, 47[b]. The corresponding Sanskrit title is Tathāgata-guhya-nirdēśa (Nanjio, 23, 3). — S. L.

Li-cheu-king, annotated by Hiouen-ing, was in five chapters, and referred to the Yue-tchi, and also to Yu-tien (Khotan) and K'iu-tsi (Koutche). There is nothing of the sort in the *Li-cheu-king* of our collections.[4]

The *Kiu-che-loun-soung-chou*, commentary on the *Abhidarma-kōśa*, mentions in its historical introduction, the name of Kanishka (*Kia-ni-tcha-kia*), and cites the interpretation given by Hoei-hoei, a learned commentator at the end of the 12th century. Hoei-hoei explains the name by *tsing kin che*, "colour of pure gold." It is curious to note that this translation adapts itself equally to the Sanskṛit form, and to the Chinese. *Kanishka* might easily be from *kanaka*, "gold," while the Chinese words [*tsing*] *kin-che*, "colour of [pure] gold," sound like an echo of Kanishka.

* * * * * *

M. Lévi's concluding observations are to the following effect.

The texts he has collected seem to him to leave no doubt that the Buddhist authors or compilers of the 7th century reproduced the information about the Buddha and about King's journey contained in the *Wei-leao*, without borrowing it from the extract inserted in the annotations of the *San-kouo-tchi*. We have there an independent translation, direct or indirect as it may be. Whether taken immediately from the *Wei-leao* or borrowed from intermediaries, our citations suppose the existence of at least two recensions, near enough, and also different enough at the same time, to serve to control each other. The comparison of these recensions enables us to definitely solve the problem of the enigmatical King. Thus: — In 2 B. C. a Chinaman went to the country of the Yue-tchi: the king of the Yue-tchi caused some of the Buddhist texts to be communicated to him by his own son, the prince, his heir; the Chinaman, having returned to his country, made them known there. The comparison of the different redactions leaves no place at all for any other interpretation.

After having established the fact, we can follow the gradual modifications of the tradition.

The *Cheu-kia-fang-tchi* of Tao-siuen (650 A. D.) and the *Fa-yuen-tchou-lin* (668) mention in identical terms the journey of King-hien (*J. A.*, Jan.-June, 1897, pp. 19-20; see Vol. XXXII., above, p 420). So does the *Po-sie-loun*, by Fa-lin (624-640). But by the end of the 7th century the recension of the *San-kouo-tchi* tends to prevail. Hiuen-i, just about 700, in the *Tchenn-tcheng-loen* has the very text preserved in the *San-kouo-tchi*, and he understands it, not as M. Specht, but as M. Lévi does, for he adds: — "It is to start from this moment that the law of the Buddha began gradually to spread itself towards the east," *i. e.* towards China. Moreover, before relating the journey of King-(hien) he says: — "One began to learn the existence of the doctrine of the Buddha under Ngai-ti."

Thus Hiuen-i, who adopts the same text as that used by M. Specht, and also Fa-lin, Tao-siuen and Tao-cheu, all make King a Chinaman, who went on a journey or mission among the Yue-tchi, and brought back from their country the Buddhist doctrine.

From the 8th century the *San-kouo-tchi* recension alone seems to be found, to the exclusion of the others. M. Specht has pointed out three compilations, of the 9th, 10th, and 12th centuries, which reproduce it. The author of the *Soung-kao-seng-tch'oen*, composed in 988, while averring the resemblance between the teachings of the Buddha and of Lao-tzeu, expressly refers to the *San-kouo-tchi* (ch. 3, p. 81 b).

To sum up: —Whatever be the recension adopted as a basis, criticism and tradition allow only one interpretation: — In 2 B. C. the king of the Yue-tchi was a Buddhist, and his zeal laboured to propagate the religion in the direction of China. The consequences which M. Lévi has thought can be drawn from this fact, remain intact.

[4] In reality, this sūtra was translated by Tchou Fa-hou under the Western Tsin, between 265 and 316 A. D. — S. L.

FEMALE TATTOOING AT VINDHYACHAL, NEAR MIRZAPUR, UNITED PROVINCES.

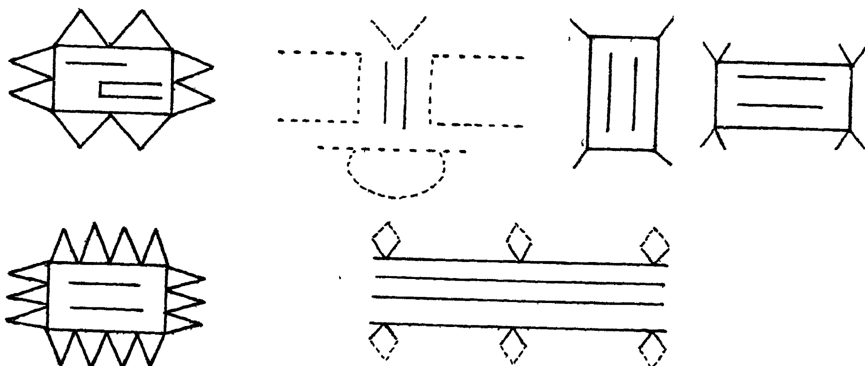
BY B. A. GUPTE, F.Z.S.

As **Vindhyâchal** is an ancient rock-temple of the primitive type, which is said to have been the "place-name" of a goddess worshipped by some of the families of the Chândrâsenî-Kâyasth Prabhus of Bombay and Poona, I was requested by the Poona Club of that Society to avail myself of the opportunity of examining this place on a journey to Calcutta. The temple has been separately described for the monograph of the Provincial Superintendent of Ethnography, but a few notes on the local tattooing collected simultaneously are given here : —

A Kahâr woman, who said that her people serve as domestics or menials, had the *ludiâ* or curry-pestle or stone-hammer marked on her left arm thus. On the right arm were four fish, showing that she was originally of the fisher-caste, as the Kahârs are. She had also Sîtâ's *rasôî* or hearth. These women, as domestic servants, have to pound the curry-stuff and to help generally in cooking operations by cleaning the domestic hearth, the cooking pots, &c. **The profession and caste of the woman were therefore both shown in her tattoo marks.**

A Govâlâ or Cow-herd woman examined was also a domestic servant, but instead of the fish of the Kahâr woman she had a group of five dots, which she called "the five milk-maids of Kṛishṇa." The *lôdâ* or *ludiâ*, curry-stone, was there all the same. On the dorsum of her hand she had a figure of the *yônî*, which she did not like to name.

But her great ambition, a faithful husband, was shown in the Râm's *mâchiâ*, or cot. That Râm was so faithful to his wife as to be called एक शैय्या, or one who 'slept on one bed only,' is a well-known tradition, and every woman naturally considers him a model-husband. The proximity of Oudh, the birth-place of Râm, seems to have influenced the religion of the half-cultured tribes of Vindhyâchal to a marked degree, because a **Râidâs woman** and three **Ahîr women,** examined on the same day, all had the Râm's bed and Sîtâ's hearth tattooed on their arms, although they differed in shape in each case. The following reproductions will show the variations :—



Râm's faithful bed and Sîtâ's tabooed hearth seem to be the greatest ambition of these women. One of the Ahîr women refused to admit that she had anything like a name on her arm, but in the midst of a blurred and confused design, scarcely visible, was the distinct name राम in an incomplete state as given here. Three local priests, who were sitting with me, were asked to read the legend, and they all agreed that it was the name of Râm.

One great peculiarity in all the specimens seen here was, that about two inches below the elbow-joint was a row of confused designs resembling bangles in some shape or other. This belt ended just where the last of the bangles reached the arm from the wrist-joint. Even a **Gadariâ or shepherd woman** examined, who had no other symbol, had a broad band running round her arm in fantastic curves, zig-zags, lines, and dots.

The most important point to be noted was the statement "that no girl in this locality is tattooed before marriage, and that the operation is performed as soon after marriage as possible." This statement was corroborated by the local priests.

MISCELLANEA.

SOME CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS A GLOSSARY OF RELIGIOUS AND OTHER TERMS USED IN THE PANJAB.

[The "Proposals for a Glossary of Indian Religious Phraseology" (*Ind. Ant.* 1903, pp. 278-80) have so far been justified by results, as the following contributions are only a part of the material already collected, and it is certain that in the remoter parts of the Panjâb a large number of words relating to local customs, beliefs and practices, and local words relating to orthodox beliefs, &c., will be found to exist.

I am indebted for many useful contributions to L. Chela Râm, Revenue Assistant in the Dera Ghâzi Khân District, in which Western Panjâbî is the dialect of the Hindû population. For this dialect reference may be made to Juke's *Dictionary of Western Panjâbî* (Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1900). In the South-West Panjâb the customs of the people differ markedly from those in the rest of the Province, and many of the words now given relate to customs as yet undescribed.

It is hoped that in a subsequent note much fuller and more interesting contributions will be given, including some of the many words to be found in Temple's *Legends of the Panjâb* and other works.

It remains to notice the wide meaning given by many of my contributors to the term 'religious.' It is characteristic of India that it is taken to include social observances and much else. — H. A. ROSE.]

Achhâr, achhârâ. — See *tichhar*.

Âgâ. — Songs sung by Hindu women at weddings and similar occasions. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Aqâmat. — The words recited in the ear of a new-born child. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân)

Arpan, offering; — *karnâ*, to offer (Sanskr.).

Arthî. — A coffin.

Ankuṭ. — A Hindu holiday in which the Govardhan mountain is worshipped, and rice, pulse, and sweetmeat distributed (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Ayâ, period of life (Sanskr.).

Bâu. — Equivalent to *haldât, q. v.*

Bêl. — The money passed round the head of a religious leader or deity and given to a priest: *karnâ*, to perform the above ceremony. Also called *nanchhâwar*.

Bhâjî. — Anything distributed by Hindus among brethren in a marriage or other ceremony. The word literally means cooked vegetables or lentils, but some Hindus by it denote meat or flesh (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.) *Cf. Panjâbî Dictionary*, p. 118.

Bhêt. — Money or things offered to a deity. Also called *bhêt pûjâ*.

Bhiṭ. — *Lit.*, 'a door,' in Pôtôhârî, acc. to the *Panjâbî Dictionary*, p. 138. In Derâ Ghâzî Khân it means 'the abstention from touching others for several days after a birth or death.'

Bhiṭṭî. — From *bhitan*, to touch or to be touched. A woman in her menses is so termed because she is supposed to have been touched by a low-caste woman

Bhôg. — (1) Any good eatable thing offered to a deity. (2) Sexual intercourse.

Bhôṛâ. — Equivalent to *kanjî, q. v*

Biwân. — *Lit*, 'air-car.' The Hindus believe that the spirits of good ancestors are carried to heaven in *biwâns*. Therefore, when a Hindu, man or woman, dies at a very advanced age, having grandsons or great-grandsons, the death is regarded as an occasion for rejoicing. The body is placed in a *sirhî*, or board adorned with paper-flowers, etc., and made in the form of a boat, and the whole structure, which is covered with silk-cloth, is called the *biwân*. A feast is given to all the relatives, and the women of the family dance and sing as if at a wedding. (Ferozepur.)

Bûr. — Equivalent to *saga, q. v.*

Busrî. — See under *kuprî*.

Bûṭî. — *Lit.*, a plant. Also a woman who believes in spirits. The followers of a shrine or religious institutions are also called *bûṭî*. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Chaukî — The case enclosing a *rakh, q. v.* Equivalent to *takhtî, q. v.*

Chêlâ, s. m, fem. *chêlî*, fem. dim. *chêlṛî*. Ex., a little girl is the *chêlṛî* or young disciple of a *gurû*. In Derâ Ghâzî Khân *chêlâ* means a believer in the existence of evil-spirits, and *chêlṛî*, a woman possessed by an evil-spirit.

Chhattê, pl *-e.* — The hairs kept by Hindus after the *jhand* ceremony.

Chhaṭṭî — The hair of a child which is kept after the *jhand* (*q. v.*) or first shaving.

Chhûhanra — *Lit.*, dried dates. Also the ceremony of sending the barber or *parôhit* of the girl's parents to those of the boy, with a present of seven dates, a rupee and a lump of *guṛ*. The boy's parents collect their relatives and friends to witness the betrothal and the messenger receives a cloth as a present. Also called *shagan*.

Chôlâ. — The ceremony of clothing a child for the first time, among Hindus. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Chung. — *Lit*, a handful. The ceremony of grinding corn at a marriage among Hindus. Also dues paid to village menials and beggars. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.) *Cf. jindrôṛî*.

Churêl. — The malignant evil spirit of a woman who has died in childbirth.

Daknî. — A female evil-spirit. Also called *chuṛêl.*

Dalel. — Scented articles sprinkled on a corpse before burial, by Muhammadans.

Dêô-kâj — Re-marriage with the wife after the birth of the first son of the marriage.

Dêwên Dhamâî. — Ancestor-worship, among Hindus, at a wedding, to implore their protection of bride and bridegroom. (Derâ Ghâz Khân). *Cf. dhâmâ.*

Dhâgâ. — A thread of black wool tied round a limb near a sore, after it has been breathed upon by a man who also recites a secret charm over it.

Dhâmâ. — A feast given to Brâhmans in the name of deceased ancestors. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Dhâwanâ. — The bathing on the 3rd day after a death among Muhammadans, performed by the deceased's family. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Dhûnî. — See *dhunrâ. Dhûnî* also means the things, such as chillies, burnt before a person possessed by an evil-spirit, to expel that spirit. Also a place where fire is kept burning night and day. *Sâdhûs* and *faqîrs* keep a fire burning at a fixed spot in order to extort charity.

Dhunrâ. — A heap of ashes. Certain orders of *faqîrs* accustom themselves to remain near a fire as a penance. This fire is called in Panjâbî *dhûnâ* or *dhûnî*, and the followers of a *faqîr* are said to belong to his *dhûnâ.*

Dhûriâ. — The playing in the dust on the last day of the Holi.

Fatîlâ — The popular inversed form of *palîtâ*, *q v* in *Multani Glossary*, p. 50.

Gandâ. — An enchanted thread worn round the neck or waist to remove disease or other evil.

Gâṇḍhâ. — *Lit.*, knotted. Dealings at marriages and other ceremonies (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Gâudhûṛ. — The dust thrown up by the passage of cows at the Gôpashṭamî festival. It is considered sacred by Hindus. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân)

Ghôṛî. — *Lit*, mare. During the night of the wedding the boy must ride a mare. He then becomes a bridegroom. This is called the *ghôrî kî rasm* or mare's custom

Haldât. — The ceremony of cleansing the body of the bride or bridegroom with *haldî* or turmeric (? from *hald-î* and *hâth*, hand) Also called *hân*

Hân. — Equivalent to *haldât*, *q v.*

Handa. — Bread given to a Brâhman.

Hom — Cooked rice and milk offered to Dêvî. Also a ceremony for propitiating the gods. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Hiwân — A coffin of extraordinary size.

Jâdû. — A spell. Also called *kartût.*

Janâ'ûnî — See *sunâ'ûnî.*

Jhand. — The ceremony or rite of shaving a child's head for the first time. It is usually performed at a shrine or temple with various observances.

Jindrôṛî. — The ceremony of grinding wheat at marriages, among Hindus. *Cf. chung.*

Jôgî, s. m, fem *jôgan.* The form *jôgnî* (fem) expresses abhorrence or anger, and it also means a goddess, countless evils, such as sickness and evil-fortune, being termed *jôgnî*

Junj. — Eatables distributed among the brotherhood and to the poor at a wedding, by Hindus. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Kâj — (1) A feast given to Brâhmans and members of the caste on the death of an aged member of the family Also called *karnî* and in villages *mêlâ.* (2) A wedding, *cf dêô-kâj*

Kâj-ginṛtra. — The fixing by the brotherhood of the dates for the various rites at a wedding. among Hindus. (Derâ Ghazî Khân.)

Kanjî. — A ceremony performed in the 7th or 9th month of the first pregnancy. Also called *bhôṛâ.* (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Karnî. — (1) See under *kâj.* (2) An assembly of the brotherhood on the 13th day after death, when water is thrown on a cow's tail. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân)

Kartût. — A spell. Equivalent to *lâg, q. v.*, and *jâdû, q. v.*

Kuprî — A sweet kind of bread given to a daughter soon after her marriage, among Hindus. It is called *busrî* by Muhammadans. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Lâg. — Something given to an enemy to eat which causes his sickness or death. Also called *kartût.*

Lapân. — Sweetmeats and clothes given by women to brotherhood at weddings, among Hindus. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Lôlâ. — A small, thick loaf, fried in *ghî*, made on certain festivals. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Lôhṛî. — Worshipping of fire on the last evening of the month of Pôh. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Mahâ Nandî. — A Hindu festival. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Man. — Coarse bread, cooked on a fire of dry cowdung and made of *âtâ*, *gur* and *ghî*. It is used at Hindu festivals. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Mandhâ. — The ceremony of hanging a piece of cloth over the place where the marriage ceremony is to take place. (*Cf. mandhnâ*, to cover)

Mâshkî. — *Lit.*, a water-carrier. Also food given to a cow on the 13th day after a death, and on the date of the death according to the moon in each month, among Hindus. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Mêlâ — See under *kâj.*

Môkh. — *Lit.*, price. During the funeral ceremonies the deceased's heirs should give furniture and clothes to an Achâryâ Brâhman to convey to the dead person in the next world, but when the donors are too poor or stingy, the Achâryâ supplies all the articles for a small sum, *môkh*, agreed upon, on hire, to make it appear that the articles have been actually purchased and given to him.

Mundan. — The ceremony of cutting a child's hair for the first time. Equivalent to *piryôjan, q.v.*

Mûṭh. — *Mûth mârnâ* is 'to send an evil-spirit to kill an enemy.'

Nânpaṭṛî. — The *shrâdhá* ceremony performed by a daughter's son of a sonless man for the benefit of his soul on the first day of the *naurâtrâ* after the *shrâdhá*. (Dera Ghâzî Khân.) *Cf paṭṛi.*

Nanchhâwar. — Equivalent to *bêl, q. v.*

Naqsh. — An amulet. Also called *tâwîz.*

Nêndar. — Equivalent to *tambôl.* (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Panj Bhîkmâ. — A fast observed by girls in honour of Dêvî, for five days, food being eaten once a day only and lamps lighted in a Dêvî temple. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân)

Panjêlâ. — A fast observed for five days, usually in the dark half of the lunar month of Kâtik, from the Ikâdashî (11th) to the Pûranmâshi, during which no food, except the *panj garbhî,* is taken. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân)

Parîchh. — Delicacies given to Brâhmans for the benefit of departed souls. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân)

Parnâ. — Marriage. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Paṭṛâ. — A plank of wood or a stone on which a corpse is washed. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Paṭṛî. — The flowers, rice and a *ḍandwan,* or stick for cleaning the mouth and teeth, placed in front of the house on the *shrâdhá* day by Hindus. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân)

Phul pankhṛî, an insignificant offering.

Piryôjan. — Equivalent to *mundan, q. v.*

Pishkârâ. — The worship and recitation of *mantrâs* by the Brâhmans of both parties when the bridegroom arrives at his father-in-law's house. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Prân. — Soul (Sanskr.).

Prânî. — A corpse (Derâ Ghâzî Khân)

Pûṛâ. — Sugar sent among Hindus by the husband's family to his wife in the fifth month of pregnancy. Also sweet bread roasted in *ghî.* (Derâ Ghâzî Khân.)

Pûraṅ. — Burial, among Muhammadans.

Rakh. — A piece of paper on which figures or words are written in small squares by *gurûs* or spiritual guides to ward off evil, among Hindus. Almost every child has a *rakh* enclosed in a copper, silver, or gold case, *chankî* or *takhtî,* usually worn round the neck.

Rît. — The ceremony of cutting the hair of a child for the first time. It is considered sinful to cut it before this ceremonial cutting. Some families do it on the completion of the child's fifth year, but the time varies. If a second child be born before the *rît* of the first has been performed, then the *rît* of both is performed before they are five years old.

Rîtâṅ. — Pl. of *rît,* custom. The first or *chhôṭî rîtâṅ* is held in the fifth month of pregnancy, when salt food (*pakaurâ*) is placed in the woman's lap (*jhôlî*) and distributed to the brotherhood and relations. The second or *barî rîtâṅ* in the seventh month, when sweetened rice is similarly distributed.

Rôpnâ. — Betrothal. *Cf. sagâî.*

Rôṭî kauṛâ vaṭṭâ — Food given among Muhammadans by the brotherhood to the family of a deceased on the day of the death. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân)

Rôṭî sijh kaṛâk. — Bread given among Muhammadans after sunset, by the deceased's relatives, for the benefit of his soul for forty days after death

Sagâ. — A piece of cloth given by spiritual guides to followers as a charm. Hindus also call it *bûr.*

Sagâî. — Betrothal. Also called *rôpnâ, vishat, sang-bandh.*

Sang-bandh. — Betrothal. *Cf. sagâî.*

Saṭhî. — Equivalent to *chhaṭṭî, q. v.*

Shagan. — (1) Omen. (2) Equivalent to *chhûhânra, q. v.*

Sirhî. — See *biwân.*

Sukhriâṅ. — Sweetmeats and clothes given to those from whom *tambôl* is received at a wedding, among Hindus.

Sunâ'ûnî. — *Lit.,* a thing heard. The news of a death, on hearing which the women gather together to perform the *siâpâ,* or 'mourning,' and the men sit apart together on a blanket. Relatives and friends are expected to pay a visit of condolence, but must be dismissed after a short time to make way for others. Also *janâ'unî.*

Sûtrâ. — A string worn on the wrist by Hindu women: a kind of silver bracelet. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân)

Takhtî. — The case in which a *rakh* (*q. v.*) is enclosed. Equivalent to *chaukî, q. v.*

Tarâjwân. — The third visit of the bride to her father-in-law's house. (Said to be connected with *tre,* 'three.')

Tâwîz. — See *naqsh*

Thân. — A place where evil-spirits are supposed to play. (Hindus.)

Ṭhanḍrî. — *Lit,* cold. A festival held in Bhâdôṅ. Hindu women prepare cakes, sweets, and salt bread the day before, and on this day, taking a small quantity of these things, go to worship Sîtlâ Mâtâ in a *mandar* or Brâhman's house. Only stale food is eaten on this day, nothing fresh being cooked. This is believed to protect children from small-pox. (Ferozepur.)

Tal-wêtrâ. — A ceremony at marriage, when salt is placed in the hands of bridegroom and bride. (Derâ Ghâzî Khân)

Tôtkâ. — A rite to get rid of a disease or other evil, or to cause it to an enemy. *E. g.,* if a man has fever, he rises very early and goes to a *pîpal* tree, which he embraces. By so doing he transfers the fever to the tree.

Uchhâr. — A cover or quilt. The covering put on the *Granth Sâhib* by the Sikhs. A connected word is *achhâṛâ,* or *achhâṛ,* the cloth spread over the body of a Muhammadan when carried to the grave. It is usually given to the grave-digger as his wage.

Vishat. — *Cf. sagâî.*

MUṆḌÂS AND DRAVIḌAS.

BY STEN KONOW, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY.

IT is now an established fact that the various tribes known as Kols, Muṇḍâs, Santals, and so forth, do not differ in anthropological features from the Dravidians. Muṇḍâs and Draviḍas belong to the same race. Mr. Risley has called the type represented by those tribes Dravidian.

The languages spoken by the Dravidian race fall into two distinct groups, Dravidian and Muṇḍâ. The Dravidian languages have been the vehicles of an old civilisation, and the most important of them are known from an early period. Our knowledge of the various Muṇḍâ dialects, on the other hand, only dates back to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Some notes on the language of the Hos of Singbhum were published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal as early as 1840. The author was the well-known Colonel Tickell. The indefatigable Hodgson also extended his investigations to the Muṇḍâ dialects. In his paper on the Aborigines of Central India in the Bengal Journal for 1848, he communicated vocabularies of Bhumij, Muṇḍârî, Ho, and Santâlî. He considered those dialects as Tamulian, and, together with Kuru<u>kh</u>, as "dialects of the great Kol language."

Mr. J. R. Logan, in the Journal of the Indian Archipelago for 1852 and 1853, also considered the Muṇḍâ dialects as Dravidian. He says: —

> "The Kol is Dravidian considerably modified by ultra Indo-Gangetic, particularly in its glossary, and very slightly by Tibetan. The latter element is so small as to render it certain that the Kol was originally a pure Dravidian language, which was deeply influenced by the ancient Mon-Gangetic. The phonetic basis of the language and many particles and words are Dravidian, but the pronouns, several of the numerals, and a large portion of the words, are Mon-Anam."

The first who clearly distinguished between the Muṇḍâ and Dravidian languages was Prof. Max Müller in his *Letter to Chevalier Bunsen on the Classification of the Turanian Languages.* He states that he is unable to see any coincidences between Santâlî, Muṇḍârî, Bhumij, and Ho on one side and the Dravidian dialects on the other. In the former dialects he sees "traces of a language spoken in India before the Tamulian conquest." That old language he calls Muṇḍâ, and I have retained that denomination, because it will be adopted in the Linguistic Survey, and is far more suitable than the phantastical Kolarian proposed by Sir George Campbell.[1]

Max Müller's view that the Muṇḍâ and Dravidian languages belong to different philological families has been adopted by most scholars in Europe. The Revd. Ferd. Hahn, on the other hand, in his *Kuru<u>kh</u> Grammar*, Calcutta, 1900, tried to show "that the Muṇḍârî grammar bears a genuine Dravidian stamp on its brow." Muṇḍârî is a typical Muṇḍâ language, and if Mr. Hahn's view is correct, we must infer that the Muṇḍâ and Dravidian languages are related to each other. The question is of some importance, and I have therefore thought it worth while to examine Mr. Hahn's arguments.

In the first place, he gives a list of words which are common to Muṇḍârî and Kuru<u>kh</u>. The list contains several Aryan loan-words, and also some comparisons which do not correctly represent the real state of affairs. Thus Muṇḍârî *eṅga*, mother, is compared with Kuru<u>kh</u> *iṅgyô*. The latter word, however, means "*my* mother," and *iṅg* is the personal pronoun of the

[1] The Rev. L. Skrefsrud has proposed to call the family Kherwarian, and that name has been adopted by Prof. Thomsen of Copenhagen. Kherwar is used in the traditionary tales of the Santals as a common designation of the Santals, Muṇḍâs, Hos, Bhumij, and Birhoṛ. It does not, however, include the western and southern tribes such as Korkû, Juâṅg, Khaṛiâ, Savara, and Gadaba, and I cannot therefore see the advantage of adopting it for the whole family. — S. K.

first person singular. Moreover, a comparison of the vocabularies of Muṇḍârî and Kurukh cannot prove anything whatever, because it is a well-known fact that the former has largely influenced the latter. The comparison would have to be extended to other languages of both families, and even in that case it would not prove much. Dravidas and Muṇḍâs must have had early intercourse with each other, as well as with the Aryans; and coincidences between them in vocabulary cannot prove any philological connexion, just as we do not class the Aryan dialects with the Dravidians on account of their having several words in common.

Mr. Hahn himself does not appear to attach much importance to the correspondence in vocabulary, and I therefore pass at once to his principal arguments which are based on an assumed correspondence in grammar. It will, however, not be sufficient to confine ourselves to those features which have been discussed by Mr. Hahn. It will be necessary to extend the comparison of Muṇḍâ and Dravidian grammar so as to comprise the most characteristic features of both.

Phonology. — The phonetical system of both families differs in many important characteristics. It is much more complicated in the Muṇḍâ languages than in Dravidian.

The vowels are mainly the same in both, though the Muṇḍâs possess some shades of pronunciation which do not appear to exist in Dravidian. Thus the short *a* in Dravidian is pronounced as the *u* in English 'but.' The Muṇḍâ *a* is usually the short sound corresponding to the *a* in 'father.' It also has, however, another sound, which is much more indistinct. It can be compared with the short indistinct *e* in French *quatre-vingt*, but is pronounced much farther back.

The Dravidian *e* has only one sound, that of *e* in English 'ember.' Santâlî *e*, on the other hand, has two, or rather four, different sounds. It is sometimes pronounced as the *a* in English 'hat,' and sometimes as the short sound corresponding to the *e* in German 'Segen.' There are, besides, two neutral vowels corresponding to the two full *e*-sounds.

Similar remarks can be made with regard to *o*, and so forth.

The vowels of consecutive syllables in Santâlî are made to agree with each other according to a well-defined law. If one syllable contains an open sound, the vowel of the other syllables must also be open, and *vice versâ*. Thus, *sän-åk'*, go; but *hoy-ok'*, become. In those instances *ä* denotes the open *e*-sound of *a* in "hat," and *å* the open sound of *o* in "hot."

E and *o* are changed to *i* and *u*, respectively, when the following syllable contains an *i*. Thus, *koṛa*, boy; *kuṛi*, girl: *bheḍa*, a ram; *bhiḍi*, a ewe.

It will be seen that these changes are quite different from the interchange between *i* and *u* in some Telugu and Canarese suffixes.

With regard to consonants, it should be noted that the Muṇḍâ languages possess complete sets of soft and hard consonants, with and without aspiration. Thus Santâlî has *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*, and corresponding series of palatals, cerebrals, dentals, and labials. The Dravidian languages, on the other hand, are mostly devoid of aspirates, and even the unaspirated sounds are not freely used, but interchange according to fixed rules.

Moreover, the Muṇḍâ languages possess another set of consonants, or rather semi-consonants, which are usually written *k'*, *ch'*, *t'*, and *p'*.

"These sounds are not pronounced like other consonants by successively 'closing and opening,' and allowing the breath to touch the respective organs at their reopening, but by partly inhaling the breath and simultaneously closing the throat and the respective organs, and not allowing the breath to touch them at their reopening, but letting it pass unarrested out of the throat: thus an abrupt half consonant is produced." (Skrefsrud.)

The semi-consonants can accordingly be described as checked consonants without the off-glide.

Those sounds are almost exclusively used at the end of words. It will be seen that their existence is in thorough disagreement with the phonetical laws prevailing in Dravidian. In those latter forms of speech the common tendency is to protract the off-glide of final consonants so that it becomes a short indistinct vowel.

The phonetical systems of the Muṇḍâ and Dravidian forms of speech differ also in other respects. Thus the semi-vowels *y* and *w* are in the Muṇḍâ languages only used in order to avoid the hiatus between concurrent vowels, and there is nothing to correspond to the many cerebral *r* and *l* sounds of the Dravidian languages. There is only one cerebral *ṛ* in addition to the ordinary *r*, and one *l*-sound.

The difference in phonetical system is of some importance, because we often find that even languages which have nothing to do with each other agree phonetically when they are spoken in the same neighbourhood.

Formation of words. — The Muṇḍâ languages, like the Dravidian ones, make use of suffixes in order to form new words from already existing bases. The Muṇḍâ suffixes are, however, almost exclusively pronominal, and the Muṇḍâ languages do not, so far as I can see, possess anything which corresponds to the various formative additions of the Dravidian forms of speech. On the other hand, the infixes which play so great a rôle in the formation of Muṇḍâ words, are not a feature of Dravidian grammar. The Mon-khmêr languages, on the other hand, and the dialects spoken by the aboriginal tribes of the Malay Peninsula, in this respect agree with Muṇḍâ.

Nouns. — Dravidian nouns can be divided into two classes, those that denote rational beings, and those that denote irrational beings respectively. These classes differ in the formation of the plural, and partly also in the declension of the singular. Moreover, such nouns as denote rational beings often have different forms to denote male and female individuals, respectively. Compare Tamil *magan*, son; *magaḷ*, daughter. There is, however, some uncertainty as to whether this latter feature is originally Dravidian. The facts are as follows.

Tamil, Malayâḷam, and Canarese, have different forms for the masculine and feminine singular of such nouns as denote rational beings, the so-called high-caste nouns. In the plural, on the other hand, both genders have the same form, but differ from such nouns as denote irrational beings and things. The latter class of nouns I shall hereafter call neuter. The suffixes of the masculine and feminine singular are *an* and *aḷ*, respectively.

Brâhûî does not distinguish the genders, even in the case of rational beings. Most other languages of the family, Kurukh, Malto, Kui, Gôṇḍî, Kôlâmî, and Telugu, have no feminine singular, but use the neuter form instead. Kui and Gôṇḍî also use the neuter gender in the feminine plural of high-caste nouns.

There are, however, several indications which make it probable that a separate feminine singular is an old feature of the Dravidian languages.

Kumârila Bhaṭṭa (probably 7th century A. D.) mentions *âḷ* as a *strî-pratyaya*, *i. e.*, feminine suffix. Bishop Caldwell further compares the Tamil suffix *aḷ* with the termination in Telugu *kôḍalu*, daughter-in-law; Kui *kuâli*, a Kui woman, and also with Telugu *âḍu*, female. Compare, however, Kurukh *âlî*, woman. Traces of a feminine suffix *âl* or *âr* are also occasionally met with in Gôṇḍî verbal forms such as *mandâl*, she, or it, is; *kiâr*, she, or it, does. Telugu forms such as *âbiḍe* and *âme*, she; *okate*, one woman, also point to the conclusion that the distinction of the masculine and feminine genders is not an innovation of Tamil and Canarese.

The state of affairs in Muṇḍâ is quite different. Here we find the difference of nouns denoting animate beings and inanimate objects, quite a different system of classification, pervading the whole grammatical system. The plural, however, is formed by means of the same suffixes in both classes. There are no different forms used to denote the masculine and feminine genders. Couplets such as *koṛa*, boy ; *kuṛi*, girl, are formed under Aryan influence.

Dravidian languages have two numbers, the singular and the plural. In Muṇḍâ there is, in addition to those two, also a dual.

The cases are formed according to widely different principles in both classes. The Dravidian languages possess an accusative and a dative, as the cases of the direct and indirect object. In the Muṇḍâ languages, on the other hand, there are no such cases. The direct and indirect objects are expressed by means of pronominal infixes in the verb. Mr. Hahn, it is true, states that the dative-suffix is practically the same in Muṇḍârî and Kurukh, *viz.*, *kê* and *gê*, respectively. Now there are in fact some corrupt forms of Muṇḍârî in which the Aryan suffix *kê* is used to denote the dative and the accusative. That is, however, only the case where the language has come so much under Aryan influence that it begins to abandon the most characteristic Muṇḍâ features. Mr. Hahn was probably not aware of this fact. His study of Muṇḍâ dialects has apparently been limited to Nottrott's Muṇḍârî grammar, which is very far from giving a reliable account of the language. Even a philologist might have been mistaken under such circumstances.

Mr. Hahn further compares the ablative suffixes Kurukh *tî* and Muṇḍârî *te*. The comparison does not, of course, prove anything whatever. The similarity is probably accidental. The Kurukh suffix has two forms *tî* and *ntî*, and the latter is probably the original one. Compare Tamil *indru*, Kôravâ *iṇḍe*, Canarese *inda*, &c.

The case suffixes are, in Dravidian languages, commonly added to a modified base, the so-called oblique base, in the singular. The oblique base has various forms, and we can, with some right, distinguish different declensions according to the different additions used in order to form it. There is no such thing as an oblique base in the Muṇḍâ languages, and all nouns are treated in exactly the same way.

Adjectives. — Mr. Hahn remarks that adjectives are of the same character in Kurukh and Muṇḍârî. True, but the same is for instance the case in Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages. Most agglutinating languages form their adjectives in the same way, and correspondence in that respect cannot seriously be urged as a test of philological connexion.

Numerals. — There is no connexion between the numerals in both families. Mr. Hahn, it is true, compares Muṇḍâ *mit'*, *moyat'*, one, with Kurukh *mundtâ*, first. Compare Tamil *mudal*, Telugu *modaṭa*, first. The comparison is, however, based on insufficient knowledge of the nature of the Muṇḍâ semi-consonants. It is of course quite possible that some word for "first," "beginning," might be common to Draviḍas and Muṇḍâs. Even in that case, however, it would be rash to infer a common origin for the languages of both. They must have had intercourse with each other from a very ancient date, and must certainly have borrowed from each other.

Higher numbers are formed in a different way in both families. The Draviḍas count in tens; the Muṇḍâs in twenties.

Pronouns. — Also the pronouns differ in most points. Attention has often been drawn to the fact that both families possess a double set of the plural of the personal pronoun of the first person, one including, and one excluding the party addressed. I have already pointed out in another paper (see above, Vol. XXXII. p. 458) that the state of affairs in Dravidian languages points to the conclusion that the Draviḍas may have adopted this grammatical feature from without, *i. e.*, probably from the Muṇḍâs. Even if the double set originally belongs to both

families, that cannot prove much. The same peculiarity is found in many other languages. The forms in actual use among Muṇḍâs and Draviḍas are, moreover, quite different. Mr. Hahn, it is true, compares Kuru<u>kh</u> *ên*, oblique *eṅg* with Muṇḍârî *iṅ*, I; Kuru<u>kh</u> *êkâ*, with Muṇḍârî *oko*, who? He forgets, however, that a comparison of other dialects shows that the Dravidian base of the pronoun "I" is *ê* or *nê*, while the characteristic element of the Muṇḍâ form is *ṅ*; the base of the Dravidian interrogative pronoun is *yâ* or *ê*, but the corresponding Muṇḍâ form is *å̊kå*.

No sane philologist would, of course, draw any conclusion from the fact that the Muṇḍâ languages, like the Dravidian ones, have no relative pronoun. The same is the case in so many quite different families of languages that it can almost be represented as the rule, the development of a real relative pronoun being considered as the exception.

Verbs. — Every trace of analogy between the Muṇḍâ and Dravidian families disappears when we proceed to consider the verbs. Mr. Hahn, it is true, compares quite a series of suffixes in Muṇḍârî and Kuru<u>kh</u>. It is not, however, necessary to show in detail all the mistakes he has made in those comparisons. None of them would have been possible if he had really known Muṇḍârî. I shall take two typical examples.

The suffix of the present tense in Kuru<u>kh</u> is *da*; thus, *ên es-da-n*, I break. The final *n* of *es-da-n* is the pronominal suffix of the first person singular. Mr. Hahn, however, does not hesitate to compare *dan*, the tense suffix *plus* the personal termination, with the Muṇḍârî copula *tan*, which corresponds to Santâlî *kan*, and is used to form a present, not, however, as a tense suffix but as an auxiliary.

Mr. Hahn further compares what he calls the perfect suffixes Muṇḍârî *jan-â*, Kuru<u>kh</u> *jan*. Muṇḍârî *jan-â* contains the tense suffix *jan* and the so-called categorical *a*. We need only consider the former. *Jan* corresponds to Santâlî *en* and is the suffix of the simple past passive. The final *n* is kept through all persons and numbers. Kuru<u>kh</u> *jan* is the suffix of the first person singular feminine of the past tense. It is apparently only used in such verbs as end in *n*. The initial *j* has developed from a *ch*, and the final *n* is the personal termination.

I hope that it is not necessary to show in detail that Mr. Hahn's remaining comparisons are just as superficial.

On the other hand, the whole conjugational system is quite different in the Dravidian and Muṇḍâ languages. The Dravidian system, is very simple, only comprising two or three tenses; in Muṇḍâ, on the other hand, we find an almost bewildering muster of conjugational forms. The Dravidian verb can be characterised as a noun of agency; the Muṇḍâ verb and its various tense bases are indefinite forms which can be used as nouns, adjectives, and verbs. The most characteristic features of the Muṇḍâ verb, the categorical *a* and the incorporation of the direct and indirect object in the verb, are in entire disagreement with Dravidian principles. The Muṇḍâ languages, on the other hand, do not possess anything to correspond to the Dravidian negative conjugation.

I hope that the preceding remarks will have shown that Mr. Hahn's arguments for the hypothesis of a common origin of the Muṇḍâ and Dravidian families are quite insufficient. The analogies which can be said to exist between both families are of a general kind, and such as can be traced between most languages of the earth.

Mr. Hahn is of opinion that there can be no doubt about the classing of Muṇḍârî as belonging to the Dravidian family. I think it would be easy to show, with just as good arguments, that Muṇḍârî is a Negro language, or a Indo-Chinese form of speech, or what not. It is time to protest energetically against the tendency, which appears to be gaining ascendancy, of combining different languages on the score of accidental similarity in unessential features.

RAMABHADRA-DIKSHITA AND THE SOUTHERN POETS OF HIS TIME.

BY T. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRÎ; TANJORE.

RÂMABHADRA-DÎKSHITA is well known to students of Sanskṛit literature as the author of the **Jânakîpariṇaya, the first drama read by the majority of students in the indigenous Sanskṛit schools of Southern India.** This drama has repeatedly been printed in Telugu and in Grantha characters at Madras and in Dêvanâgarî at Bombay. It is known also among those who do not read Sanskṛit through its translations into Tamiḷ, Malayâḷam, Marâṭhî and other vernacular languages. Even its translations in some of the South-Indian vernaculars have been more than once prescribed as text-books for University examinations in the Madras Presidency. But like most other Indian publications this work never issued from the press with any account of its author. I therefore wrote a short Sanskṛit memoir of Râmabhadra-Dîkshita as a preface to his *Patañjalicharita* when I despatched a Nâgarî transcript of it for publication in the *Kâvyamâlâ* in 1894. This account was based on facts collected from written records, which, though few, could be safely relied on. The present paper is little more than a reproduction in English of what I have already published in Sanskṛit.

Râmabhadra-Dîkshita, the author of the *Jânakîpariṇaya-nâṭaka*, was a great South-Indian poet and grammarian. He **was born** in the family of Chaturvêda-Yajvan **in the village of Kaṇḍaramâṇikyam** near Kumbhakôṇam in the Tanjore district, as testified to by the subjoined verse of the *Sṛiṅgâratilakabhâṇa* composed by the poet :—

यश्चतुर्वेदयज्वेन्द्रवंशवारिधिकौस्तुभः ।
यस्य कण्डरमाणिक्यग्रामो भवति जन्मभूः ॥ ६ ॥

This village, which is now almost in ruins, had once a very high reputation as **the birth-place of distinguished Sanskṛit scholars.** Of these were : (1) Dharmarâjâdhvarîndra, the author of the *Vêdântaparibhâshâ* and *Tarkachûḍâmaṇi*; (2) his son Râmakṛishṇa, the author of the *Vêdântaśikhâmaṇi* and *Nyâyaśikhâmaṇi*; (3) Vaidyanâtha-Dîkshita, the author of the *Smṛitimuktâphala* and of the *Dîpikâ*, a commentary on the *Râmâyaṇa*; (4) his son Śivarâma-Dîkshita, the author of a compendium of the *Smṛitimuktâphala* called *Âhnika*, from which the following verse is taken :—

निजधर्मनिरूढमानसानां
स्मृतिमुक्ताफलवीक्षणेऽलसानाम् ।
शिवराममखी हिताह्निकाख्यं
कुरुतेऽसौ भिषगीशयज्वसूनुः ॥

(5) the pious Chokkanâtha-Dîkshita, the author of the *Sabdakaumudî* and *Bhâshyaratnâvalî* mentioned in the sequel as the preceptor and father-in-law of Râmabhadra; (6) Raṅganâtha-Yajvan, a kinsman of Râmabhadra-Dîkshita and the author of the *Mañjarîmakaranda*, a commentary on Haradattamiśra's *Padamañjarî*; (7) Nallâ-Dîkshita, the author of the beautiful drama *Subhadrâpariṇaya*, the *Sṛiṅgârasarvasvabhâṇa* and the *Parimala*, a commentary on his own *Advaitarasamañjarî*.

जयति किल चोलमण्डलमण्डनमुद्दण्डपण्डिताध्युषितम् ।
कण्डरमाणिक्यमिति ख्यातं महदग्रहारमाणिक्यम् ॥ ६ ॥

असौ तत्र श्रीमानमृतरसधारासहचरीं
गिरां देवीं बिभ्रद्गजमुखकृपातः परिणताम् ।
सपर्यासन्तुष्यद्गुरुपरिबृढानुग्रहपरि-
स्फुरत्प्रत्यग्ज्योतिर्जयति किल नल्लाबुधमणिः ॥ ७ ॥

* * * * *

बालचन्द्रमखीन्द्रस्य तनयो विनयोज्ज्वलः ।
स भाणं प्राणयद्बाल्ये सख्युर्वचनगौरवात् ॥ ९ ॥

Śṛiṅgârasarvasvabhâṇa.

प्रबन्धा यस्योर्वीं तिलकयति नल्लाकविरिति
प्रतीतः प्रागल्भ्यं दधदखिलतन्त्रेष्वपि समम् ।
मनोवास्तव्यश्रीगजवदनदानाम्बुलहरी-
विवर्तैर्वाग्गुम्भैर्विहरणनिकेतीकृतमुखः ॥ ३ ॥

Subhadrâpariṇaya.

नल्लासुधीनिबद्धेयमद्वैतरसमञ्जरी ।
कर्णावतंसपदवीं विबुधैरधिरोप्यताम् ॥

इति श्रीकौशिककुलजलधिचन्द्रश्रीबालचन्द्रदीक्षिततनूभवस्य श्रीमत्प-रमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीपरमशिवेन्द्रपादश्रीसदाशिवब्रह्मपूज्यपादानुग्र-हभाजनस्य श्रीनल्लाकवेः कृतिषु स्वकृताया अद्वैतरसमञ्जर्या व्याख्या परिमलाख्या संपूर्णा ॥

Parimala.

(8) Śrînivâsa *alias* Ikkiri Appâ-Śâstrin, afterwards known by the name of Pûrṇânanda-Yati, the author of the *Prâyaśchittadîpikâ* and *Upagranthadîpa*, and the pupil of Brahmânanda-Sarasvatî.

श्रीमत्कण्डरमाणिक्यप्रयागकुलजन्मना ।
श्रीनिवासेन हि कृता प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका ॥
उपग्रन्थस्य दीपोऽयं श्रीनिवासेन निर्मितः ।
षष्ठस्तु पटलस्तत्र प्रायश्चित्तं समापितम् ॥

Upagranthadîpa.[1]

Râmabhadra-Dîkshita was a Ṛigvêdi Brâhmaṇa of the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra* and Âśvalâyana *sûtra*. This follows from the drama *Râghavâbhyudaya* by Bhagavantarâya, a contemporary of Râmabhadra-Dîkshita and the youngest brother of Narasiṁha, the minister of Êkôji of the Marâṭha dynasty of Tanjore.

पारिपार्श्विकः—विद्यमानेषु प्राचामभिरूपकेषु कथं नूतनप्रणीते तस्मिन्नेवं परिषदो बहुमानः ।

[1] For further information about this Śrînivâsa, see extracts from his son's *Upagranthabhâshya* below.

सूत्रधारः—तदेतत्प्रत्यग्रपतञ्जलिना द्वितीयप्राचेतसेन कुण्डिनकुलमण्डनेन रामभद्राध्वरीन्द्रेण विमृश्य सशिरःश्लाघमनुमोदितामिति । तथा चोक्तम्

मिलदलिकुलभालीधूतमल्लीमतल्ली-
गलितनवमधूलीधूलिकेलीसखीभिः ।
भणितिभिरनघाभिर्भारतीकर्णपूरं
श्लथयति भगवन्तस्त्र्यम्बकार्यानुजन्मा ॥

Bhagavantarâya's *Râghavâbhyudayanâṭaka.*

Again, in the land-grant of 'Sâhajirâjapuram for the support of learned pandits by 'Sâhaji I., a description of Râmabhadra-Dîkshita is given in the following terms in Marâṭhi: — "Four shares were given to Râmabhadra-Dîkshita, a Ṛigvêdi Brâhmaṇa of the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra* and Âśvalâyana *sûtra,* son of Yajñarâma-Dîkshita and grandson of Nallâ-Dîkshita."

Râmabhadra-Dîkshita was the eldest of the four sons of Yajñarâma-Dîkshita and a kinsman of Raṅganâtha-Yajvan, already mentioned as a native of Kaṇḍaramâṇikyam.

यो नारायणदीक्षितस्य नप्ता नल्लादीक्षितसूरिणस्तु पौत्रः ।
श्रीनारायणदीक्षितेन्द्रपुत्रो व्याख्यामेषां (?) हि रङ्गनाथयज्वा ॥
मातामहो यस्य च शब्दपारभाष्यार्थवेत्ता खलु मातुलश्च ।
अपेतलज्जेन हि तेन केनचित्प्रकाश्यतेऽसौ पदमञ्जरी खरा ॥
श्रीचोलदेशे सुधियो बृहस्पतेस्तुल्यास्त्रयः पञ्च गृहे गृहे बुधाः ।
वसन्ति तेषां धुरि मत्कृतिस्तथा विभाति कीटो रविसंनिधौ यथा ॥
जगन्मण्डलविख्यातो यश्चतुर्वेददीक्षितः ।
अस्मत्पितृपितृव्यश्च वन्दे तच्चरणाम्बुजम् ॥

Mañjarîmakaranda.

The following pedigree clearly shows his relationship to the latter: —

Bhûminallâ.
|
Aśvatthanârâyaṇa.
|
- Nallâ-Dîkshita.
  - Nârâyaṇa-Dîkshita.
    - Raṅganâtha-Dîkshita (author of the *Mañjarîmakaranda*).
- Appâ-Dîkshita.
  - Pillai-Sômayâjin.
    - 3rd son Kûñjallâ.
      - 2nd son Veṅkaṭêśvara.
        - Dakshiṇâmûrti.
          - Veṅkaṭêśvara-Kavi (pupil of Râmabhadra-Dîkshita and author of the *Uṇâdinighaṇṭu*).
- Chaturvêda-Dîkshita.
  - Nallâ-Dîkshita.
    - Yajñarâma-Dîkshita.
      - Nallâ-Dîkshita.
        - Yajñarâma-Dîkshita.
          - Râmabhadra-Dîkshita (author of the *Jânakîpariṇaya,* &c.)

There is no descendant in the male line of Râmabhadra-Dîkshita, as his son Vaidyanâtha-Dîkshita died childless. **His vernacular was Tamil.** His father was a man of moderate circumstances. His preceptor, Chokkanâtha-Dîkshita, who was better circumstanced, brought him up from a boy and bestowed great care on his education. In due time he became an adept in all the six *darśanas.* He made a critical study of the whole of the *Mahâbhâshya* under his preceptor, as is known by the following passages :—

फणिग्रामणिवाग्गुम्फप्राणनाडयदुक्तये ।
कल्पये शब्दकौमुद्याः कवये गुरवे नमः ॥

Râmabhadra-Dîkshita's *Shaḍdarśanîsiddhântasaṁgraha.*

अप्रत्युपक्रियसमस्तपदप्रबोध-
विश्राणनोपकृतिनिस्तुलितानुकम्पम् ।
शेषं द्वितीयमिव शाब्दिकसार्वभौमं
श्रीचोक्कनाथमखिनं गुरुमानतोऽस्मि ॥

Râmabhadra-Dîkshita's commentary on the *Paribhâshâvṛitti.*[2]

The subjoined extract from Râmabhadra-Dîkshita's *Sriṅgâratilakabhâṇa* shows that Chokkanâtha not only taught him Sanskṛit grammar thoroughly, but also gave his eldest daughter to him in marriage.

स एवायं यस्मै किल निखिलविद्वज्जनश्लाघनीयवैदुष्यशालिनो वदावदशिष्यसहस्रविभाव्यमाननिजप्रभावाः श्रौतधर्मा इव मूर्तिमन्तस्तत्रभवन्तश्चोक्कनाथमखिप्रवरा वितीर्णवन्तोऽपि प्रथमामात्मकन्यामन्यामिव पुनरपि स्नेहेन निरवद्यां वितरन्ति स्म पदविद्याम् ।

His proficiency in *Vyâkaraṇa* was exceptionally high and he was often called Pratyagra-Patañjali, *i. e.* 'the modern Patañjali,' by his contemporaries.[3]

Chokkanâtha-Dîkshita, the poet's father-in-law, was a pious Chhândôga Brâhmaṇa of the Saunaka *gôtra* and Drâhyâyaṇa *sûtra.* His father was Dvâdaśâhayâji Nârâyaṇa-Dîkshita and **his mother Gaṇapati.** This sounds rather strange as the name of a woman. But that she actually bore the name Gaṇapati is evident from the subjoined passages.

धातारं सूत्रकारं शिवनुतिसुहितं पाणिनिं वाक्यकारं
विष्णुं कात्यायनं तं गिरिशमहिवराधीश्वरं भाष्यकारम् ।
तातं नारायणं श्रीगणपतिमपि तां मातरं सादरं ता-
नाचार्यान् सर्वतन्त्रप्रणयननिपुणानानमेः कर्म कुर्मः ॥

नमः श्रीद्वादशाहादियाजिने सोमयाजिने ।
महाभाष्यमहाम्भोधिसेतवे गुरवे नमः ॥

Bhâshyaratnâvalî by Chokkanâtha-Dîkshita.

[2] See also the passage from his pupil Veṅkaṭêśvara-Kavi's commentary on *Patañjalicharita,* quoted below.

[3] Compare the speech of the Sûtradhâra quoted on p. 128 above from Bhagavantarâya's *Râghavâbhyudaya-nâṭaka.*

शिवं गणपतिं चाम्बां द्वादशाहादियाजिनम् ।
तातं नारायणं नत्वा धातुपाठं समारभे ॥

* * * *

इति संचारिभाष्यश्रीद्वादशाहादियाजिनः ।
पुत्रेण चोक्कनाथेनादादिः पद्यैरलंकृतः ॥
धातुरत्नावलिरियं चोक्कनाथविपश्चिता ।
रचिता धार्यते येन स सर्वत्र विजेजिते ॥

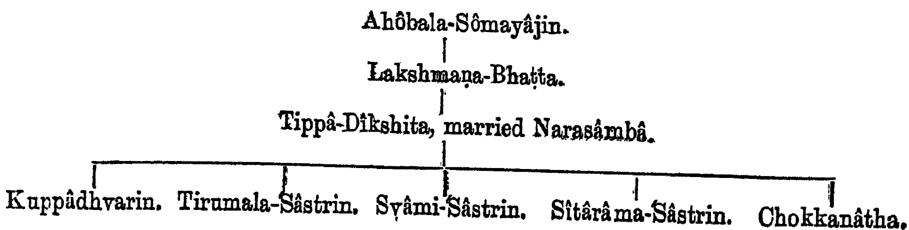
Dhâturatnâvalî by Chokkanâtha-Dîkshita.

Nor is this the only instance of this name being given to a woman in that family. Even to this day instances can be quoted from families connected with Chokkanâtha's descendants. **Chokkanâtha-Dîkshita, the author of the Kântimatîpariṇayanâṭaka** and of the *Rasavilâsa-bhâṇa*, should not be mistaken for the poet's father-in-law. As will be seen from the following extracts, the author of the *Kântimatîpariṇayanâṭaka* lived at a much later period. He was the fifth son of Tippâ-Dîkshita, one of the donees of *sarvamânya* lands, *i. e.*, lands free of all taxes, in the village of Śahajimahârâjapuram *alias* Tiruviśainallûr, and the youngest brother of Kuppâ-Dîkshita, who was likewise a donee of that village.

सूत्रधारः—नेता शाहमहीन्द्रो नाटकमतिचित्रसंविधानमिदम् ।
एषा सभा रसज्ञा कविरपि चास्यैष चोक्कनाथसुधीः ॥
पारिपार्श्विकः—जानाम्येतं रसविलासाख्यभाणस्य कवयितेति ।
सूत्रधारः—सकलकलास्वपि निपुणो नरसाम्बाविमलगर्भसंभूतः ।
तिप्पाध्वरीन्द्रतनयः शाहमहाराजपुरकृतावासः ॥
पारिपार्श्विकः—तर्हि सकलकलावल्लभस्य कुप्पाध्वरिणो वादकेसरिण-
स्तिरुमलशास्त्रिणश्च कनीयानिति वक्तव्यम् ।
सूत्रधारः—शैशवाभ्यस्तसकलशास्त्रयोः स्वामिशास्त्रिसीताराम-
शास्त्रिणोरपि ।

Kântimatîpariṇayanâṭaka.

Further, the author of the *Kântimatîpariṇayanâṭaka* was a Brâhmaṇa of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and Âśvalâyana *sûtra* and a student of the Ṛigvêda. He was a Telugu Brâhmaṇa, as may be seen from his mother's name Narasâmbâ — a name to be met with only among the women of that community in the South. His pedigree is as follows :—



The subjoined passage from his *Sringâratilakabhâṇa* shows that Râmabhadra-Dîkshita was also the pupil of Nîlakaṇṭha-Dîkshita, well known for his simple, lucid style of composition and for his most popular works, *Nîlakaṇṭhavijaya*, *Kaliviḍambana*, *Nalacharita-nâṭaka* and several others.

* * नीलकण्ठमखिनां सदसि सकृत्प्रविष्टस्यापि समुल्लसति सरसपदसन्दर्भवैदग्धी । अस्य पुनः कवेस्तदीयशिष्यस्य विशिष्य तद्भजनानुरक्तस्य किमु वक्तव्यम् ।

Râmabhadra-Dîkshita's *Sringâratilakabhâṇa*.

His *Nîlakaṇṭhavijaya* is dated

अष्टत्रिंशदुपस्कृतसप्तशताधिकचतुःसहस्रेषु ।
कलिवर्षेषु गतेषु ग्रथितः किल नीलकण्ठविजयोऽयम् ॥

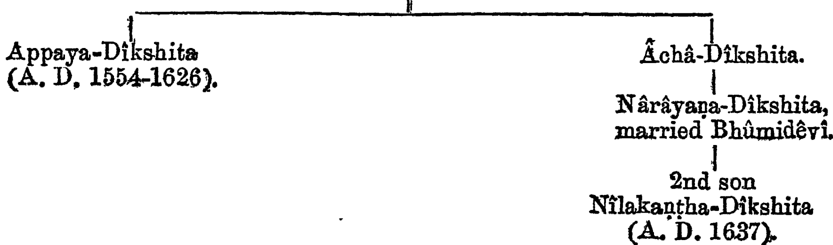
Nîlakaṇṭha-Dîkshita's *Nîlakaṇṭhavijayachampûkâvya*.

i. e., in the Kali year 4738, corresponding to A. D. 1638, and thus enables us to fix approximately the date of his disciple Râmabhadra-Dîkshita. It was at the instance of Nîlakaṇṭha-Dîkshita that our poet wrote his *Râmabâṇastava*.

यो रामस्य च नीलकण्ठमखिना बाणस्तवं कारितः ।[4]

Patañjalicharitavyâkhyâna by Veṅkaṭêśvara-Kavi.

The subjoined pedigree of Nîlakaṇṭha-Dîkshita is based on the extracts printed below it : —



आसेतुबन्धतटमा च तुषारशैलादाचार्यदीक्षित इति प्रथिताभिधानम् ।
अद्वैतचिन्मयमहाम्बुधिमग्नभावमस्मत्पितामहमशेषगुरुं प्रपद्ये ॥
* * * * * *
यं ब्रह्मनिश्चितधियः प्रवदन्ति साक्षात्षड्दर्शनाद्यखिलदर्शनपारभाजम् ।
तं सर्ववेदसमशेषबुधाधिराजं श्रीरङ्गराजमखिनं पितरं प्रपद्ये ॥

Harivaṁśasâracharitavyâkhyâna by Appaya-Dîkshita.

विद्वद्गुरोर्विहितविश्वजिदध्वरस्य श्रीसर्वतोमुखमहाव्रतयाजिसूनोः ।
श्रीरङ्गराजमखिनः श्रितचन्द्रमौलिरस्त्यप्पदीक्षित इति प्रथितस्तनूजः ॥

Siddhântalêśasaṁgraha by Appaya-Dîkshita.

4 This is the second *pâda* of the verse from the same work quoted below.

मुनिरस्ति भरद्वाजः ख्यातस्त्रिभुवनेष्वपि ।
अन्नैर्यस्य जहौ रामोऽप्यरण्यभ्रमणश्रमम् ॥
तस्यान्वये महत्यासीन्क्षीरोद इव चन्द्रमाः ।
श्रीकण्ठचरणासक्तः श्रीमानप्पयदीक्षितः ॥
श्रीकण्ठदेशिकग्रन्थसिद्धान्तद्योतचन्द्रिका ।
श्रीमती निर्मिता येन शिवार्कमणिदीपिका ॥
तत्समानप्रभावस्य तदनन्तरजन्मनः ।
आसीदाच्चादीक्षितस्य पुत्रो नारायणाध्वरी ॥
जयन्ति तनयास्तस्य पञ्च सौभ्रात्रशालिनः ।
गर्भदासा महेशस्य कवयश्च विपश्चितः ॥
तेषामहं द्वितीयोऽस्मि भूमिदेवीतनूभुवाम् ।
नीलकण्ठ इति ख्यातिं नीतः शम्भोः प्रसादतः ॥

Gaṅgâvataraṇakâvya by Nîlakaṇṭha-Dîkshita.

Râmabhadra-Dîkshita was a pupil of Bâlakṛishṇa-Bhagavatpâda in the Vêdânta philosophy.

यस्यानुग्रहदृष्टिमर्पयति च श्रीबालकृष्णो गुरुः
सोऽयं दीव्यति चोक्कनाथमखिनामक्रीतदासः कविः ।

Jânakîpariṇayanâṭaka.

Though **Râmabhadra-Dîkshita** was born in the village of Kaṇḍaramâṇikyam, he afterwards removed from that village and became permanently settled in Sâhajirâjapuram alias Tiruvisainallûr in A. D. 1693. It was after he took his permanent residence in this village that he wrote his commentary on the *Paribhâshâvṛitti* entitled *Paribhâshâvṛittivyâkhyâna*.

सतां तेनार्पिते राज्ञा शाहराजपुराभिधे ।
अग्रहारे स्थितिमता रामभद्रेण यज्वना ॥
पाणिनेः परिभाषाणां वृत्तिर्व्याख्यायतेऽधुना ।
इदं शृण्वन्तु करुणां विधायास्मिन्विपश्चितः ॥

Râmabhadra-Dîkshita's *Paribhâshâvṛittivyâkhyâna.*

A beautiful description of this village, which is situated on the banks of the river Kâvêrî at a distance of about four miles from Kumbhakôṇam, is given in the *Dharmavijaya*, a *Champûkâvya* by Bhûminâtha-Kavi, a pupil of Râmabhadra-Dîkshita.

असौ धर्मपुरुषः परिक्रम्य क्रमेण निषेवितनिखिलपुण्यक्षेत्रो विलोचनरसायनीकृताभिरूपतराग्रहारपरम्परः कुतूहलेन चोलमहीमहनीयभूषणायमानं शाहराजपुरमुपगम्य सम्यगानन्दादन्तरेवमाचिन्तयत्

मन्दस्पन्दिदलोल्लसत्फलभरव्यानम्नरम्भावनी-
खेलद्बालशुकानुकारितबुधव्याख्यानवाक्यक्रमः ।
एषोऽशेषमिदं निरस्य सहसा मैन्यमन्यादृशं
हन्तानन्दभरं तनोति विबुधग्रामोऽभिरामो हृदि ॥

विद्वत्सहस्रपरिघुष्टसमस्तविद्याघोषेण भित्तिषु दिशां मुखरीकृतेन ।
एकेन्द्रनन्दनयशोजयडिण्डिमाख्या व्याख्यायते हि मुहुरत्र महाग्रहारे ॥

अयमखिललोकप्रशंसाप्रथमपदमग्रहारः स्वयमुचितज्ञशेखरेण शाहमहीन्द्रेण नानादिगन्तरतः क्रमेण सप्रयत्नसमुपानीतैरुज्ज्वलतरतेजःशालिभिस्त्रासलेशरहितैः सुवृत्तैरत्यर्घपात्रभूतैः सकलदर्शनाभिनन्दनीयैर्विद्वन्मणिभिरभिगुम्भितश्चोलभूपरिष्कारो-ग्रहारः । * * * * * । अत्र खलु विचित्रचरित्रपवित्रीकृतधरित्री-लोकाः सकलविद्यास्वनवद्यवैशद्यहृद्या मतिमन्तमन्तेवासिनमध्यापयन्तो निश्चलवृत्तयो विपश्चितः परिष्कुर्वते सर्वतो बहिर्वेदीम् ।

स किल जगति शेषः ख्यातमेधाविशेषः पटुवदनसहस्रेणैव यं व्याचकार ।
विशदयति मुखेनैकेन सर्वं तमर्थं करबदरमिवासौ देशिकः शाब्दिकानाम् ॥
चिन्तामणिप्रभृतिभूरिगभीरभावग्रन्थान्तरस्थघनवाक्यशिलाविभेदान् ।
वाक्चन्द्रिकाविसरणैः सरसीकरोति नैयायिकेन्दुरिह सैष जगत्प्रकाशः ॥

श्रुतिवचनगोचराभिर्वाग्धाटीभिर्निरर्गलाभिरसौ ।
मीमांसतेऽध्वरमहो जैमिनिरिव मूर्तिमानहो धर्मान् ॥
वेदान्तविन्ध्यविपिने दुरासदे मन्दवैभवैरितरैः ।
विहरति विद्वत्सिंहस्तदीयवृद्धैर्निदानमित एषः ॥

अधुना किल नानादिगन्तवास्तव्यागन्तुकपण्डितजनशिरःकम्पाभिनन्द्यमानक-र्कशमहाग्रन्थमर्मभेदनालंकर्मीणविबुधकुञ्जरसमञ्चितः शिष्यजनप्रतिज्ञाप्रक्रान्तवक्रेतर-वादाटोपविकटभ्रुकुटीविलोकनविस्मेरोदारतरुणीविवलितमुखचन्द्रमञ्जुलरुचिपुञ्जरञ्जित-वीथ्यन्तरो व्यवहारपरिच्छेदनेच्छासमागतजानपदजनविवादानुयोगचटुलकक्षपुटन्यस्तपु-स्तकमाणवकविराजितश्छात्रजनविजृम्भितमान्यतरोपन्यासविलेखनकृतोद्योगसमागतवै-देशिकग्रन्थकृत्सूरिनिबिरीसो महाकविवितीर्णभोसलवंशावतंसयशःप्रशस्तिसमस्यापूर-णाहमहमिकाप्रवृत्तसत्वरनानाविधोल्लेखसमाहितच्छात्रजनपरिस्तिमितमुखावलोकनानन्द-मन्थरान्तरविद्वद्वृन्दः कदलीपट्टमिथ्यापुस्तकहस्तनाटितशिष्यभावसवयःपरिवृतव्याख्या-तृताभिनयकमनीयानुपनीतचतुरबालकविलसितविद्वद्गृहबहिर्वेदिकाकोणः कोशगृहं सार-

स्वतसर्वस्वस्य जन्मभूमिः श्रौतस्मार्तकर्माचरणस्य समुच्चाटनमन्त्रः कलिमहाग्रहस्य कीर्तिपताका शाहसार्वभौमस्य सकलसद्गुणसमग्रोऽयं विद्वद्ग्रामः प्राप्तो मम दिष्ट्या दृष्टिगोचरताम् ॥ इति धर्मविजये प्रथमस्तबकः ॥

Dharmavijayachampûkâvya by Bhûminâtha-Kavi.

Dr. Burnell, in identifying this village with the town of Tanjore in his *Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 21*a*, has evidently fallen into a mistake. He had not perhaps facilities for knowing that the benevolent Râja Śâhaji I. caused a Brâhmaṇical village to be founded on the banks of the river Kâvêrî, on a site best fitted for the performance of the religious ceremonies of the Brâhmaṇas, and called it after his own name Śâhajirâjapuram. The boundaries of the village on all its four sides have been thus mentioned in the gift-deed by the Râja: — Vêppattûr on the east, Tribhuvanam on the south, Maṇañjêri on the west, and Aṇakkuḍi on the north. Further, Tanjore does not appear to have been known by any secondary name at any time. An indirect proof of this fact is furnished by the following passages: —

तत्र तञ्जापुरं नाम राजस्थानमनुत्तमम् ।
राजानः प्रथितास्तत्र भोसलीयान्ववायजाः ॥

Hiraṇyakêśîyasûtravyâkhyâna, composed in A. D. 1815 by Vâñchhêśvara.

अथ कविवचःपुष्पैर्गन्धोत्तरैरधिवासितं सुचरितसुधापूरं शाहप्रभोर्बुधजीवनम् ।
श्रुतियुगपुटेनास्वाद्यानन्दबन्धुरितान्तरः सकुतुकमसौ धर्मस्तञ्जापुरीं समुपागमत् ॥

Dharmavijayachampûkâvya, chapter 2, verse 1.

अम्लानाभिरपास्तरज्जुनहनक्लेशाभिरम्भोरुह-
स्रग्भिः सौधजुषामपाङ्गजनिभिः सश्लाघमेणीदृशाम् ।
आयुष्मान्रघुनाथभूमिपरिणीरभ्यर्चितो भूयसा
संजातप्रमदो बलेन निरगात्तञ्जापुरीतो बहिः ॥
तत्तादृशे क्वचन चोलदेशे रमानटीनर्तनरङ्गशाला ।
तञ्जापुरी नाम दरी हरीणां धराभुजां राजति राजधानी[5] ॥

Sâhityaratnâkarakâvya by Yajñanârâyaṇa-Dîkshita, son of Gôvinda-Dîkshita, the prime-minister of Achyuta-Nâyaka and of his son Raghunâtha-Nâyaka of Tanjore.

Again, in attributing the authorship of the *Jânakîpariṇayanâṭaka* to Chokkanâtha, Dr. Burnell is far from correct. Probably he misconstrued the following line which is found in it, 'सोऽयं दौव्यानि चोक्कनाथमखिनामक्रीतदासः कविः" meaning, "he — the son-in-law of Chôkkanâtha-Dîkshita — is the famous author of this work." He seems to have mistaken अक्रीत for अकृत

[5] See also verse 3 of the extract from Veṅkaṭêśvara-Kavi's *Uṇâdinighaṇṭu* quoted below.

and चोक्कनाथमखिनां for चोक्कनाथमखिनामा. Such mistakes are not of uncommon occurrence in Dr. Burnell's Tanjore Catalogue, and I take advantage of this opportunity to note a few of them: —

(1) P. 55, *Rasikarañjinî*, a *ṭîkâ*, "by the author of the text, Appayadîkshita" *for* "by Gaṅgâdharâdhvarin on Appaya-Dîkshita's *Kuvalayânanda*."

(2) P. 172, *Vidyâpariṇayanâṭaka* by Ânandarâyamakhin, "son of Nârâyaṇa" *for* "son of Nṛisiṁhâdhvarin."

(3) P. 170, *Mallikâmâruta*, a *prakaraṇa* "by Raṅganâtha of Lâṭapura" *for* "by Uddaṇḍa, son of Raṅganâtha of Lâṭapura."

(4) P. 174, *Sabhâpativilâsa*, a *nâṭaka* in 5 *aṅkas* "by Dharmarâja" *for* "by Veṅkaṭêśvara, son of Dharmarâja."

(5) P. 163, "*Harivaṁśasâracharita* by Appayadîkshita" *for* "*Harivaṁśasâracharita-vyâkhyâna* by Appaya-Dîkshita."

(6) P. 158, *Tripuravijayachampû* "by a son of Nârâyaṇadîkshita" *for* "by Nṛisiṁha-Dîkshita."

(7) P. 171, *Raghunâthavilâsa*, a modern play in 5 *aṅkas*, "founded on the *Râmâyaṇa* by Yajñanârâyaṇa" *for* "founded on the exploits of Raghunâtha-Nâyaka, one of the (Nâyaka) rulers of Tanjore, &c."

(8) P. 173, *Śṛiṅgârasarvasvabhâṇa*, a *bhâṇa* "by Kauśika Nallâbudha, son of Nallâbudha, son of Râmachandra" *for* "by Kauśika-Nallâbudha, son of Bâlachandra."

(9) P. 158, *Dharmavijaya*. "Anon." *for* "by Bhûminâtha-Kavi."

(10) P. 58, *Sâhityaratnâkara*. "Examples illustrating the rules of poetry in ten *sargas*. This work is called a *Mahâkâvya*, but there does not appear to be any continuous story in it." Dr. Burnell is totally incorrect. *Sâhityaratnâkara* by Yajñanârâyaṇa-Dîkshita is a *Mahâkâvya* and is about Raghunâtha-Nâyaka of the Tanjore Nâyaka dynasty.

(11) P. 57, "*Rasârṇava*, a similar treatise, by Siṁhamahîpati. The nominal author is said to have been a Tanjore prince of the last century. The work does not seem to have been ever finished, and it is certainly not a matter for regret that such is the case." Here, again, Dr. Burnell is unfortunately wrong. The name Siṁhamahîpati or Śiṅgabhûpâla, as he is otherwise called, does not occur in the lists of the Nâyakas or the Marâṭha Râjas of Tanjore. The name Śiṅgabhûpâla and his work *Rasârṇava* are often quoted already by Kumârasvâmin, son of Mallinâtha, in his *Ratnâpaṇa*, a commentary on the *Pratâparudrayaśôbhûshaṇa*.

(12) P. 162, *Sarabharâjavilâsa*, "a history of Sarabhôjirâja of Tanjore (1796-1833) by Jagannâtha" *for* "a history of Śarabhôji I. of Tanjore, composed in A. D. 1722 by Jagannâtha."

The work begins: — अखिललोकमनोवशीकरणप्रगुणैरात्मगुणैः सर्वस्मिन्नुर्वीवलये स्वयमेकराजतयान्वर्थनाम्नः श्रीमदेकमहाराजस्य तनूजरत्नहारमध्यनायकः * * * * * * तञ्जापुरीति प्रथितनामान्तरामलकां नाम पुरीमधिवसन् * * ज्यायसा प्रकारैरपि सर्वैः श्रीशाहमहीरमणेनोढविश्वविश्वंभरतया * * * * * * * * * * * जगति विजयते विजयतेजाः प्रतिनृपतिसिंहरंहःप्रशमनशरभः शरभमहाराजः ॥

Ends :— कल्यब्देषु गतेष्वक्षिकरदिक्सिन्धु(४८२२)सङ्ख्यया ।
वत्सरे शुभकृन्नाम्नि व्यरचीदं निबन्धनम् ॥

(13) P. 161, *Râghavacharitram* by (or rather attributed to) "Sarabhôji Râja of Tanjore (nineteenth century)" *for* "Sarabhôji I. Râja of Tanjore (eighteenth century)."

Introduction to the *Râghavacharitram* :—

रत्नेषु मुक्ताफलवद्ग्रहेषु शीतांशुवत्कल्पकवद्द्रुमेषु ।
अभ्यर्हितस्तेष्वभवच्च धीमानेकोजिनामा नृपसार्वभौमः ॥
विधाय शत्रून्विनतान्बलेन तञ्जाधिपः सोऽयमभून्निजेन ।
स्वविक्रमावर्जितसत्त्वभाजो मृगेन्द्रता हि स्वयमेव लोके ॥
विश्वंभरोऽसाविह दीव्यतीति स्वयं च लक्ष्मीरवतीर्य भूमौ ।
दीपाम्बिकेति प्रथिता पतिं तमविन्ददिन्दुं किल रोहिणीव ॥
तस्मादजायन्त सुतास्त्रयोऽस्य शस्त्रे च शास्त्रे च निकामदक्षाः ।
तेष्वग्रजन्मा जगति प्रतीतः शाहेन्द्रनामा जितभोजकीर्तिः ॥
तस्यानुजन्मा तपनातिचण्डप्रतापभूमप्रथमानलक्ष्मीः ।
जगत्त्रयव्योतिजयापदानो जयत्युदारः शरभेन्द्रनामा ॥
प्रौढैः कवीन्द्रैः परिशीलनेन विज्ञाय साहित्यविलासभेदान् ।
करोति काव्यं रघुवीरगाथापवित्रितं सैष मुदे बुधानाम् ॥

(14) *Jâmbavatîkalyâṇa*, "by Kṛishṇarâya" *for* "by Kṛishṇarâya, king of Vijayanagara (A. D. 1510 to 1529)."

At the end of the work :—

धर्मः पादचतुष्टयेन कृतवत्स्थैर्यं समालम्बतां
चातुर्वर्ण्यमुपैतु कर्म सततं स्वस्वाधिकारोचितम् ।
शेषक्ष्माधरनायकस्य कृपया सप्तार्णवीमध्यगां
रक्षन्गामिह कृष्णरायनृपतिर्जीयात्सहस्रं समाः ॥

Colophon :— समाप्तमिदं राजाधिराजराजपरमेश्वरसकलकलाभोजराजविभवमूरुराय-गण्डश्रीमत्कृष्णरायमहारायविरचितं जाम्बवतीकल्याणं नाम नाटकम् ॥

(15) P. 173, *Sṛiṅgârabhûshaṇa*, a *bhâṇa* by Vâmanabhaṭṭa-Bâṇa, composed for the Virûpâksha-Chaitrayâtrâ "at Tanjore" *for* "on the banks of Tuṅgabhadrâ."

Introduction to the *Sṛiṅgârabhûshaṇabhâṇa* :—

सूत्रधारः—मारिषाद्य खलु चराचरगुरोस्तुङ्गतुङ्गभद्रातरङ्गतालवृन्तापनीयमान-सांध्यताण्डवपरिश्रमस्य हेमगिरिकूटक्रीलाकरहेमकूटशृङ्गविहितमङ्गलायतनस्य कामागमनिधिवामभागस्य शेखरीभूतशीतभानुशकलस्य भगवतो विरूपाक्षस्य चैत्रयात्रामहोत्सवे

रतितन्त्रदेशिकानां रतिपतिनिगमान्तवावदूकानाम् ।
वैदग्ध्यभूषणानामेषा परिषत्समागता विदुषाम् ॥

तत्केनापि रूपकेण सभामिमामाराध्य सफलयिष्यामो वयं कुलक्रमागतं प्रयोगविद्यावैशद्यम् ॥

(16) P. 170, *Maratakavallîpariṇaya*, a *nâṭaka* in 5 *aṅkas*, by Srînivâsadâsa, son of Dêvarâjârya of the Bhâradvâja family. As far as I can make out the passage, he is of the same family as a Mâdhava who wrote commentaries "on the Upanishads" *for* "on the Dramiḍôpanishads."

Introduction to the *Maratakavallîpariṇayanâṭaka*:—

तदिह द्रमिडोपनिषद्विवरणपरमगुरुमाधवाचार्यवंशमुक्तामणेर्भारद्वाजकुलजलधिकौस्तुभस्य श्रीदेवराजार्यस्य तनयेन श्रीनिवासकविना विरचितेन मरतकवल्लीपरिणयाभिधानेनाभिनवेन नाटकेन भवतः परितोषयामि तदनुगृह्णन्तु ।

(17) P. 170, "*Madanabhûshaṇa*, a *bhâṇa* by —— ? The author is said to have lived at Kilayanûr, which must be in the neighbourhood of Madras" *for* "*Madanabhûshaṇa*, a *bhâṇa* by Appâdhvarin. The author is said to have lived at Killayûr in the neighbourhood of Mâyûram (Mâyavaram, in the Tanjore District)."

In religion, **Râmabhadra-Dîkshita was a Smârta Brâhmaṇa** and a votary of Râma. His works, poetical or philosophical, always begin with an invocation to Râma, or have Râma for their subject. In his *Sṛiṅgâratilakabhâṇa*, we come across the following sentence, put into the mouth of the Pâripârśvika — "कथमस्य रघुवीरचरणारविन्दस्मरणनिरन्तरप्रवणचेतसो भाणनिर्माणेऽपि प्रवृत्तं हृदयम्" — meaning "how is it he (Râmabhadra-Dîkshita) whose thoughts are ever bent on meditating on Râma, has undertaken to write a *bhâṇa* ?" The following verse addressed to Kṛishṇa and believed to have been composed by the author one night in his dream, occurs in his *Râmakarṇarasâyana* and clearly shows his unshaken attachment to Râma and Râma alone.

मौलौ निधेहि मकुटं त्यज बर्हिबर्हं
बाणं गृहाण धनुषा सह मुञ्च वेणुम् ।
शाखामृगैर्विहर संत्यज गोपबाला-
न्रामो यदूद्वह भव त्वमथाश्रये त्वाम् ॥

meaning "Remove the peacock's feathers and wear the crown on thy head; drop the flute and grasp the bow with arrows; abandon the cowherd boys and associate with monkeys; O, the brightest of the Yadus, transform thyself into Râma and then will I be attached to thee." The following note is added after the verse in the manuscript—स्वप्नदृष्टोऽयं श्लोकः— *i. e.*, "the verse which he composed in his dream."

I now turn to **Râmabhadra-Dîkshita's works.** The following is a list of them so far as they are known to me: (1) *Jânakîpariṇayanâṭaka*, (2) *Sṛiṅgâratilakabhâṇa*, (3) *Paribhâshâvṛittivyâkhyâna*, (4) *Shaḍdarśanîsiddhântasaṁgraha*, (5) *Patañjalicharitakâvya*, (6) *Bâṇastava*, (7) *Châpastava*, (8) *Tûṇîrastava*, (9) *Prasâdastava*, (10) *Viśvagarbhastava*, (11) *Râmastavakarṇarasâyana*, (12) *Ashṭaprâsa*, and (13) *Âchâryastavarâjabhûshaṇa* (a review of "Âchâryastavarâja," a work by Brahmânandamuni in praise of his preceptor Kṛishṇânandamuni). A critical

study of them would convince any reader that they were all written by the same author. As regards the first four, the author himself, in the introductory portion, gives his name and some details of his life. The next two are pronounced to be the works of Râmabhadra-Dîkshita by his pupil Veṅkaṭêśvara-Kavi in his commentary on the *Patañjalicharitakâvya*. Besides, there is sufficient internal evidence in these six works to show that they were composed by the same author. Similarity of style and sentiments, recurrence of the same words and phrases, and occasionally even of a couplet or a verse with a slight change, prove clearly that they are the works of the same person. I shall here quote some instances :—

(1) किमिदं प्रभातप्राया रजनी संवृत्ता । यदिदानीं * * ।

चक्रद्वन्द्वं चटुलनलिनीनालडोलाधिरूढं
गाढाश्लिष्टं त्यजति रजनीजातविश्लेषदुःखम् ।
नक्तं भुक्त्वा नवकुमुदिनीं विश्रमार्थी विभाते
गन्धागेहं विकचकमलं गाहते चञ्चरीकः ॥ २२ ॥

Sriṅgâratilakabhâṇa.

चक्रद्वयीमधिगताम्बुजनालडोलामन्योन्यसंघटितपक्षपुटामकाण्डे ।
दूरे वियोजितवतो दिवसात्ययस्य दुष्कीर्तिवृन्दमिव संददृशे तमिस्रम् ॥८।२६॥
आसायमम्बुजवनीमलिराप्रभातमाश्रित्य तत्समयमत्यजदेव दूरे ।
क्व स्थातुमिच्छति मुखे मुकुलीकृतेऽपि स्थानं न चेत्कुवलये क्वचिदप्यलभ्यम् ॥
॥ ८ । २९ ॥

Patañjalicharita.

(2) भानोः पश्चिमशैलकन्दरकुटीमभ्येयुषः संभ्रमा-
त्संध्यारागमिषेण किं विगलिता भान्ति त्विषः पञ्चषाः ।
किंचैषा कृतनिश्चयेन कवलीकर्तुं महीमण्डली-
माक्रान्ता प्रथमं घनेन तमसा नीला तमालाटवी ॥ २२० ॥ ”

Sriṅgâratilakabhâṇa.

हृत्वानुतापभरिते द्विजराजलक्ष्मीं पाश्चात्यमब्धिमघनिष्कृतये निमङ्क्तुम् ।
चण्डद्युतौ व्रजति संभ्रमतोऽस्य शीर्णा रेजुस्त्विषस्त्रिचतुरा इव सांध्यरागाः ॥ ८ । २४ ॥
भूमण्डलस्य कबलीकरणाय पूर्वं तालीवनं प्रविशता तमसां भरेण ।
संदर्शिता ननु चमूविनिवेशभङ्ग्या कालीकटाक्षकलुषः किल कालिमैकः ॥८। २५ ॥

Patañjalicharita.

(3) इदानीं वस्तूनां बृहदणुविभागानपहर-
त्समीकुर्वन्निम्नोन्नतमपि जगत्यन्धतमसम् ।
मुदं वासोमाल्याभरणरुचिसाधारणतया
विधत्ते संकेतस्थलमभिसृतानां मृगदृशाम् ॥ २२१ ॥

Sriṅgâratilakabhâṇa.

दिष्ट्यावृता वसुमती तमसा घनेन निम्नोन्नतानि भुवि तेन समीकृतानि ।
इत्यादरादभिसृतिः कुलटाजनस्य जाता तदा सदधिपेन विना यथेष्टम् ॥ ८ । ३० ॥

Patañjalicharita.

(4) आरक्तसंकुचदपाङ्गमुदस्तहस्तमुन्नम्रितस्तनमृजूकृतमध्यभागम् ।
नीवीसमुच्छ्वसितदर्शितनाभिदेशं निद्रावशेषकलुषा कुरुतेङ्गभङ्गम् ॥ ६६ ॥

Sṛiṅgâratilakabhâṇa.

विराधः—(स्वगतम्) अस्याः खलु
उत्तानिताननसरोजमुदस्तहस्तमुन्नम्रितस्तनमृजूकृतमध्यभागम् ।
विस्रंसिनीवि वसुधानिहिताग्रपादं चित्ते ममार्पितमिव स्थितमुत्पलाक्ष्याः ॥

Jânakîpariṇayanâṭaka, V. Act.

स्रस्तनीविनहनं च्युतचेलं व्यञ्जितस्तनमृजूकृतमध्यम् ।
पाणिना विटपमानमयन्ती पल्लवानहृत काचन तासु ॥ २ । ३६ ॥

Patañjalicharita.

(5) आकर्षत्युपसृत्य वेणिलतिकामप्यम्बुजेनाहतो
नायं मुञ्चति पादमूलमृजुतां चित्ते विधत्ते गिराम् ।
प्रेमावेशविकस्वरेण शनकैरङ्गीकृतश्चक्षुषा
कामीवैष तवाननताङ्गि पुरतः केकी मुदा नृत्यति ॥ ७९ ॥

Sṛiṅgâratilakabhâṇa.

मा विकर्ष मम वेणिलतामित्याहतः करजुषा कमलेन ।
किं व्यथेति पुनरेव तरुण्या चुम्ब्यते स्म सुकृती ननु बर्ही" ॥ २ । ४२ ॥

Patañjalicharita.

(6) अम्भोजकाननमहोत्सवलक्षणानि शीतांशुकान्तिशिथिलीकृतिसूचकानि ।
आविर्भवन्ति मिथुनश्रुतिदुःसहानि कुक्कुरुतानि चरणायुधकण्ठनालात् ॥ १३ ॥

Sṛiṅgâratilakabhâṇa.

अम्भोजकाननमहोत्सवलक्षणानि शीतांशुकान्तिशिथिलीकृतिसूचकानि ।
तावन्निशम्य चरणायुधकूजितानि शय्यामहो परिजहार न जारयुग्मम् ॥ ८ । ४८ ॥

Patañjalicharita.

(7) आस्ते कुत्रचिदम्बरं हिमकरः कादम्बिनी च क्वचि-
द्वापी क्वापि चकास्ति मीनमिथुनं कोकद्वयं चान्यतः ।
किंचाधः पुलिनोच्चयस्य कदलीकाण्डाववाग्रोपितौ
तन्मन्ये चतुरस्य पुष्पधनुषः सर्गोऽयमन्यादृशः ॥ २२८ ॥

Sṛiṅgâratilakabhâṇa.

विराधः—(दृष्ट्वा स्वगतम्) एषा निरतिशयरूपलावण्या जानकी। (साश्चर्यम्)
अपूर्वा खल्वियं वेधसो विरचना। अथवा।
ऊर्ध्वं नीरदवृन्दमैन्दवमिदं बिम्बं त्वधो निर्मितं
व्योम्नः पल्वलचिलितस्य निहितौ शैलावुपर्युन्नतौ।
किंचाधः पुलिनोच्चयस्य कदलीकाण्डाववाप्रोपितौ
तन्मन्ये चतुरस्य पुष्पधनुषः सर्गोऽयमन्यादृशः॥ २२॥

Jânakîpariṇayanâṭaka, V. Act.

(8) कालीहर्यक्षकण्ठध्वनिभरपरुषं कुर्वतोरट्टहासं
साटोपन्यस्तपादक्रमनमदवनि भ्राम्यतोर्मण्डलेन।
निर्घातक्रूरमुष्टिप्रहृतबृहदुरस्तारठात्कारघोरा
युद्धारम्भा हिडिम्बानिलसुतबलयोर्मल्लयोरुल्लसन्ति॥ १४८॥

Sṛiṅgâratilakabhâṇa.

कालीहर्यक्षकण्ठध्वनिभरपरुषं कुर्वतामट्टहासं
साटोपन्यस्तपादक्रमनमितभुवां भग्नशूलद्रुमाणाम्।
निर्घातक्रूरमुष्टिप्रहृतबृहदुरस्तारठात्कारघोरे
युद्धे निर्दग्धलङ्कं रघुपतिविशिखं नौमि रक्षःकपीनाम्॥ ८९॥

Râmabâṇastava.

(9) सखे, पश्य रमणीयतामुपवनस्य।
पक्वानि प्रच्यवन्ते क्रमुकविटपिनामुच्छ्रितानां फलानि
स्पन्दन्ते राजरम्भाः फलभरनमिता वाति मन्दानिलोऽपि।
संदृश्यन्ते विपाकच्युतमधुरफलव्याप्तमूला रसाला
भारेणामी फलानां युवतिकुचभरस्पर्धिनो नालिकेराः॥ २०५॥

Sṛiṅgâratilakabhâṇa.

विद्युज्जिह्वः—अहो रामणीयकं मुनेराश्रमस्य। इह हि
पक्वानि प्रच्यवन्ते क्रमुकविटपिनामुच्छ्रितानां फलानि
स्पन्दन्ते राजरम्भाः फलभरनमिता वाति मन्दानिलोऽपि।
संदृश्यन्ते विपाकच्युतमधुरफलव्याप्तमूला रसाला
भारेणामी फलानां युवतिकचभरस्पर्धिनो नालिकेराः॥ ४॥

Jânakîpariṇayanâṭaka, II. Act.

(10) निहत्य युधि ताटकां सह बलैः सुबाहुं तथा
करालमपि राघवो यमपुरीमनैषीदिति ।
यमप्रहितवाचिकं निशमयन्वृषा मन्यते
निशाटवधनाटकप्रथमभूमिकोपक्रमम् ॥ १ ॥

Jânakîpariṇayanâṭaka, IV. Act.

येन प्रौढेन मध्येमाहि तरसभरालंक्रियाकल्पकेन
श्लोकानुत्पादयित्वा रजनिचरकुलोत्पाटनानाटकस्य ।
न्यस्तं प्रस्तावनायाः सपदि किल पदे ताडनं ताटकायाः
सोऽस्माकं रामबाणः सुललितरचनां सूक्तिमाविष्करोतु ॥ १० ॥

Râmabâṇastava.

(11) करोमि हृदयाम्बुजे कमपि वीरमम्भोनिधे-
र्निबन्धनमबिन्धनज्वलनबन्धुतूणीशयम् ।
न कश्चिदपि दृश्यते जगति यस्य शक्तौ जये
स्मरं प्रहितजानकीनयनपञ्चबाणं विना ॥ २ ॥

Paribhâshâvṛittivyâkhyâna.

The above verse occurs as the 12th verse in the 1st *Nishyanda* in the *Râmastavakarṇarasâyana.*

(12) शुण्डालेन सलीलमेष कलभो वक्त्रान्मृणालोज्ज्वलं
जृम्भारम्भविकस्वरान्मृगपतेर्दंष्ट्राङ्कुरान्कर्षति ।
एषा वत्सतरी च मातरि तृणान्यत्तुं गतायां क्वचि-
द्द्वीपिन्या वरकन्दरस्थितिजुषः स्तन्यं पयश्चूषति ॥ ३९ ॥

Jânakîpariṇayanâṭaka, I. Act.

यत्र काननचरो गजराजो वीतकर्दममृणालविशङ्की ॥
जृम्भणेषु चटुलेन करेण व्याचकर्ष किल केसरिदंष्ट्राम् ॥ २ । ३ ॥
यत्र चत्वरमपास्य तटान्ते चर्वितुं गवि तृणानि गतायाम् ।
द्वीपिनी रसनया परिलिह्य स्तन्यमर्पयति वत्सतरस्य ॥ २ । ४ ॥

Patañjalicharita.

(13) खेलद्धेमाब्जमालं शकलितरणकृद्दुन्दुभिक्रूरशृङ्गं
कक्षप्रक्षिप्तरक्षःपतिविधुतशिरःप्रान्तघातक्षमान्तम् ।
तारावक्षोजभाराहतघुसृणरसं वालिनो बाहुमध्यं
विध्यन्बाणो विदध्यान्मम शुभमनिशं रामतूणीरधामा ॥ ६७ ॥

Jânakîpariṇayanâṭaka, VI. Act.
Vide 59th verse in the *Bâṇastava.*

(14) यावद्बाणसमीरवारितमहामायारजोदुर्दिना
तेन क्षत्रियबालकेन बलिना दृष्टा पुरस्ताटकाम् ।
हन्त स्त्रीति जुगुप्सया शिथिलितौ मौर्वीविकर्षौ करौ
वेगादुत्पतितेन तावदिषुणा सा च स्वयं चिच्छिदे ॥ ३ ॥

Jânakîpariṇayanâṭaka, III. Act.

यज्ञो मे भवितेति कौसलपतिं दारैः सुतैश्चानय-
न्नुद्धस्ताटकयास्मि वर्त्मनि रजोवृष्टिं सृजन्त्या भृशम् ।
वत्से स्त्रीति पराङ्मुखेऽप्युदपतद्बाणः स्वयं कार्मुका-
च्छिन्ना तेन भुजान्तरे महति सा जीवं जहावञ्जसा ॥ ३५ ॥

Jânakîpariṇayanâṭaka, IV. Act.

प्राप्यानुज्ञामभिज्ञात्कुशिककुलभुवस्तापसात्कोपसान्द्रे
स्वामिन्युन्मोक्तुकामेऽप्यनुचितमिदमित्यन्तरुद्भिन्नचिन्तः ।
कंचित्कालं विलम्ब्य स्मृतनिखिलजगद्रक्षणस्तत्क्षणं यः
संतापं ताटकाया व्यधित युधि तमेवाश्रये रामबाणम् ॥ ९ ॥

Râmabâṇastava.

(15) प्रभ्रष्टरत्नमकुटं पतितासिखेटं विस्रस्तकेशमभितस्ततपाणिपादम् ।
मारीचमभ्रमिव चण्डमरुद्विधुन्वन्निन्ये क्वचिद्रघुकिशोरशरः क्षणेन ॥ ६ ॥

Jânakîpariṇayanâṭaka, III. Act.

मौलिभ्रश्यत्किरीटं गलपरिविगलच्चारुमुक्ताकलापं
त्रासोद्यन्मुष्टिबन्धश्लथकरयुगलस्रंसमानासिखेटम् ॥ १५ ॥
स्रस्तव्यालोलकेशो ततकरचरणच्छादिताशावकाशो ॥ १६ ॥
क्षिप्तश्चण्डानिलेनाम्बुद इव गगने * * ॥ १९ ॥

Râmabâṇastava.

(To be continued.)

GLIMPSES OF SINGHALESE SOCIAL LIFE.

BY ARTHUR A. PERERA.

(*Continued from p. 61.*)

(7) Relationship and Rights of Property.[18]

Seven generations of **family descent** is a matter of pride, and each link of the chain has a name of its own: (1) **appâ**, (2) **âtâ**, **siyiya** or **muttâ**, (3) **mî-muttâ**, (4) **nattâ**, (5) **panattâ**, (6) **kittâ**, and (7) **kirikittâ** (father, grandfather, &c.); these terms are used for the direct as well as collateral ancestors.

The next-of-kin to a father (*appâ*) or mother (*ammâ*) and brother (*sahôdarayâ*) or sister (*sahôdari*)[19] are the father's brothers and mother's sisters, and mother's brothers and father's sisters; of these the first pair has a paternal rank and is called 'father' (*appâ*) or mother (*ammâ*), qualified by the words big (*loku*), intermediate (*madduma*), or little (*punchi*, *kudâ* or *bâla*), according as 'he' or 'she' is older or younger than one's parents; their children are brothers (*sahôdarayâ*) and sisters (*sahôdarî*), who are, in their turn, styled 'father' and 'mother' by the speaker's children. The second pair becomes 'uncle' (*mâmâ*) or aunt (*nendâ*); and their children male cousins (*massinâ*) and female cousins (*nênâ*), who are themselves addressed 'uncles' and 'aunts' by the next generation.

These are not confined to the relationships mentioned, but are used to friends and elders as expressions of endearment, familiarity or respect, and also to denote other forms of kinship. **Appâ**, qualified as before, is applied to a mother's sister's husband or a step-father; **ammâ** to a father's brother's wife or a step-mother; **mâmâ** to a father's sister's husband or a father-in-law; **nendâ** to a mother's brother's wife or a mother-in-law; **sahôdarayâ** to a wife's or husband's brother-in-law or a maternal cousin's husband; **sahôdari** to a wife's or husband's sister-in-law or a maternal cousin's wife; **massinâ** to a brother-in-law or a paternal cousin's husband; **nênâ** to a sister-in-law or a paternal cousin's wife.

Those who are related as 'brothers' and 'sisters' rarely marry; and a husband's uncles, aunts, and cousins of the one class are to his wife uncles, aunts, and cousins of the other. The terms son, nephew, grandson, and great-grandson, with their female equivalents, also stand for several forms of kindred. A son (*pûtâ*) is one's own son, the son of a 'brother' (male speaking) or of a 'sister' (female speaking). A daughter (*duva*) is one's own daughter, the daughter of a 'brother' (m. s.) or of a 'sister' (f. s). A nephew (*bênâ*) is a son-in-law, the son of a 'sister' (m. s.) or of a 'brother' (f. s.). A niece (*lêlî*) is a daughter-in-law, the daughter of a 'sister' (m. s.) or of a 'brother' (f. s.). A grandson (*munupurâ*) and granddaughter (*minipirî*) are a 'son's' or 'daughter's' or a 'nephew's' or 'niece's' children; their sons and daughters are great-grandsons (*mî-munupurô*) and great-granddaughters (*mî-minipiri*).

The ancestral holding of a field and garden **devolves**, according to the old Singhalese Law, which is still in force, with modifications, in the inner provinces of the island, on the sons, unless ordained as Buddhist priests, or adopted out of the family, and on those daughters who are unmarried or have not moved from their parents after marriage. **Matrimony** is of two kinds: **diga** when the husband takes the wife to his own home, or **binna** when he settles down at her father's house. **To keep a plot of ground intact the males have had recourse to polyandry.**

[18] Authorities :—

(*a*) Thomson's *Institutes of the Laws of Ceylon* (1866), Vol. II. pp. 597-672.

(*b*) Phear's *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon* (1880), pp. 173-205.

(*c*) *Nîti Nighanduwa, or A Vocabulary of Kandyan Law* (1880).

(*d*) *The Orientalist*, Vol. I. (1884) p. 217, and Vol. II. (1885) p. 64.

(*e*) *Ceylon North Central Province Manual* (1899), p. 108.

[19] Elder brother is *ayiyâ*. Elder sister is *akkâ*. Younger brother is *malayâ*. Younger sister is *nangi*.

The co-owners work together (*hawlata*) and share the produce or divide the property into their respective lots (*betma* or *pangu*) before cultivation, or hold it on the following complicated system called **Tattumâru** (alternate). A field belongs to A and B in equal shares and is possessed in alternate years. If on their death two sons of A and three of B inherit it, then their possession for 14 years is A-1, B-1, A-2, B-2, A-1, B-3, A-2, B-1, A 1, B-2, A-2, B-3, A-1, B-1. In case of A-1 surviving, A-2 leaving two sons, B-1 three sons. B-2 four sons, and B-3 five sons, the tenure for 30 years is A-1, B-1a, A-2a, B-2a, A-1, B-3a, A-2b, B-1b, A-1, B-2b, A-2a, B-3b, A-1, B-1a, A-2b, B-2c, A-1, B-3c, A-2a, B-1a, A-1, B-2d, A-2b, B-3d, A-1, B-1b, A-2a, B-2a, A-1, B-3e.

When there is no male in a family or the proprietor is old or employed elsewere, the **fields are rented out** for cultivation for half the crop (*andê*), or for a portion equal to one and a half or double the extent sown — about $\frac{1}{10}$ of the produce (*otu*).

A cultivator who converts, with the owner's consent, a temporarily abandoned highland or waste ground (*hẹna*), into a field or garden becomes entitled to it and pays a small rent (*aswedduma* or *panduru mila*), or has his trouble and expense made good, before the possession of the land is resumed, as his **improvement right**.

Lands are acquired by inheritance, paternal (*pav urumê*) **or maternal** (*mav urumê*), **by bequests** (*thêgî*) made orally or in writing, **by purchase** (*milata*) or by prescription (*buttiya*). **The mother is the heiress of an intestate child** (*daru urumê*), and failing her the father becomes entitled to the property (*jâtaka urumê*), but they cannot dispose of it. **The rule of succession** is children, parents, brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces, uncles and aunts and children of uncles and aunts; only on failure of the whole-blood descendants, do the half-blood succeed.

Deeds of gift, which generally had an imprecation against all future claimants, were revocable by the grantor except those to temples (*pidavili*) and to public officers in lieu of a fee; and an **usurpation** was valid if the proprietor did not recover possession within twelve months.

Service property held by hereditary tenants reverted to the landlord by abandonment (*pâlu*), by failure of heirs (*mala-pâlu*), or by forfeiture due to non-performance of personal services (*nila-pâlu*).

Children who are ungrateful to parents or have been cruel to them or have brought disgrace on the clan by contracting inferior marriages are **disinherited**; the father, in presence of witnesses, declared his child disinherited, struck a hatchet against a tree or a rock, and gave to his other heir an *ola*, blank, or written with the disinheritance formula. There is no prescribed form for the **adoption** of a child, but it is necessary that he is of the same caste as the foster-parent and that he is publicly declared to the relatives as the adopted son and heir of the estate.

Minor differences about property were settled or compromised in the **village councils** (Gansabhâva) held in the *ambalama* or under the village tree. Appeals from them and the more important disputes were heard in the court of the provincial governor (Dissâva Maduva or Ratê Sabhâva) who was assisted by his high officials acting as assessors. He was empowered to give **olas** as titles to lands (*sittu*) and direct anyone but those who had Royal grants (*sannas*) to quit possession. The Final Court of Appeal was presided over by the king or one of his ministers (Adikârama) and its decisions were final. The three ancient tribunals are now represented by the village assembly of the Chief of a district, by the Appellate Court of the Agent of a province, and by the Governor in Council. If a Dissâva or an Adigar found after inquiring into the evidence — no relatives were competent witnesses — that the issue was doubtful, he ordered a **trial by oath or ordeal.** The villages were summoned to the spot (*dinapela*) by showing them a cloth tied in three knots and they were bound to be present.

The oaths were either a mere asseveration (*sattaka venavâ*) or swearing upon one's eyes (*ẹsdekapâ*) or on one's mother (*ammapâ*) or by striking the ground (*polavê atagasâ*), or by throwing up a handful of sand (*vẹli udadamâ*) or by lifting the hand towards the sun (*irata ata nagâ*) or by

touching a pebble (*keta allâ*) or by the image of Vishnu or some other deity, or by the sacred scriptures (*bana*) or by Buddha's *mandopla* (*tirisâraya*). In all the above, punishment followed in this life itself, except where the Great Master was concerned, when the perjured person suffered in a future existence. There were **five common forms of ordeal**; that by hot oil required the adversaries to put their middle finger in boiling oil and water mixed with cowdung, and if neither or both were burnt the land was equally divided. The other four modes consisted of the disputants partaking of some rice boiled from the paddy of the land in question; breaking an earthen vessel and eating a cocoanut that were placed on the portion claimed; removing the rushes laid along the boundary; or striking each other with the mud of the disputed field; the claim was decided by any misfortune which fell to either party or his relatives within seven or fourteen days. There were **two other forms** which had fallen into disuse even in ancient times owing to the seveiity of the tests, *viz.*, carrying a red-hot iron (*rîpolla*) seven paces without being burnt and picking some coins out of a vessel containing a cobra (*nayâ*) without being bitten.

(8) Industries.

The several occupations in which the people are engaged have already been hinted at; **agriculture** and **fishing** require more detailed reference, as well as **hunting**, which is followed both to protect the crops from the depredation of wild animals, and as a means of sustenance in districts where cultivation is not possible.

Rice is sown three times a year — for the Maha crop in July, for the Yala in January, and for the Medakanna in October — in fields irrigated by tanks, or by rivers dammed up near their mouths: a row of piles is fixed in the bed of the stream and mats made of grass tied to them with jungle creepers: sufficient sand silts up against the framework for a dam. Each owner surrounds his claim of the communal tract of fields with an embankment (*niyara*), muds it with buffaloes (*madavanavâ*), removes the surplus water with a long wooden ladle (*yotumâna*) hung up on a cross beam at the edge of the field, and sows it with seed-paddy (*bittara vî*) which had been soaked in water till they had germinated. From a cadjan-shed (*pela*), erected on four trestles, the *gamarala* watches his field by night and day. The neighbours assist each other in reaping the grain (*goyan kapanavâ*), tying the sheaves, threshing (*goyan pâganavâ*), fanning the chaff in winnowing baskets (*kulla*) and stacking the straw; and are entertained with a mid-day meal. The harvest time is eagerly looked forward to by the villagers, those employed in towns taking leave of their masters to participate in these rural joys. When water fails, yams and fine grains are cultivated in terraces along hill-slopes, in beds of dried-up tanks, or in clearings (*hên*) of the communal forests which surround each village: a village consists of a group of hamlets (*gan*).

The capture of elephants (*ali*) is effected either by pitfalls, female decoys, noosing or by large stockades (*etgâl*);[20] leopards (*koti*) are taken "in traps and pitfalls, and occasionally in spring cages formed of poles driven firmly into the ground, within which a kid is generally fastened as a bait; the door being held open by a sapling bent down by the united force of several men, and so arranged as to act as a spring, to which a noose is ingeniously attached, formed of plaited deer's hide. The cries of the kid attract the leopard, which, being tempted to enter, is enclosed by the liberation of the spring, and grasped firmly round the body by the noose."[21]

Bears (*valassu*) are very greedy of honey, and this is taken advantage of by woodmen, who "suspend a heavy wooden mallet before the mouth of the fissure in which the hive is built, and a cross-bar to the trunk below at such a distance that when the bear sits on it the end of the mallet will be on a level with his head. Should, as is expected, the bear climb the tree, he makes himself comfortable on the seat provided for him, but no sooner has he done so then he finds the mallet in his way and he pushes it away, when the next moment it comes back and cracks him over the head.

[20] There is quite a literature on the subject; consult Modder's *Hand Book to the Elephant Kraal* (1902).

[21] Tennant's *Natural History of Ceylon* (1861), p. 27.

This irritates him of course, and he pushes the mallet with greater force but only with the effect of increasing the weight of the returning blow. The bear never thinks of changing his position, and as blow after blow, each succeeding one severer than the other, follows his attempts to thrust the offending log aside, the end soon comes, when, stunned by a blow stronger than the rest, he drops into the pitfall or is impaled on the stakes planted to receive him."[22]

Porcupines (*ittévô*) are caught by setting up in an opening "a framework of sticks about 3 ft. square, one side of which rests on the ground, and the other is held up at an angle of about 45° by a cord attached to a stick bent down and intended to act like a spring. The frame is weighted with heavy stones, and underneath it, right in the way of the animal, is a trigger the slightest touch against which releases the spring and brings down the weighted frame with crushing effect."[23]

Buffaloes (*mîharak*) keep in herds in their rutting season (December and January) and are caught with "a stout elk-hide rope, with a running noose at one end and a piece of elk-horn with the frontlet tine at the other. Several nooses of this kind are suspended from bushes on the path of the buffaloes and the herd is driven from its feeding grounds with shouts and the clanging of sticks. The animals in their rush generally thrust their heads into the nooses and run away with the rope until pulled up by the elk-horn catching against a root. Here the animal is left struggling for a day or two, when it becomes sufficiently subdued to be yoked to a tame one and driven off to the kraal or pond prepared for the purpose."[24]

Hunters either surround a herd of **deer,** prevent them from feeding and knock them down when they are unfit to run away by sucking in a large quantity of air ; or lie in ambush by a pool, a tank or along a deer-path, and when the animals approach sharply break off a twig from a tree, and as the sound brings them to a halt, shoot down the fattest of the herd. Hunting at night to shoot wild **hogs, elk, deer and leopards** is called *yakmini atulla.* "The expedition consists of two men, one carrying a gun, the other a chatty of live-coals on his head, and a hatchet with a bell attached to the handle. The former carries in addition powdered rosin in a bag with which he produces a blaze on the chatty on the companion's head."[25] The bell and chatty are sometimes attached to the neck and sides of a sporting buffalo, and the sportsmen follow in the dark and bring down the animals attracted by the light.

The Singhalese generally **angle** in streams **with a rod** 12 ft. long, made of the dried mid-rib of the leaf of the *Caryota wrens* (*kitul*) ; but in the rainy season he **traps** by placing long baskets (*keman*) in the crevices between stones and rocks where fish enter and are caught. In the dry season, when a piece of water is very shallow, fishing is done with a funnel-shaped basket opened at both ends (*karak*), which the fishermen, to quote Knox (p. 27), "jibb down, and the end sticks in the mud, which often happens upon a fish; which, when they feel beating itself against the sides, they put in their hands and take it out, and drive a ratan through their gills, and so let them drag after them."

Sluggish rivers are "fenced with **strong stakes,** diagonally to which are attached bamboo tats or screens. At certain distances, square chambers (*jâkotu*), made of the same material, are attached to the fence, having an open end opposed to the stream, and the interior is so constructed that a fish once entering cannot find its way out again. This mode of fishing is not practicable in large rivers owing to the strong currents which carry away the stakes."[26] In some seasons of the year, at night, fishes spring up out of the water as they ascend the river, and **to catch leaping fish** the fishermen "place two poles upright in a boat at some distance from each other, spreading a net between them. One man, seating himself at the stern of the boat, paddles it from one side of the river to the other ; the fishes as they spring out of the water strike against the net and fall into the cavity of the boat."[26]

[22] Illustrated Literary Supplement to the *Examiner* (1875), p. 85. [23] *Ibid.* p. 164.
[24] *Ibid.* p 230. [25] *Ibid.* p. 19. [26] *The Ceylon Friend* (1873), Vol. IV. p. 120.

Fishing in the open sea is carried on by three kinds of outrigger canoes: the small boat (*kudâ oru*) keeping close in shore, the single-masted larger one (*ruval oru*) venturing further out, and the largest (*yâttrâ oru*) constructed for stormy weather and carrying an oblong sail on two masts. **The nets** used vary from a drift net (*mâdeḷa*) to one with meshes so small that only a darning-needle-sized twig can pass through (*kudâdeḷa*).

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

FEMALE TATTOOING AMONGST GHILZAIS.

BY GANGA SAHAI,
Assistant Settlement Officer, Kohât.

THE following notes were taken from the members of a family of **Tarakki Ghilzais**, whose camp was visited by me at Chichina. Their story was as follows :—

The great Ghilzai tribe formed two-thirds of the population of Afghânistân, the remaining one-third being Tâjik. Their ancestral home lay on the other side of the Shutargardan Range and extended as far as Khurâsân. They were also called **Kûchis**, probably owing to their migrations to British territory in winter. As a rule they are a well-to-do class of people and trade in *ghî*, carpets, sheep and horses. They live in *kizhdais* or small tents made of blankets and carry their goods about on camels. In winter they settle in groups of families in British territory in villages, where by old custom they are allowed to graze their cattle on payment of a fixed tax. Some of the tribesmen look after the cattle on the hills, while others use the camels in selling wood and the carrying of salt trade. They intermarry among themselves at mature age, between 20 and 25, and alliances with Pathâns in British territory are rare occurrences and even then only due to poverty or love. They have the reputation of being a set of well-behaved people with a good moral character.

Of the various sections of the Ghilzai Tribe, some have a fancy for picturesque tattooing, others like only one dot on the forehead, while the rest did not tattoo at all. My informant gave the following detail: —

Tarakkîs, Badnî Khel, Hamrân Khel, Suleimân Khel (partly known as Katwaz), Barik Khel, Jamâl Khel, Wurdag, Andar,	who live about Kandahâr and Kalât, and practise picturesque tattooing.
Nâsir, Shinwârî and Mallâ Khel, Niâzîs,	who live about Hazâristân and use only one dot. [Some of the Malla Khels, however, have told me that they were originally Sayyids and that tattooing did not prevail amongst them.]

The Bahrâm Khel, who live about Hazâristân, and the Taghar Ghilzais, who live about Lôgar, have no taste for tattooing.

The object in view is purely attraction. The operation is done when the girl is between 12 and 14. Three or four needles are taken and pricked into the flesh, and then collyrium (*ranja*) and soot collected by burning the gum of a kind of tree called *mauz* are rubbed over it.

The tattooing is done on the chin, forehead, cheeks, and backs of the hands. The following forms were common among the women of the family I visited : —



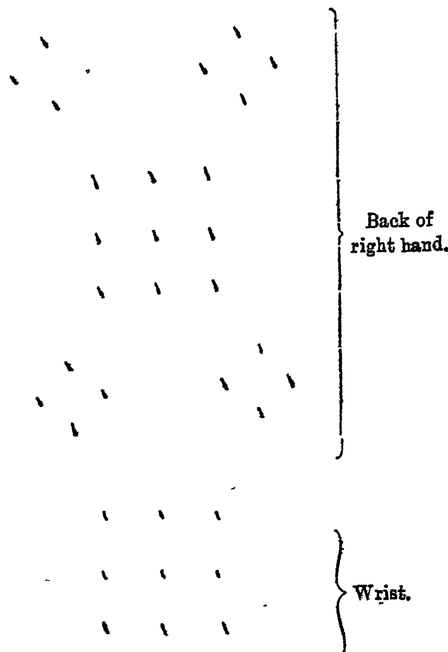
Between the eye-brows.



Chin.



Cheeks.

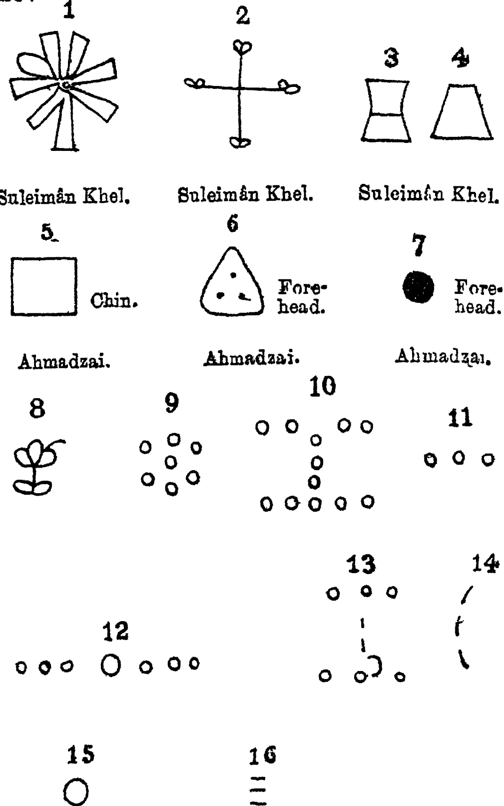


While I was drawing the specimens on paper the Ghilzais, men and women, were astonished at the resemblance of the copy to the original and were amused at my interesting myself in the matter. They asked me the object of the inquiry, and I explained to them that efforts were being made to trace how far forms of tattooing adopted by people scattered over the surface of different countries resembled each other, and to what extent the aims and the origin of this practice were common to different tribes. But they did not seem to realise the importance of the affinity of races, and thought that I was wasting their time as well as mine.

I also noticed that although black or grey was the favorite colour with the Ghilzais, the women of the family I visited wore clothing of a red colour — a colour assigned to Hindûs on the Frontier.

I was also told that tattooing was also considered good for curing pain in the joints. One of the Ghilzais showed me a dot on the left wrist and a circle of dots on the right knee cut into the flesh to rid him of trouble in the parts affected, but most likely the cure was due to faith rather than to the treatment.

Other forms of tattooing stated to be in vogue by some of the Ghilzais passing through Îbrahîm-zai on their way home are: —



NOTE.

By H. A. Rose.

The fact that tattooing is prohibited in the *Qorân* makes its survival among the Ghilzais, who are, as far as I am aware, orthodox Sunnî Muhammadans, of some interest. As strict Mussalmâns, the Sayyid septs, it will be observed, do not practise tattooing. The pictures do not appear to be those commonly used in the Panjâb (*ante*, Vol. XXXI. pp. 293 *et seqq.*), though No. 2 of the Suleimân Khel is like the world-sign figured on p. 294 in the left-hand bottom corner of the drawing above quoted.

The Ghilzais are a peculiarly interesting race. Though now Pathâns or Afghâns, they claim to be descended from Bîbî Mâto, the daughter of Shekh Bait (Qais-i-Abdu'r-Rashîd), by her paramour (and subsequently husband) Shâh Hussain, a Shansâbâni Tâjik of Ghor, so that they are half Afghân and half Tâjik by origin.

I take this opportunity of correcting an error in the article referred to above. The note on female tattooing on pp. 297-8 was by Mr. Gupta, except the last 5 lines on p. 298.

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES.

BY H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; ROSTOCK.

(*Continued from p. 109.*)

No. 24. — Mathurâ stone-slab inscription of the time of svâmin mahâkshatrapa Śôḍâsa; edited by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 188, No. 29, and Plate; and by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 30, No. 1, and Plate.

Dowson read this inscription :—

. . . swâmisya mahâ-kshatrapasya Ṣândâsasya Gajavarena Brahmanena Sangrava-sagotrena.

. . . rani. Imâ jâyamada pushkaranainâm paschimâ pushkaranim udapâno ârâmo stambhah.

Cunningham differs from Dowson only in reading *Saudâsasya, Brâhmanena Segrava Sagotrena,* and *Ima kshâyamada pushkaranainam paschima.*

Fortunately the two facsimiles[79] allow us to improve these transcripts to some extent, and to add the third line entirely left out by the two editors. The facsimiles read as follows :—

1 . . . svâmisya mahâkshatrapasya Śôḍâsasya . . ja Vîrêṇa brâhmaṇêna Śêgrava-sagôtrêṇa . . .

2 . . . raṇi imâ shâyamaḍapushkaraṇînaṁ paśchimapushkaraṇi udapânô ârâmô stambha i . . . .

3 . . . bilâpaṭṭâ cha ׀

The slab is damaged on both sides, and it is impossible to say how much of the text may be lost on either side. The name of the *mahâkshatrapa* was read correctly already by Bühler, who also proposed to restore the . . *ja* after the name to *rajê*, 'during the reign.'[80] The reading *Śêgrava* is quite distinct in both facsimiles, but I am unable to point out a *gôtra* of that name in Brahmanical literature. Nor can I offer any explanation of the term *shâyamaḍa*, provided that it be not the name of the tanks. In the last line *bilápaṭṭá* certainly is a mistake for *śilápaṭṭá*. The erection of *śilâpaṭṭas* is recorded also in the Mathurâ inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 390, No. 18, and *Actes du Congrès des Orientalistes à Leide*, Part III. p. 143.[81]

The fragment is to be translated :—

" During the reign of *svâmi* (*svâmin*) *mahâkshatrapa* Śôḍâsa, ... the following (*things*), the hindmost tank of the *shâyamaḍa* (?) tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar, ... and stone-slabs (*were dedicated*) by the *brâhmaṇa* Vîra, who belonged to the Śêgrava *gôtra.*"

No. 25. — Mathurâ image inscription of the time of mahârâjâtirâja Kaṇishka; edited by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 31, No. 5, and Plate.

This inscription is so much obliterated that it is impossible to make out any continuous sense. Cunningham transcribed it :—

1 . . . . . . ghoshaka parahasâlika vairakasapâta vatah . . . .

2 . . . . (ma)hârâjâtirajasya Kanishkasya Samvatsa(re) . . . .

The facsimile is rather in favour of the following reading :—

1 . . . gîtagê . . . lêtaśamê . . . . ghêshakaparahaśâlêkavikkakasapêtavatuḥ radatu . . .

2 . . . . . [ma]h[â]râjâtir[â]jasya Kaṇishkasya saṁvatsa[rê] . . . . .

[79] Dowson's facsimile seems to be the better of the two.

[80] *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. V. p. 177.

[81] Perhaps *śilâpaṭṭâ* is here the nom. sing. of a feminine noun; compare the last-mentioned inscription and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 397, No. 35, where the same ambiguity exists with respect to *śilâpaṭâ* and *âyâgapaṭâ*.

As long as no trustworthy reproduction of the inscription is obtainable, I consider it rather hopeless to attempt any restoration of the first line. But I wish to draw attention to another point. In the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 129, No. 16, Rajendralala Mitra has brought to notice a Mathurâ inscription engraved on the pedestal of a seated figure and consisting of two lines, the first of which is said to be illegible, while in the second he reads the words *mahârâjasya rajâtirajasya Dêvaputrasya Vasu* . . . The last two syllables he wants to restore to *Vâsudêvasya*. A look at the facsimile added to the Babu's paper, however, reveals a curious fact. The first line of his inscription is exactly the same as the first line of Cunningham's inscription No. 5 given above, while in the second line the facsimile indeed agrees with the transcript. The identity of the first lines makes it quite sure, of course, that the two facsimiles are meant to reproduce the same original, and we are therefore forced to decide the question which of the two deserves the greater credit. I do not hesitate for a moment to declare myself in favour of Cunningham's facsimile. Rajendralala Mitra tells[82] us that his facsimiles 'are taken from General Cunningham's transcripts, with such corrections and emendations as a careful examination of the original and comparison with Mr. Bayley's transcripts would warrant, leaving all doubtful letters as they were read by the General.' How little these words are in accordance with the facts, has been shown long ago by General Cunningham himself.[83] The total want of care and criticism displayed by Rajendralala Mitra here, as in every other work of his pen, fully justifies my opinion that in this inscription also the reference to Vâsudêva is nothing but a product of his own imagination.

No. 26. — Mathurâ Buddhist stone inscription;

edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 129, No. 14, and Plate; and by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 183, No. 3, and Plate.

This inscription originally ran round the margin of an oblong slab, but when the stone was utilised for a new purpose, the edges on the two smaller sides of the slab were cut away together with a portion of the inscription. Dowson has recognised 'the initial letters of the word *Samvatsara* (year), the word *divase*, followed by the numeral 10, and the words *asya purvvaye, dânam bhikshusya buddha sarvvasa*;' Rajendralala Mitra's transcript is more complete, but his readings are for the most part wrong. I read the inscription from Dowson's facsimile: —

1 Saṁ . . . . diva-

2 sê 10 asyâ pûrvvayê dânaṁ bhikshusya Buddhanandi[s]ya . . .

3 . . . .

4 . . . . sarvvasatv[â]n[âṁ] . . . . sukh[âr]tha[ṁ] bhavatu.[84]

"The year . . . . , the tenth day, on that (*date specified as*) above, the gift of the monk Buddhanandi (*Buddhanandin*) . . . . . May it be for the . . . welfare of all beings."

No. 27. — Mathurâ Jaina tablet inscription;

edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 397, No. 35.

Bühler transcribed this inscription :—

1 [Tê] . . . . rusanaṁdikasa putrêna Naṁdighôshêna [Tê]vaṇikêna a . . . . ta . . alê . . . .

2 ṇânaṁ bhaṁdirê [â]yâgapaṭâ pratithâpit[â] . . . .

The photo-lithograph enables us to make a few corrections. Instead of *Naṁdikasa* and *Naṁdighôshêna* in line 1 and °*ṇânaṁ* in line 2 the plate distinctly shows *Nâṁdikasa, Nâṁdighôshêna*, and °*ṇânâṁ*. With the first two words compare such spellings as *âṁtêvâsisa* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 198, No. 1, and *âṁtevâsinîyê, ibid.* p. 199, No. 4. *Têvaṇika* was considered by Bühler to be a derivative

[82] *Loc. cit.* p. 120.

[83] *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 194.

[84] There are two *aksharas* before *sarva*° and two before *sukhârthaṁ* which I cannot make out.

from the name of a nation or country called *Trivarṇa* or *Traivarṇa*. From the mentioning of a *Têvaṇîputra* in the Pabhôsâ inscription No. 2[85] I think it highly probable that there really once existed a country of that name, but I cannot admit that there is any allusion to it in the present inscription. The reading of the plate is unmistakably *sôvaṇikêna*, corresponding to Sk. *sauvarṇikêna*. The synonym *hairaṇyaka* is found, *e.g*, in the Mathurâ inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 205, No. 23. A difficult term is the word which Bühler transcribes as *bhaṁdirê*. A comparison of the second *akshara* with the *di* in *Nâṁdikasa* and *Nâṁdighôshêna* will show at once that Bühler's reading cannot be upheld. The correct reading is *bhaṁḍirê*, but whether this means 'at the *bhaṇḍira* tree,' or possibly stands for Sk. *bhâṇḍârê*, 'at the storehouse,' I do not venture to decide at present. I read and translate the whole text as follows :—

1 . . . . . . rusa[86] Nâṁdikasa putrêna Nâṁdighôshêna sôvaṇikêna a . . . . ta . . alê . . . .

2 ṇânâṁ bhaṁḍirê âyâgapaṭâ pratithâpitâ pita[87] . . . .

"By the goldsmith Nâṁdighôsha (*Nandighôsha*), the son of the . . . . Nâṁdika (*Nandika*), tablets of homage[88] were set up at the *bhaṇḍira* of the . . . ."

No. 28.—Mathurâ stone inscription ;

edited by Growse, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 218, No. 4, and Plate.

Of this inscription, which is engraved on a slab found at the Kaṅkâlî Tîla, Mr. Growse published a tolerably good reproduction, but his reading is confined to a single word which he inaccurately transcribed as *Mugali-putas*. Unfortunately the left portion of the stone, which contained the beginning of the inscription, is lost. The characters are of the archaic type, and the language is not the usual mixed dialect of the Mathurâ inscriptions, but pure Prakrit. My reading is as follows :—

1 . . . . yê Mogaliputasa Puphakasa bhayâyê

2 Asâyê pasâdô.

"The gift of Asâ (*Aśvâ*?), the wife of Puphaka (*Pushpaka*), the son of Mogalî (*a Maudgalî mother*)" . . .

My rendering of the last word calls for a few remarks. At first sight, one might feel inclined to alter *pasâdô* into *pâsâdô* and to translate, with an implicit understanding of some word like *dânaṁ* or *paṭithâpitô* or *kâritô* : 'a temple, (*the gift of*, or *erected* or *caused to be built*) by Asâ, the wife of Puphaka.' But I think, that such an alteration is unnecessary, and that we may rest satisfied with the text as it stands. It is well known that in classical Sanskrit *prasâda* is used in the sense of 'present,' especially in the very common term *prasâdîkarôti* ; the *Śabdakalpadruma* gives it the special meaning of *dêva-nivêdita-dravyam.*[89] We are justified, therefore, to take also the *pasâdô* of the inscription as a synonym of the more usual *dânaṁ*. In this case the object of the donation would be the slab which bears the inscription, and which probably was a so-called *âyâgapaṭṭa*.

About the name of Asâ's husband I feel not quite sure. The second syllable may possibly be read *ḍha*.

Although this inscription is not dated, it may be safely assigned to the period before Kaṇishka on the strength of its language and characters, and from the fact that it comes from the Kaṅkâlî Tîla it may be further inferred that it is a Jaina record. Why Mogaliputa should be a distinctly Buddhist appellation, as Mr. Growse thinks, I am unable to see.

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85 *Ep. Ind.* Vol II. p. 243.

86 I am unable to make out any of the *aksharas* before *rusa*, but I believe that the word ending in °*rusa* was the genitive of a stem in *u*, qualifying *Nâṁdikasa*.

87 These two *aksharas* are pretty clear in the photo-lithograph.

88 Possibly, however, *âyâgapaṭâ* is the nom. sing. of a feminine noun ; compare the remarks, above, p. 149, note 81.

89 See the *Petersb. Dict.* where numerous examples are quoted.

No. 29.—Mathurâ Buddhist rail inscription;
edited by Growse, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 219, No. 6, and Plate.

Of this archaic-looking inscription, which is between two bas-reliefs on a broken Buddhist rail from the Chaubâra mounds, Mr. Growse deciphered only the last word *dânaṁ.* I tentatively read the whole: —

Abhyaṁtirôpa ayakasa Kaṭhikasa dânaṁ.

Below the first sign of *ayakasa* there is a circle, which, at first sight, makes the word look like *sṭhayakasa,* but a closer examination and comparison of the upper sign with the *sa* of *Kaṭhikasa* will show that it cannot be *sa.* The circle therefore seems to be accidental or to form part of the sculpture below.[90] As to the meaning of the inscription, I own that I can make nothing of the first word. The rest may be translated by 'the gift of the venerable[91] Kaṭhika.'

No. 30. — Mathurâ Jaina inscription on sculptured slab;
edited by Bhagvanlal Indraji, *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes à Leide,* Part. III. p. 143, and Plate.

This inscription was read and translated by the Pandit as follows: —

1 Namô arahatô Vadhamânasa Daṁḍâyê gaṇikâ-
2 yê lêṇaśôbhikâyê dhitu śamaṇasa nikâyê
3 Nâdâyê gaṇikâyê vâsayê ârahatâdêvakulê
4 âyagasabhâprapâśilâpaṭâ pratisṭhâpitaṁ nigamâ-
5 nâ arahatâyatanê saha mâtarê bhaginiyê dhitarê putrêṇa
6 savina cha parijanêna arahatapujâyê.

"Salutation to the Arhant Vardhamâna. The courtezan Nandâ, daughter of the courtezan Daṇḍâ, built in the Ârhat temple of merchants for the residence of the assemblage of Śramaṇas and for the worship of Arhant a small Ârhat temple, seats for *âchâryas,* a reservoir and a slab of stone, with (the merit of the building to be enjoyed with) mother, sister, daughter, son and all relations."

The anomaly of the construction in the first portion of this sentence apparently did not escape the attention of the Pandit, who remarks that the syntax of the record is not smooth, and adds in a note: 'The original has *nikâye,* but unless it be read *nikâyasa,* the inscription does not make good sense.' However, such an alteration seems to me very bold, without removing the difficulties. If the genitive *nikâyasa* were dependent on *vâsayê,* the insertion of the words *Nâdâyê gaṇikâyê* between *nikâyasa* and *vâsayê* would be quite unaccountable, their proper place, of course, being after *dhitu.* Secondly, it is true that in Sanskrit and Prakrit the singular of a noun is often employed to denote the *jâti* even in cases where the plural would be required by the usage of other languages, but I doubt that a singular of this kind could ever be used in connection with a collective noun, such as *nikâya.* Considering all these difficulties, I feel quite sure that the Pandit has misread the passage, and that the correct reading is *śamaṇasâvikâyê,* corresponding to Sk. *śramaṇaśrâvikayâ,* 'by the lay-pupil of the ascetics.' Precisely the same term occurs in two other Mathurâ inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 390, No. 17 (*śramaṇaśrâvikâyê*) and Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2 (*sama[na*]sâvikâye*), while in a third inscription, *ibid.* Vol. I. p. 395, No. 28, the shorter expression *śrâvikâ* is used. That *sâvikâ* should appear here with the dental *s* by the side of *śamaṇa* with the palatal sibilant, will not be surprising to anybody familiar with the total want of regularity in the spelling of the Mathurâ inscriptions. An exact parallel is offered by the inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 396, No. 30, where we find *savakasya* = Sk. *śrâvakasya* by the side of *śisasya* = Sk. *śishyasya.* The correctness of my reading is partly confirmed also by the drawing accompanying the Pandit's edition, for although the fifth *akshara* looks more like *ni* than like *vi,* the fourth *akshara* is distinctly *sâ,* not *sa.*

[90] A second circle appears to stand below the *ya.*

[91] *Ayakasa* = Sanskrit *âryakasya.*

After what has been said above, it will be obvious, I think, that *vâsayê* cannot possibly mean 'for the residence.' I take it to be an inaccurate spelling for *Vâsâyê* and look upon it as a surname of the donatrix standing in apposition to *Nâdâyê gaṇikâyê* just as *Lêṇaśôbhikâyê* stands in apposition to *Daṁdâyê gaṇikâyê*.

Also with regard to the following words I differ from the Pandit's interpretation. I have pointed out already above, p. 102, that instead of *ârahatâdêvakulê* the drawing has *ârahatâ dêvikulâ*, and that this is a nom. sing. corresponding to Sk. *ârhataṁ dêvakulam*.[92] With the feminine *dêvikulâ* compare the term *dêvakulikâ* frequently found in the meaning of 'shrine' in later Jaina inscriptions.[93] As to *âyagasabhâ*, which the Pandit renders by *âryakasabhâ* in Sanskrit and by 'seats for *âchâryas*' in English, I am inclined to adopt Bühler's view,[94] who thought the first member of the compound to be possibly identical with *âyâga* occurring several times in the term *âyâgapaṭa* in the Jaina inscriptions at Mathurâ.[95] As *âyâgapaṭa* means 'a tablet of homage,' a slab put up in honour of the Arhats, *ây[â]gasabhâ* also would be an appropriate term for some hall erected in honour of the Arhats. The *âyâgapaṭas* themselves are mentioned here in the list of gifts under the name of *śilâpata*.[96]

The drawing again suggests some minor corrections. In line 1 it reads *ârahatô Vadhamânasa*; compare *ârahâto Mahâvîrasya*, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. X. p. 172; *ârhatô Parśvasya*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 207, No. 29; *ârahaṁtapujâyê*, *ibid.* No. 30, and, according to the photo-lithograph, also *ârahantapratimâ*, *ibid.* p. 203, No. 16. In line 4 the drawing shows *patisṭhâpitaṁ*, and in line 5 *sa[h]â*, which form is found also above, p. 39, No. 9; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2; p. 201, No. 11; *Journ. As.* S. VIII. Vol. XV. p. 119, &c.

With these emendations the text reads: —

1 Namô ârahatô Vadhamânasa Daṁdâyê gaṇikâ-
2 yê Lêṇaśôbhikâyê dhitu śamaṇasâvikâyê
3 Nâdâyê gaṇikâyê Vâsayê ârahatâ dêvikulâ
4 âyagasabhâ prapâ śilâpatâ patisthâpitaṁ[97] nigamâ-
5 nâ arahatâyatanê sa[h]â mâtarê bhaginiyê dhitarê putrêṇa
6 savina cha parijanêna arahatapujâyê.

"Adoration to the Arhat Vadhamâna (*Vardhamâna*)! By the lay-pupil of the ascetics, the courtezan Nâdâ, the Vâsâ, the daughter of the courtezan Daṁdâ, the Lêṇaśôbhikâ (*or* the adorner of caves), a shrine for the Arhats, a hall of homage, a reservoir, and stone-slabs[98] were set up in the Arhat temple of the merchants, together with her mother, her sister, her daughter, her son, and all her retinue, for the worship of the Arhats."

No. 31. — Mathurâ Jaina inscription on sculptured tôraṇa; edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 390, No. 17, and Plate.

At the end of the second line of this inscription Bühler read *prati[shṭhâpi]*. The photo-lithograph, however, has very distinctly *pratisṭâ[pi]*, which is to be restored to *pratisṭâpitaṁ*. This is not the only instance in the Mathurâ inscriptions of the occurrence of the dental sibilant in combination with a lingual mute. I have already pointed out above, p. 105, that in the inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 203, No. 18, we have to read *Sṭânikiyâtô* instead of *Sthânikiyâtô* as transcribed by Bühler, and in another inscription edited above, No. 30, we find *patisṭhâpitaṁ*.[99]

[92] The Pandit translated it by *arhatô dêvakulê* in his Sanskrit version and by 'a small Ârhat temple' in English, so that it is impossible to say what he really meant.

[93] See, *e. g.*, the Śatruṁjaya inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 48 ff., Nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, &c.

[94] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 314, note 7.

[95] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 396, No. 33 (*ayâgapaṭa*); p. 397, No. 35; Vol. II. p. 200, Nos. 5 and 8; p. 207, Nos. 30 (*âyâgapâta*) and 32.

[96] Perhaps *śilâpatâ* is the nom. sg. of a feminine noun; comp. the remarks above, p. 149, note 81.

[97] Read *patisṭhâpitâ*.

[98] Or, possibly, 'a stone-slab.'

[99] Compare also the forms quoted from the Girnâr Aśôka edicts, above, p. 105, note 45.

In the third line Bühler twice read *saha*, whereas the photograph leaves no doubt that in both cases the correct reading is *sahâ*. This spelling of the word is not uncommon in the Mathurâ inscriptions; see above, p. 153.

No. 32. — Mathurâ Jaina image inscription;
edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 389, No. 15, and Plate.

This inscription is only a short fragment transcribed by Bühler as:—

. . . śê êta[syâṁ] pûrvvâyâṁ Koṭṭiyâtô gaṇâtô . . .

The reading *śê* is badly warranted by the photo-lithograph, the *ê*-stroke and the cross-bar of the *mâtṛikâ* being hardly discernible, while the right down-stroke of the *mâtṛikâ* is much longer than it ought to be. In a note Bühler adds that *śê* must be the remnant of either *viṁśê* or *triṁśê*, but this again is not supported by the photo-lithograph. What is still visible of the sign preceding the supposed *śê* cannot possibly have formed part of either *vi* or *tri*, but looks exactly like the right half of the figure 10. In that case the next sign also must be a figure, and I think, there can be little doubt that it is 7; compare this figure in the Mathurâ inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 383, No. 4; p. 387, No. 10; p. 391, No. 19; p. 396, No. 30, and especially p. 391, No. 20. I therefore read the fragment:—

. . . 10 7 êta[syâṁ] pûrvvâyâṁ Koṭṭiyâtô gaṇâtô . . .

and take the 17 to be the number of the day.

No. 33. — Mathurâ Jaina image inscription;
edited by Growse, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 219, No. 8, and Plate.

According to Rajendralala Mitra, on whose authority Mr. Growse relied, this short fragment reads:—

Siddhajîvikasya datta-bhikshusya vihârasya

and means: "Of the monastery of Dattabhikshu, who had accomplished the object of existence." The real purport of the record has been recognised long ago by Bühler, who referred to it, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 383, note 60, but his transcript is not quite accurate. The inscription reads:—

Siddha[ṁ] ‖ Vâchakasya Dattaśishyasya Sîhasya ni . . .

The last word is to be restored to *nivartanâ*, and the meaning of the words is: "Success! At the request of the preacher Sîha (*Siṁha*), the pupil of Datta." Bühler has already noticed that this Sîha is mentioned again as the spiritual adviser of a lay-woman in a Mathurâ inscription probably dated in Saṁ. 20 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 383, No. 4). The present inscription therefore is to be referred to about the same time.

Nos. 34, 35, and 36. — Mathurâ pillar inscriptions;
edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 128, Nos. 5ª, 5ᵇ, 6, and Plate; and by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 186, Nos. 12 and 13.

The first and second of these inscriptions are on the base and plinth of a pillar, and the third is on the base of another pillar. If any trust can be put in Rajendralala Mitra's facsimiles, they are, for palæographical reasons, to be placed in the time of the Kushaṇa rule at Mathurâ. As Rajendralala Mitra's and Dowson's transcripts differ in many respects, and the facsimiles are very poor, all that can be said is that the first inscription refers to the son of a certain Vasumihira, while the second and third mention a person who was the son of Siṁha, and whose own name ended in *-mihira* and probably was Vasumihira as given by Dowson. At the end of the second inscription Rajendralala Mitra read *mêna dêvîdharmâya ri triṇê*, Dowson *imena deviddharma parityâ*, and at the end of the third Rajendralala Mitra *dhammabhîkshuda*, Dowson *deva dharma pu*. There cannot be the slightest doubt that in both cases the correct reading is *imêna dêyadharma-parityâgêna*, and that these words are to be completed in analogy to a phrase used in another Buddhist inscription from Mathurâ:

anêna dêyadharmma-parîtyâgêna sarvvêshaṁ prahaṇîkânaṁ ârôgyadakshiṇâyê bhavatu.[100] The facsimile, as far as it goes, conforms with the reading suggested.

Nos. 37, 38, and 39. — Mathurâ Buddhist inscriptions on bases of pillars;
edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 128, Nos. 8 and 9, and Plate; and by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. pp. 186, 187, Nos. 15, 16, and 21.

Of these three inscriptions only the beginnings seem to be legible. Dowson's No. 21 is transcribed by him as *dânam Sangha-sthavirasya Bhadatta*, which, of course, is to be corrected to *dânaṁ saṅgha-sthavirasya bhadanta . . .*, "The gift of the elder of the congregation, the venerable . . ."

Dowson's No. 16 corresponds to Rajendralala Mitra's No. 9. According to the former it reads *dânam Sanghapravirasya pu . . .*, while Rajendralala Mitra renders it by *danaṁ Saṁghapravirasya*[1] . . . I have no doubt that here again the correct reading is *dânaṁ saṅgha-sthavirasya*[2] . . . , and that the *pra* in the facsimile results from leaving out the small curve to the left of the *sa* and not closing the circle and omitting the dot of the *tha*.

Very little has been left of the third inscription. Dowson (No. 15) reads *dânam Sangha . . . .* Rajendralala Mitra (No. 8) *dânaṁ Sagha*[3] *putra*, but *putra* is not warranted by the facsimile, and I think it highly probable that this inscription also began with the words *dânaṁ saṁgha-sthavirasya.*

Owing to the paucity of the distinct *aksharas* and the miserable condition of the facsimiles, it is difficult to pronounce a judgment on the characters of the inscriptions, but it seems that they are of the Kushaṇa type.

No. 40. — Mathurâ Buddhist inscription on base of pillar;
edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 19, and Plate.

Rajendralala Mitra read this fragment: *dânaṁ bhikshusya Buddhabhîmasya mabhikshusya . . .*, but there exists neither such a name as *Buddhabhîma* nor such a designation as *mabhikshu*, 'the unworthy *bhikshu*.' From the facsimile it appears that the inscription commenced :—

d[â]na[ṁ] bhikshusya Buddha[ra]k[sh]itasya cha bh[i]kshusya Saṅgha . . . . . .

The monk Buddharakshita mentioned here is undoubtedly identical with the person of the same name and title referred to as the donor of pillars in two other fragments from Mathurâ, the first[4] of which begins like the present one: *dânaṁ bhikshusya Buddharakshitasya*[5] *cha*[6] *bhikshusya . . .*, while the second[7] reads: *dânaṁ bhikshusya*[8] *Buddharakshitasya Sakyabhikshusya Sa . . . .* The characters of the three inscriptions are of the Kushaṇa type.

No. 41. — Mathurâ Buddhist image inscription;
edited by Growse, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 219, No. 7, and Plate.

This inscription is engraved on the base of a seated Buddha, and is much worn, because the stone has long been used by the *dhôbis* as a washing-stone. Mr. Growse read the words *daya-*

[100] *Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 269, note 2. Mr. Bhandarkar reads °*parityâgêna* and *sarvvêshâṁ*, but the long *î* in the former word is just as distinct as in *Surîyasya* and *prahaṇîkânaṁ*, and though the reading *sarvvêshâṁ* perhaps is not impossible, I should prefer *sarvvêshaṁ* which is in accordance with the spellings *bhikshunam* and *prahaṇîkânaṁ*. The words *anêna dêyadharma-parityâgêna* are found also in the Mathurâ Buddhist pillar inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 20, where Rajendralala Mitra reads . . . *dêvadharmma parata śatata.*

[1] Or, properly, *Saṁdha*°, which, however, is a misprint.

[2] The facsimile distinctly has *saṅgha*°, not *saṁgha*°.

[3] Properly *Sadha.*

[4] Rajendralala Mitra, *ibid.* p. 128, No. 10, and Plate; Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 187, No. 17.

[5] According to the facsimile the reading is perhaps *bhîkshusya Buddharakshîtasya.*

[6] This is Dowson's reading, which certainly is correct, though the facsimile has *ma.*

[7] Rajendralala Mitra, *ibid.* No. 7; Dowson, *ibid.* p. 186, No. 14.

[8] Here also the facsimile seems to read *bhîkshusya.*

dharmma and *Buddha* in the first line, and *sarvva* and again *Buddha* at the end of the second. A few more syllables can be made out with the help of the photo-lithograph, though a deciphering of the whole seems to be out of the question. I read: —

1 Dêyadhar[m]ô=yaṁ Sa . . . . kuṭum[bi]nyâ Buddha . . . . va[śri]yâyâ
2 dâ(?)va . . . . [sa]rva-satvânâ[ṁ] Buddha-tvâya |

To judge from these fragments, the inscription appears to have been entirely in Sanskrit and to have recorded the gift of a Buddhist lay-woman. From the analogy of numerous similar Buddhist inscriptions the last sentence may be restored with tolerable certainty: [*yad=atra puṇyaṁ tad=bhavatu sa*]*rva-satvânâ*[*ṁ*] *Buddhatvâya*; 'whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be for (*the attainment of*) the condition of a Buddha by all sentient beings.' The few traces of letters which are still visible on the plate, would conform to this reading. The alphabet is of a later type than that used in the majority of the Mathurâ inscriptions. The characters closely resemble those found in a Buddhist image inscription from Mathurâ dated in 135,[9] which date by common consent is referred to the Gupta era; compare especially the *ma*.[10] In my opinion the present inscription must belong to approximately the same time.

Nos. 42, 43, and 44. — Mathurâ Buddhist inscriptions on the pedestals of statues; edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. pp. 128, 129, Nos. 11 and 12, and Plate; and by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. pp. 187, 188, Nos. 18, 19, and 24, and Plate.

The general purport of these three inscriptions, all of which are in pure Sanskrit, has been recognised by the two editors, but with the help of the facsimiles and in analogy to the dedicatory phrases of similar inscriptions their transcripts can be considerably corrected. I read and translate these inscriptions as follows:—

Dowson, No. 24:

1 Dêyadharmô=yaṁ 'Sâkyabhikshôḥ Saṁgharakshi-
2 tasya [||*] Yad=atra puṇya[ṁ] tat=sarva-[sa]t[t*]v[ânâṁ] [||*]

"This (*is*) the votive offering of the 'Sâkya mendicant Saṁgharakshita. Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), it (*belongs*) to all sentient beings."

Rajendralala Mitra, No. 12; Dowson, No. 19:—

1 Dêyadharmô=yaṁ Sâkyabhikshôr=Dharmadâsasya [||*] Ya-
2 d=atra puṇya[ṁ ta]n=mâtâ-[pi]trô[ḥ] sarva-sat[t*]vânâ[ṁ] cha [||*]

"This (*is*) the votive offering of the Sâkya mendicant Dharmadâsa. Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), it (*belongs*) to (*his*) parents and all sentient beings."

Rajendralala Mitra, No. 11; Dowson, No. 18:—

Dêyadharmô=yaṁ 'Sâkyabhikshôr=bhadanta-Brahmasômasya [||*] Yad=atra puṇyaṁ tad=bhavatu sarvva-sat[t*]vânâm anuttara-jñân-âvâptayê ||

"This (*is*) the votive offering of the 'Sâkya mendicant, the venerable Brahmasôma. Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be for the attainment of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings."

The form of the letters, especially of the *ma* and *ṇa*, point to the period of the Gupta rule at Mathurâ as the time of the engraving of these inscriptions.

[9] *Gupta Inscriptions*, Corp. Inscr. Ind. Vol. III., p. 263, No. 63.

[10] I admit, however, that a similar *ma*, by the side of an older *ma*, is found already in a Mathurâ inscription dated in Saṁ. 33 of *mahârâja Dêvaputra* Huvishka; see above, p. 39, No. 9.

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS FROM A XVIIth CENTURY MS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART.

(Continued from p. 89.)

LONGCLOTH.

Fol. 31. Very Considerable quantities of these followinge Commodities are here [Pettipolee] wrought and Sold to fforaign Merchants vizt **Longecloth.**

Fol. 134. The most Proper and beneficiall Commodities wh are for this place [Janselone]: be blew Callicoes Vizt **Longecloth.**

Fol. 158. ffrom ye Coast of India and Choromandell are brought hither . . . . **Longcloth** Salampore's, white and blew.

See Yule, *s. v.* Longcloth.

[*N. and E.* p. 17, for 6th May 1680: — "8000 Pagodas in Long Cloth and Salampores for England." P. 24 for 19th June 1680: — "Long cloth, ordinary; Long Cloth, fine."]

LOONGHEES.

Fol. 31. Very Considerable quantities of these followinge Commodities are here [Pettipolee] wrought and Sold to fforaign Merchants vizt . . . . **Lungees.**

Fol. 49. This part of ye Countrey [Narsapore] affordeth plenty of . . . . **Lungees.**

Fol. 91. The Ourias . . . are very poore, weare noe better habit then a **Lungee, or a white cloth made fast about theire waste.**

Fol. 172. wth a Sharpe Knife cutteth a hole in his **drawers or lungee.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Loonghee. [This word is worth pursuing much further. In Burma it is now a woman's petticoat, as well as man's dress. In the Army it means a *turban*: "50 Blue **Lungis** a/c Rs. 2-4-0 each: Rs. 112-8-0"— in a bill of the Port Blair Military Police for 30th Sept. 1900.]

LUPPOONE.

Fol. 131. There are **3 Sea Ports Vpon this Island [Janselone]** vizt . . . . . **Luppoone.**

Fol. 132. our answers are all written downe in the King's booke, as alsoe ye Commander's name, and is Sent Vp to **Luppoone** (ye place of ye Radja's Residence) Which is ye Chiefe towne and in ye very middle of ye Jsland).

Fol. 133. When wee come Vp to **Luppoone,** ye King's Servants that are appointed to waite upon us carry us to a house yt . . . . is indeed their temple of Jdols.

Fol. 135. Once when I was up att **Luppoone.**

Not in Yule. [I have not been able to trace the place in modern maps.]

MACAO.

Fol. 144. A Portuguees Shipp bound from Goa to **Macau In China.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Macao.

MACASSAR.

Fol. 158. The Borneo and **Macassar** Prows, for ye most part bringe Slaves both men, women, and Children.

See Yule, *s. v.* Macassar.

MACE.

Fol. 53. The **Mase** of Achin 5 fanams 20 cash or 00*lb.* 01*s.* 03$\frac{1}{4}$*d.*

Fol. 152. (In Queda) 4 Copans is one mace: **16 mace** is one Taile.

Fol. 158. Some Commodities from England: . . . . most Especially good Spanish dollars Stamped [600] they passe Current at 5 masse pr dollar Some times 5: & ½.

Fol. 173. and if he wanted a **mace** or two at any time he wold Supply his wants.

See Yule, *s. v.* Mace. See *ante*, Vol. XXVII. p. 37 ff.

MADAPOLLAM.

Fol. 47. The English East India Company have a **Very good ffactory [at Narsapore] called Madapollum** from ye name of ye Villadge adjoyninge to it.

See Yule, *s. v.* Madapollam. [This quotation is valuable.]

MALABAR.

Fol. 157. Many Ships and Vessels doe att all Seasons of the yeare arrive in this Port from Severall places, namely Suratt: **Malabar Coast or Coast of India**: ffort St Georg's: . . . .

See Yule, *s. v.* Malabar. [This quotation is very valuable.]

MALABAR.

Fol. 3. The Natiue inhabitans are for ye most part . . . . . . and **Mallabars**, many of wch liue within ye Outermost walls of this place called ffort St Georg's.

Fol. 23. A poor Sort of heathens call'd **Mallabars** . . . . . for ye most part of a very black colour not Vnlike in that to ye Ethiopians, but much comlier.

Fol. 26. The **Mallabars** . . . doth much vary both in Customes of Idolatry Languadge and what else, ... besides they are a more dull headed people, few of them ingenuous in any art whatever, vizt.: ye **Mallabars** that reside Vpon this [Choromandel] Coast, but **those Naturall Mallabars yt inhabit Vpon ye Mallabar Coast (commonly called ye Coast of India)** are a very briske, ingenuous folke, but too bloody minded, ... but of no gentile Occupations, neither are they admitted into ye Society of ye Banjans or Gentues.

See Yule, *s. v.* Malabar. [These quotations are valuable for the history of the term Malabar, as applied to the inhabitants of both the East and West Coasts of Southern India.]

MALACCA.

Fol. 144. but they (the portugueeses) did not longe remaine in Slavery before they tooke a fitt Opportunitie to make their Escape, in a Prow well fitted: they tooke her in ye night & ranne away to **Malacca** a Dutch Garrison Vpon ye South Side of this Coast.

See Yule, *s. v.* Malacca.

MALAY.

Fol. 131. but downe att ye Sea Ports most of ye Jnhabitants are **Malayars**, a very roguish Sullen ill natured people . . . . Villanies, when I my Selfe have knowne it to be ye **Malayers** themselves that dwell here namely in Banquala . . . . . . have many cunninge places to hide themselves . . . . (Vpon ye Maine of ye Malay Shore).

Fol. 138. Whereupon ye Malay inhabitants (a Very resolute people) stood up for ye Achiners . . . . for ye **Malayars** overpowred them.

Fol. 143. Queda: A Kingdome (soe called) Vpon **ye Malay Coast** . . . . . as in Achin Johor &c: **Malay** Countries.

Fol. 152. Pattanee . . . . lyinge on ye East Side of this great Neck of Land called **ye Malay Coast.**

Fol. 157. with infinite Numbers of Prows from ye **Malay** Shore.

See Yule, *s. v.* Malay. [The quotations above given are useful as showing that the "Malay ye Coast" extended on both East and West sides of the Malay Peninsula.]

MALDIVES.

Fol. 49. Cayre . . . yͤ best Sort of wᶜʰ is brought from the **Maldiva Isles** . . . . Cayre of **yͤ Maldiva** grows Vpon a very brackish Soyle.

Fol. 77. yͤ rest 6 or 7 yearly goe to yͤ 12000: Islands called **Maldiva.**

Fol. 79. Hee found 5 Saile of Bengala Ships in yͤ roade newly arrived from Ceylone and **Maldivæ Insͤ.**

Fol. 86. Cowries . . . . are Small Shells brought from yͤ Islands of **Malldiva.**

Fol. 94. [Cowries] seldome rise or fall more then 2 Pone in one Rupee and yᵗ onely in Ballasore at yͤ arrivall of the Ships from **Ins: Maldivæ.**

Fol. 95. neare yͤ mouth of yͤ Ganges, vpon my returne of a Voyadge to **yͤ Maldivæ** I lost 3 men by theire [tygers] Salvagenesse.

See Yule, *s. v.* Maldives.

MANGO.

Fol. 29. yͤ Groves consistinge of **Mangoe** and . . . . . The **Mangoe** is a very faire and pleasant fruite.

Fol. 69. [Cuttack] adorned with . . . . delicate Groves of **Mango** . . .

Fol. 82. They (Portugals) make many Sorts of Sweetmeats vizᵗ **Mangoe** . . . . . Severall Sorts of Achar as **Mangoe.**

Fol. 150. They have Severall Sorts of very good ffruit in the Countrey [Queda] . . . . . **Mangoes.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Mango.

MANGOSTEEN.

Fol. 175. This Countrey [Achin] affordeth Severall Excellent good fruites, Namely . . . . . **Mangastinos.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Mangosteen.

MANIKPATAM.

Fol. 56. beinge a Very Secure Coast to harbour in, namely in . . . Manichapatam.

Not in Yule. [On the Coromandel Coast.]

MANILLA.

Fol. 3. great Stores are transported and Vended into most places of note in India, Persia, Arabia, China, and yͤ South Seas [Indian Anchipelago], more Especialy to **Moneela** one of yͤ Molucca Isles, belonginge to yͤ Kinge of Spaine.

Not in Yule.

MANNISON.

Fol. 153. they carry hence . . . . . **Mannison** (a Sort of honey).

Not in Yule. [The Malay word is *manisan.*]

MARTABAN JAR.

Fol. 41. yͤ Other terrified wᵗʰ feare did runne his head into a great **Mortavan Jarre.**

Fol. 93. wee had Severall **Mortavan Iarrs** on board.

Fol. 158. ffrom Pegu . . . . **Motavan Jarrs.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Martaban. See also *ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 364.

MASULIPATAM.

Fol. 24. in my journey Anno Dom̃: 1672 from ffort S't Georg's toward **Metchlipatam** overland.

Fol. 35. **Metchlipatam** Soe called from yͤ Hindostan ore Moors Languadge word Metchli signifieinge fish and patam or Patanam a towne, first giuen to it by reason of ye Abundance of fish caught here for yͤ Supply of many countrey Cities and inland towns, for yͤ wᶜʰ it Still doth retaine yͤ Said name, but of late years much increased by Merchandize, soe that yͤ fishinge trade is Very inconsiderable and not at all followed, more then by yͤ poore Mallabars or Gentues, whoe doe as yet in great plenty Supply this place and all yͤ Ships that frequent yͤ Roade.

Fol. 38. Our ffactory here [Metchlipatam] is but a Subordinate One to ffort Sᵗ Georg's : As that of yͤ Dutch is to Pullicat.

Fol. 49. **Metchlipatam** . . . . beinge a great market place and indeed yͤ Great Bazar of these parts, for above 100 miles in Circuit.

See Yule, *s. v.* Masulipatam. [The quotations are curious as exhibiting the false etymology of the name from "fish." See *ante*, Vol. XXX. pp. 354, 397 f., for some of the many forms this place-name has assumed.]

MATT.

Fol. 94. They alsoe Coyne Rupees here . . . called Gold Moors . . . . beinge gold of yͤ highest **Matt.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Matt. *Matt* meant the "touch of gold." *N. and E.* has (p. 17) a good quotation for 6th May 1680: — "The payment or receipt of Batta or Vatum upon the exchange of Pollicat for Madras Pagodas prohibited, both coines being of one and the same **Matt** and weight, upon pain of forfeiture of 24 Pagodas for every offence together with loss of the Batta." For *Batta*, see *ante*, Vol. XXIX. p. 340.]

MAUND.

Fol. 53. The Vsuall Weights on this Coast [Choromandel] are . . . the **Maund** . . . . **A Maund** Cont: 3 Veece 1/3 : or 025 Idem [pounds].

Fol. 82. 6 : 7 : and sometimes 8 **maund** of rice for one Rupee [at Hugly].

Fol. 94. They weigh pʳ yͤ **Maund** . . . . but theire weight in most places of accompt differ, although not in name yet in quantitie. **The Ballasore Maund** contͤ 75 pound weight. **The Hugly Maund** contͤ but 70 pound wᵗ. **Cossumbazar maund** contͤ. but 68 pound wᵗ. Graine, butter, Oyle, or any liquid thinge all the Riuer of Hugly over allows but 68 pᵈ to yͤ **maund. The Maund bigg or little** is Equally diuided into 40 Equall parts.

Fol. 98. Patellas, each of them will bringe downe 4 : 5 : 6000 : **Bengala maunds.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Maund. [The quotations above are valuable for descriptions and weights of some of the old varieties of the *maund.*]

MECCA.

Fol. 51. yͤ last queen Mother that deceased, whose Bones after 7 years interred, were taken Vp and Sent to **Mecha**, there againe interred in yͤ Land of their Vngodlie Patron.

Not in Yule.

MEER RAJA.

Fol. 161. The Men in Office yᵗ (Vnder their Queene) governe this Kingdome (Achin) are Entitled as followeth : **The Meer Raja : yͤ Lord Treasurer.**

Not in Yule. Compare **Meer Moonshee**, also *not* in Yule.

MERCALL.

Fol. 53. Measures: . . . . The Para cont [?] **Markalls** The **Markall** contͤ [?] [on the Choromandel Coast].

See Yule, *s. v.* Mercall. [It is a great pity that the text is incomplete here. The *Mercall* as a Madras measure of capacity varied a good deal.]

(*To be continued.*)

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE KAUPÎNA PANCHAKA OF SRÎ SANKARÂCHÂRYA.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

I. — Text.

Vedânta vâkyêshu sâdâ ramanthaḥ, bhikshânna mâtrêṇa chathushti mantaḥ,
Visokamantaḥ karanêramantaḥ, kaupînavantaḥ khalubhâgyavantaḥ.

Sense.

Those that are earnestly occupied in examining the deeper recesses of the *Upanishads* are satisfied with begging. As they are not pestered in this mortal penfold, their minds are ever engaged with things nobler and extra-mundane. They are therefore completely free from all cares and inquietudes Such unalloyed freedom has become the monopoly of these men and could not possibly be attained by those who are given up to the weaknesses of the flesh and the peculiar temptations of puberty.

Note.

The term *kaupîna*, though in common parlance used to mean 'a piece of cloth which covers the genital organs,' is here used in the sense of a terrestrial being who understands the *âtman* thoroughly. *Cf.* the saying of the *Nirvânôpanishad:* "*Udâsîna kaupînam*," and the saying of the *Gîtâ*: "*Srêyo bhôktum bhaiksha mapiha lôkai.*"

II. — Text.

Mûlantharôh kêvala mâsrayantaḥ, pâṇidvayam bhôkthu manthrayanthraḥ,
Sriyanscha kanthâmiva kuthsayanthaḥ, kaupînavantaḥ khalubhâgyavantaḥ.

Sense.

They are rich, who, wholly void of desire of any sort or kind, follow the path of *nil admirari*, care not for any temporal wealth and spread themselves up under the umbrageous branches of trees.

It is within everybody's experience that the sordid lust of pelf emanates from the imperious sensations of hunger and sex. And people who have risen 'far above the madding crowd's ignoble strife' cease to be enamoured of these brittle and transient joys, which the world can neither give nor take away.

Notes.

(1) *Cf. Mundakôpanishad:* "*Samâna vrikshî purushônimagnô anîsayâ sôchathi muhyamanaḥ jushtam yadâpasyathyanya mîsa masya mahimâna mithi vîtha sokaḥ.*"

(2) "Let none admire that riches grow in Hell,
That soil may most deserve the precious bane."— *Paradise Lost*, Book I.

(3) "This man is freed from servile bands,
Of hope to rise, or fear to fall.
Lord of himself, though not of lands,
Having nothing yet hath all."— Sir Henry Wotton's *Happy Life.*

III. — Text.

Dêhâthi bhâvam parimârjayantaḥ, âtmânamâtma nyavalôka yantaḥ,
Nântamnamadhyam nabahi smarantaḥ, kaupîna vantaḥ khalubhâgyavantaḥ.

Sense.

He is called a *jñâni* (wise man), who has completely purged his mind of egoism and who identifies his internal self with the beginningless, endless, causeless Reality (*i. e., Parabrahma*).

Note.

Cf. the saying: "*Sarvamkhalviḍam brahma. Aham brahmâsmi.*"

IV. — Text.

Svânanḍa bhâve parithushti mantaḥ, saśânta sarvêndriyathruptimantaḥ,
Aharniśam brahmaṇi yiramantaḥ, kaupînavantah khalubhâgyavantaḥ.

Sense.

They are rich who feel and realize eternal bliss in a state of *laya* (introspective analysis), who know full well how much the pleasures of this life deceive and betray their unhappy votaries, and who therefore "week in, week out, from morn to night," concentrate their thought on *Parabrahma.*

Note.

"As men who climb a hill behold
The plain beneath them all unrolled,
And thence with searching eye survey
The clouds that pass along the way,
So those on Wisdom's mount who stand
A lofty vantage-ground command:
They thence can scan the world below,
Immersed in error, sin, and woe,
Can ask how mortals vainly grieve,
The true reject, the false receive,
The good forsake, the bad embrace,
The substance flee, and shadows chase;
But none who have not gained that height,
Can good and ill discern aright."—Sir Monier Monier-Williams' *Indian Wisdom.*

V. — Text.

Panchâksharam pâvana muçhçharantaḥ, pathiṃ pa'sûnâṃ hruthı bhâva yanthah.
Bhikshaśano thikshu paribhramantaḥ, kaupîna vantaḥ khalubhâgyavantaḥ.

Sense.

They are *jñânis* (wise men), who pervade the universe, who with an unalloyed mind rivet their attention for ever and a day on that Grand Master of all animate existences from protoplasm to man, — on Iśvara, who eke out their livelihood by begging.

Note.

Cf. "*Aḍvaita bhâvanâ bhaiksha mabhakshyam ḍvaiṭa bhâvanam, guru sâsṭrôkṭa bhâvêna bhikshōrbhaikshyam viḍhîyatai.*" — *Maitrâyôpanishaḍ.*

ON SOME TERMS EMPLOYED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KSHATRAPAS.

BY SYLVAIN LÉVI.

Translated, with the author's permission and revision, from the "Journal Asiatique," 1902, I., pp. 95 to 125, under the direction of J. BURGESS, C.I.E.

[The question as to the period when Sanskrit came to supersede the Prākrits for secular purposes, and as to the influences under which that happened, is one of considerable interest, from the historical as well as the literary point of view. Amongst the epigraphic records of India, the earliest known composition of appreciable length in pure literary Sanskrit is the Girnār inscription of A. D. 150 of the king Rudradāman, a member of a dynasty, ruling in Kāṭhiāwār and neighbouring parts, which is conveniently known as that of the Kshatrapas. In its leading characteristics, that inscription is unique, even amongst the records of that dynasty. But other records of the Kshatrapas, and some of the legends on their coins, exhibit a tendency in the direction of the employment of Sanskrit. On the other hand, in the records of other dynasties contemporaneous with the earlier Kshatrapas, Sanskrit exhibits itself in only isolated expressions of a religious or a ceremonious nature; for the same period, it is elsewhere met with only in short votive inscriptions of private individuals, which similarly belong to the religious category, and even in them in only a hesitating and uncertain form: and it is only when we come to the Imperial Gupta period, from A. D. 320 onwards, that we find Sanskrit of the well-established literary type in general use for public purposes. The conclusions are, that, curious as it may seem, the development of literary Sanskrit, and the supersession of the Prākrits by Sanskrit for official and other purposes, were brought about, not by indigenous Indian rulers, but by foreign invaders, the Kshatrapas; and that the explanation is to be found in a liberal-mindedness in matters of religion, which led those invaders to support a popular movement in the direction of utilising for general purposes a language which previously had been held so sacred that it could be employed only in connection with religion. This is the theme of the article by M. Sylvain Lévi, of which a translation is now offered. In revising the translation, M. Lévi has made a few additions to his original remarks. And, with these additions, the article may be regarded as an up-to-date exposition of a topic which is of very leading importance in connection with the early history of India. — EDITOR.]

THE Kshatrapa kings who ruled over Kāṭhiāwār and the country beyond, from the year 78 to the end of the IVth century A. D., employ singular titles in their epigraphic protocol which demand attention. Beginning with Nahapāna, the founder of the dynasty (inscription of the minister Ayama at Junnar), they regularly take and receive the title of *svāmin* in epigraphic documents, which title, however, figures in the legends on their coins only after Yaśōdāman (254 of the Kshatrapa era). The inscription of Rudradāman at Girnār (72 Ksh.), in mentioning the name of Svāmi-Chashṭana, grandfather of the reigning prince, adds thereto the epithet *sugṛihīta-nāman*. And the Jasdan inscription (127 Ksh.), stating the genealogy of rāja mahākshatrapa svāmi Rudrasēna, joins to the name of each of his royal ancestors (Chashṭana, Jayadāman, Rudradāman, Rudrasiṁha) the epithet *bhadramukha*. With the exception of the Mahākūṭa inscription, mentioned further on, I do not know another instance, elsewhere in Indian epigraphy, in which any of these three titles [96] is applied to a royal personage. But all three are found in a special category of literary productions where, on the contrary, their use is absolutely definite.

Bharata, the legislator of the theatre and everything pertaining to the same, treating of those appellations in use in dramatic language, prescribes:

svāmī tu yuvarājas tu kumārō bhartṛidārakaḥ I
saumya *bhadramukhēty* ēvaṁ hēpūrvaṁ vādhamaṁ vadēt II

[*Nāṭya-śāstra*, xvii. p. 75.]

But this text, borrowed from the Nirṇaya-sāgar edition (Kāvya-mālā collection), is almost inexplicable. The *Daśa-rūpa*, which follows and sums up Bharata, says: —

dēvaḥ *svāmīti* nṛipatir bhṛityair bhaṭṭēti chādhamaiḥ । [ii. 64.]

And the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, § 431: —

svāmīti yuvarājas tu kumārō bhartṛidārakaḥ
saumya *bhadramukhēty* ēvaṁ adhamais tu kumārakaḥ
. . . .
rājā svāmīti dēvēti bhṛityair bhaṭṭēti chādhamaiḥ ।

The comparison of the texts enables us to obtain some clear sense. Evidently the reading *svāmīti* of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* must be substituted for Bharata's inadmissible *svāmī tu*, and the obscure precept "*hēpurvaṁ vādhamaṁ vadēt*" must be interpreted by the aid of the words: "*adhamais tu kumārakaḥ*" supplied by the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*. From this we arrive at the following rule: —

"The crown-prince must be addressed as *svāmin*, a prince of the [97] royal family as *saumya* or *bhadramukha*; with the addition of *hē*, one may also in the same way address a personage of inferior rank" (Bh.). But the *Sāh.-D.* modifies the latter precept: "People of inferior rank may also address children in this manner." The English translation of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* gives a different interpretation to the latter part of this line: "A prince is addressed by low men — 'Saumya' (gentle sir) or 'Bhadramukha' (you of benign face);" and I have followed this interpretation in my *Théâtre Indien* (p. 129). It was at that time impossible to refer to the then unpublished text of Bharata; but in fact, in this interpretation, the word *kumārakaḥ* became superfluous and unjustifiable; it repeated the *kumārō* of the first half line, with the addition of a suffix of which no notice was taken. The modification introduced by the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* into Bharata's traditional text, as attested by manuscripts of various origin, is doubtless founded on the use of the words *saumya* and *bhadramukha* in certain passages in dramas, *e. g.*, Mṛichchhakaṭikā, Act X. p. 160, l. 14 (Stenzler's ed.), where the vidūshaka, addressing the little Rōhasēna, says to him: *tuvaradu tuvaradu bhaddamuhō. Pidā dē māridum ṇīadi.* On the other hand, Bharata's precept is applicable to a use equally attested by the Mṛichchhakaṭikā, and in the same passage (p. 161, l. ult.): the vidūshaka addresses himself this time to the Chāṇḍālas who are conducting Chārudatta to torture: *bhō bhaddamuhā muñchēdha piavaassaṁ.* We [98] here obtain a clear idea of the processes of minute and persistent observation which serve as a basis to the general formulæ of the theorists of Hindū literature.

The *Daśa-rūpa*, slavishly followed by the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, gives yet another use of the appellation *svāmin* which Bharata appears to have ignored. According to this, courtiers should employ it in addressing the king.

If we follow the more important indications of Bharata, the two titles of *svāmin* and *bhadramukha* are confined to personages who come immediately after the king in rank, *i. e.* the crown prince and royal princes. The extension of the latter title to persons of inferior rank, and the application of it to children by people of inferior rank, are casualities which threaten titles of high nobility in all societies and in all times; the people sneer at them, turn them into ridicule till the moment when, deprived of their primitive dignity, they become definitively degraded. It is enough to recall in classic language what happens in the case of the word *hère*, "Herr," and in popular dialect the value of the expressions: "My Prince!" and "My Emperor!" Without leaving India, the history of the word *dēvānāṁpriya* which I have already had occasion to study, constitutes a notable precedent; the majestic title which sufficiently designated the powerful Aśōka, master of the whole of India, has, in classic Sanskrit, taken the sense of "silly fellow, imbecile."

[99] In neither of the editions of the Petersburg dictionary, is there a single passage quoted from dramatic literature in which the appellations *svāmin* and *bhadramukha* are employed in their proper sense as defined by Bharata. It does not even mention the particular function of the vocative *svāmin*. As for *bhadramukha* used as an apostrophe, the first edition refers: 1st, to the scholiast on Pāṇini, vi. 2, 167, who certainly, in support of the rule laid down for the accentuation of *mukha* in compounds, cites the word *bhadramukha*; but Pāṇini does not mention this word himself, and the *Mahābhāshya* passes the sūtra over in silence; — 2ndly, in the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa*, 15, 57, where it is a king who uses this expression in addressing a messenger of death (Yama-purusha), with the probable intention of neutralising by an euphemism the unfortunate character of this funereal personage: — 3rdly, in *Śakuntalā*, 103, 10 and 17 (and add 104, 15); the old anchorite, who accompanies the little Bharata, salutes the king Dushyanta with this word, but without knowing whom she is addressing, and taking him for a casual guest. The word *bhadramukha* has equally the value of a formula of common politeness in the passages of the *Daśa-kumāra*, 74, 20, = ed. Nirṇaya-sāgar, 64, 1, and of the *Kādambarī*, 2, 100, 5; 127, 21; 128, 24 = Peterson's ed., 328, 13; 354, 10; 355, 13, which the second edition of the Petersburg dictionary quotes; the translation given by M. Böhtlingk: "dear friend, dear friends," is sufficiently exact. We may cite also the *Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil), p. 431, where the king Aśōka, near death, fallen and powerless, and having at his disposal nothing more than half a myrobalan fruit, calls a man of low rank (*purusha*) in order to ask him to take that last present to the Kukkutārāma: — *Bhadramukha* pūrvaguṇānurāgād bhrashtaiśvaryasyāpi mama imaṁ tāvad apaśchimaṁ vyāpāraṁ kuru. And the index of the *Divyāvadāna*, presenting the word *bhadramukha* as "a vocative addressed to any inferior," gives a variety of other references for its use in that way in that work.

The title *sugṛihīta-nāman*, applied in the [100] Girnār inscription to Chashṭana, there forms the counterpart to the formula: "*gurubhir=abhyastanāman*," applied to Rudradāman himself, and which has the advantage of rhyming with the name of the king. Bühler (*Die Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie*, p. 53) translates the latter expression by: "the venerable ones pronounce his name (in praying for salvation)." The expression seems to imply a still more precise sense. The verb *abhyas* evokes in a certain way the study of the Vēdas; cf., *e. g.*, Manu, iv. 147; vi. 95; Yājñavalkya, iii. 204. And the mention of the *gurus* determines the sense still more certainly; the name of the Kshatrapa Rudradāman is for holy personages like another Vēda which demands assiduous study, absolute veneration, and which assures the most precious results. The idea, thus disengaged, harmonizes as we shall see with the general data of our inscriptions. As for *sugṛihīta-nāman*, Bühler translates it as a general term by "the utterance of his name brings salvation," agreeing with Böhtlingk's interpretation of this word (P. D.): — "the simple utterance of his name brings happiness."

Sugṛihīta-nāman, like *svāmin* and *bhadramukha*, belongs to the formulary of the theatre and things relating to it. As a matter of fact, the definition of the word is not found in the actual text of Bharata; but the *Daśa-rūpa* [101] and the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* mention this expression and agree as to the interpretation: —

rathī sūtēna chāyushman pūjyaiḥ śishyātmajānujāḥ
vatsēti tātaḥ pūjyō'pi *sugṛihītābhidhas* tu taiḥ ||
apiśabdāt pūjyēna śishyātmajānujās tātēti vāchyāḥ | sō'pi tais tātēti *sugṛihītanāma* chēti
[*Daśa-rūpa*, ii. 63.]

sugṛihītābhidhaḥ pūjyaḥ śishyādyair vinigadyatē [*Sahitya-darpaṇa*, § 431.]

"*Sugṛihīta-nāman* is an expression used by a disciple, a son, or a younger brother to designate a person to whom he owes respect," consequently to name respectively the master, the father, the elder.

The first edition of the Petersburg dictionary cites a very different definition of the same word borrowed from the *Trikāṇda-śēsha*, ii. 7, 27: —

yaḥ prātah smaryatē śubhakāmyayā I sa *sugṛihītanāmā* syāt.

"The *sugṛihītanāman* is a person whom one recalls in the morning with a kindly intention." But examination of the examples which I am about to cite, proves beyond doubt that the text of the *Trikāṇda-śēsha* is faulty, whoever may be responsible for the fault, and that it must be corrected thus: —

yah prētaḥ smaryatē . . . . . .

"The *sugṛihītanāman* is a deceased person whom one remembers with favour."

The interpretation given by the *Daśa-rūpa* and the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* on the one hand, and by the *Trikāṇda-śēsha* on the other, are both [102] justified in literature. The author of the *Mrichchhakatikā* adopts the first. In Act ii., p. 28, l. 33, Stenzler's ed., the courtesan Vasantasēnā demands from her servant Madanikā the name of a person whom she has met: Madanikā replies: —

sō kkhu ajjuē *sugahidaṇāmahēō* ajjachārudattō ṇāma.

"His name is Chārudatta," accompanying the mention of this name by the word *sugṛihīta-nāmadhēya* as a title of respect. We find it used again in the same manner in Act ix, by the mother of Vasantasēnā when the judge asks her the name of the friend of the courtesan: —

Sāaradattassa taṇaō *sugahidaṇāmahēō* ajja Chārudattō (142, 10).

"It is the son of Sāgaradatta, the noble Chārudatta *sugṛihīta-nāmadhēya*."

The author of the *Mudrā-rākshasa*, who is inspired by the *Mṛichchhakaṭikā*, has borrowed this title from him with the same import. Telang's ed., Bomb. Ser. p. 35; the disciple of Chāṇakya, who has been asked the name of the master of the house, replies: —

asmākam upādhyāyasya *sugṛihītanāmna* ārya Chāṇakyasya.

"It is our master, the noble Chāṇakya *sugṛihītanāman*."

And, p. 111, the chamberlain, in proclaiming the royal command, expresses himself thus: —

sugṛihītanāmā dēvaś Chandraguptō vaḥ samājñāpayati.

"His majesty Chandragupta *sugṛihīta-nāman* desires it."

[103] The authentic works of Bāṇa show a preference for the (so to say) funereal meaning f the title.

Kādambarī, Peterson's ed., Bomb. Ser. 35, 12: —

ēvam uparatē 'pi *sugṛihītanāmni* tātē yad aham . . . prāṇmi I

"If I breathe when my father *sugṛihīta-nāman* is dead."

And p. 309, 18 and 22, Mahāśvētā, recalling twice her dead husband, designates him by these words: —

dēvasya *sugṛihītanāmnaḥ* Puṇḍarīkasya (smarantī) dēvaḥ *sugṛihītanāmā* Puṇḍarīkaḥ.

In the *Harsha-charita*, Rājyavardhana, citing to his brother, as an example, their father's conduct at the death of their grandfather, expresses himself thus: —

tātēnaiva . . . *sugṛihītanāmni* tatrabhavati parāsutāṁ gatē pitari kiṁ nākāri rājyam.

(Nirṇaya-sāgar ed., 200, 1)

"And our father [*tāta*, in conformity with the prescriptions of Bharata], did he not take the government in hand on the death of his father [*pitar*] *sugṛihīta-nāman*."

In the present instance, the use of the word *sugṛihīta-nāman* coincides exactly with its function in the inscription of Rudradāman. In both cases it is a question of designating honourably a grandfather who has possessed royal power.

So, also, the king Harsha himself, remembering his deceased brother-in-law, in the same way attaches the epithet to his name :—

tatrabhavataḥ *sugṛihītanāmnaḥ* svargatasya Grahavarmaṇaḥ bālamitram (p. 261, botttom).

"The boy friend of the dead Grahavarman *sugṛihītanāman.*"

And epigraphy gives, for the period of Bāṇa, an instance precisely parallel with that of its function in the inscription of Rudradāman. In the Mahākūta pillar inscription of A. D. 602, the genealogy of Maṅgalēśa, the reigning king, allots the title to his grandfather Raṇarāga, and to him only :—*sugṛihītanāmadhēyō* Raṇarāgākhyanṛipaḥ; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol XIX. p 16, text line 3.

Meanwhile, the *Harsha-charita* offers some examples of the [104] same word, used simply in the honorific sense without any funereal idea : —

mām api tasya dēvasya *sugṛihītanāmnaḥ* Śaryātasyājñākāriṇam . . . avadhārayatu bhavatī (30, 6)

"Know that I am the servant of the king *sugṛihīta-nāman* Śaryāta."

So, again, Bāna connects the title with Harsha himself, when his hearers press him to relate the history of that king : —

asya *sugṛihītanāmnaḥ* puṇyarāśēḥ . . . . charitam ichchhāmaḥ śrōtuṁ (p. 101)

"We wish to hear the achievements . . . . of this *sugṛihītanāman*, rich in merit."

And he does the same in the speech of Rājyaśrī, when she is on the point of mounting the funeral pile, in introducing the unexpected arrival of Harsha : —

Kuraṅgikē kēna *sugṛihītanāmnō* nāma gṛihītam amṛitamayam āryasya (p. 278)

"O Kuraṅgikā ! who is it that has uttered the ambrosial name of our lord, *sugṛihītanāman ?*"

The poet of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* couples the title *sugṛihīta-nāman* with the name of a king (Lalitāditya), who has just died, in a passage where the author does not speak in his own name but where he quotes the words of the prime minister of the dead king. Chaṅkuṇa assembles all the subjects and proclaims to them (iv. 362) : —

sugṛihītābhidhō rājā gataḥ sa sukṛitī divam.

"The king, *sugṛihītābhidha,* the beneficent, has gone to heaven."

The exact sense of this expression, too often rendered by rather vague formulæ ('of auspicious name, auspiciously named,' &c.), seems capable of being more clearly expressed. The verb *grah,* which generally signifies "to take," signifies when associated with words such as *nāman,* &c. : "to use, mention, cite." We have one instance of that usage in the last passage quoted above from the *Harshacharita.* And in the *Uttara-Rāmacharita* of Bhavabhūti, Rāma, who has just resolved to put away Sītā, invokes the Earth, Janaka, Sugrīva, the gods, the heroes, and adds : —

tē hi manyē mahātmānaḥ kṛitaghnēna durātmanā ।
mayā *grihītanāmānaḥ* spṛiśyanta iva pāpmanā ॥ (Act I., near the end)

"But indeed I think that those great ones are contaminated by having their names mentioned by me so ungrateful and wicked."

The idea attaching to the "mention of the name" is clearly manifested by a prescription of Manu, viii. 271 : "An iron nail, ten inches long and red-hot, must be driven into the mouth of him who mentions insultingly the names and castes of the twice-born." (For example, say the [105] commentators, if the culprit has said: rē Yajñadatta !, or again : You are the outcast of the Brāhmaṇs !)

nāma-jāti-grahaṁ tv ēshām abhidrōhēṇa kurvataḥ.

The *sugrahaṇa* is the contrary custom ; it is to mention the name of a person, more especially a dead person, accompanied with qualifications which bring good fortune and which, thanks to their value as omens, may have a happy influence on the posthumous destiny of the deceased or on the future destiny of the living.

The official value of the expression *bhadramukha*, as a title addressed to royal princes, seems to assign respectable antecedents to this common formula. In fact it appears difficult to separate this appeal to the "propitious face" from an analogous title illustrated by a famous example. *Bhadramukha* is without doubt only another form of the idea expressed by the word *Priyadarśin*, Prākṛit *Piyadassi*, that is to say "he who shews himself amiable, who has an amiable aspect." While the Kshatrapas are granted the epithet of *bhadramukha*, the king Śātakarṇi Gōtamīputra, the contemporary, neighbour, rival, and conqueror of the Kshatrapas, receives in a posthumous panegyric the epithet, still surviving, of *piyadasana* (Skr. *priyadarśana*) [Nāsik Praśasti, l. 4]. The formula *dēvānaṁpiya piyadasi lāja* of the Aśōka inscriptions would then be solely made up of general designations assumed in the protocol, without a word relating individually [106] to the author of the inscriptions, and there would be no more cause, in spite of custom, to speak of a king Piyadasi than of a king Dēvānāmpriya. Aśōka, whatever may have been his motives, must have intentionally avoided inserting his own name in the text of his inscriptions.

Besides the three terms which I have just noticed, the inscriptions of the Kshatrapas contain yet another characteristic expression which has passed into the dramatic and literary language. Rudradāman, recalling the origin of the reservoir which he has had repaired, attributes its foundation to Pushyagupta, the *rāshṭriya* of Chandragupta the Maurya. The *rāshṭriya* is cited by the *Mahā-Bhārata*, xii., 3205 and 3269, among the high functionaries who assist the king. The dictionary of Amara, however, does not consider this word as a term in actual use; he defines it as a title of the king's brother-in-law, in dramatic language: —

[nāṭyōktau] rājaśyālas tu *rāshṭriyaḥ* [I., 1, vii., 14].

Hēmachandra repeats this definition: —

rāshṭriyō nṛipatēḥ śyālaḥ (v. 333).

In fact the word *rāshṭriya* is found, with the sense indicated, in the *Sakuntalā* and in the *Mṛichchhakaṭikā*. In Act vi. of *Sakuntalā* the king's brother-in-law appears in the prologue with two policemen who are his subordinates. The stage directions simply [107] bear: *tataḥ praviśati nāgarikaḥ śyālaḥ* . . . . When the police speak to him, they give him the title of *āvutta* which is, in dramatic terminology, equivalent to *bhaginī-pati*, "the husband of the sister" (of the king). But, in the scene following, when the two servants of the palace mention him in their conversation (Bohtlingk, 79, 2), he is designated as *Mittāvasu raṭṭhiya*, "the *rāshṭriya* Mitrāvasu." In the *Mṛichchhakaṭikā* also, where the śakāra is mentioned either with honour or contempt, he is designated as the *rāshṭriya* (Stenzler's ed., 66, 23; 154, 11; 175, 5). After the downfall of king Pālaka, the men who drag the śakāra before Chārudatta to receive his punishment, combine *rāshṭriya* and *śyālaka* in addressing him: —

arē rē *rāshṭriya*-śyālaka | ēhy ēhi | svasyāvinayasya phalam anubhava (175, 10).

There are then, these four words: *svāmin*, *bhadramukha*, *sugṛihīta-nāman*, *rāshṭriya*, which, by the formal avowal of the legislators of the Sanskrit literature and language, are classed in the particular category of words foreign to current custom and maintained solely in the formulæ accepted by dramatic and romantic etiquette; and, with the exception of the use of *sugṛihītanāmadhēya* in the Mahākūṭa inscription, these four words are met with, set apart to an actual positive use, in the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Kshatrapas, and of the Kshatrapas only. The title of *svāmin*, it is true, is to be found in another series of epigraphical documents; besides the inscriptions where it is [108] sporadically joined to the name of the princes of another dynasty of Mahā-kshatrapas, those of Mathurā (Mora, *Arch. Survey*, Vol. XX. p. 48; *mahakshatrapasa Rajubulasa putra svāmiva* . . . ; Mathurā, *Epigr. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199; *svāmisa mahākshatrapasa Sōḍāsasa*); it is joined to the names of the

Sātakarṇis from Gōtamiputa onwards: svāmi Gōtamiputa siri Sadakaṇi, Nāsik 11; sāmi siri Pulumāya, Nāsik 12, Karli 17; *Amarāvati*, pl. lvi. 1; svāmi Vāsiṭhīputa, Nāsik 15; sāmi siri Yaña, Nāsık 16, Kanhēri 4 and 15; Maḍhariputa svāmi Sakasēna, Kanhēri 14, 19. But from Gōtamiputa onwards, the Sāṭakarṇis are in close relation with the Kshatrapas; I have already pointed this out and I shall return to it. The simultaneous use of the same title in the edicts of the two dynasties, far from weakening the conclusions which I hope to establish, confirms the same. Before becoming fixed, with the stiffness of dead forms, in the vocabulary of theatrical and literary conventions, these titles have, of necessity, done duty in actual life. The first writers who transported them into the domain of fiction, did not invent them, thanks to the miracle of a chance coincidence; nor did they go and exhume them out of the past, with an archæological care which India has never known; they borrowed them from current language and bequeathed them to their successors who have preserved them with pious fidelity, whilst political events were transforming the official protocol around them.[1]

[109] But the literary language of politeness is, in Sanskrit at least, inseparable from literary language itself; they are one; the same inflexible code rules both. The dramatic forms which gathered and perpetuated these appellations must therefore have been established at the time when these appellations themselves were in force in official etiquette. It is in the time of the Kshatrapas, and at the court of the Kshatrapas, that we acknowledge their simultaneous existence; it must therefore have been in the time and at the court of the Kshatrapas that the vocabulary, the technique and the first examples of the Sanskrit drama and everything connected with it were established; or, in other words, those of the really literary Sanskrit literature.

The facts which I have stated, even if my interpretation of them be correct, are in danger of appearing insufficient as a foundation for conclusions of so large extent. But a group of important signs tends, on the other hand, to equally assign the foundation of literary Sanskrit to the epoch and court of the Kshatrapas. All Indianists know that the first inscription in literary Sanskrit is precisely the inscription of the mahā-kshatrapa Rudradāman at Girnār, of which I have several times made mention in the course of this article; it is dated in the year 72 of the Kshatrapa era, = 150 A. D. The inscription of Ushavadāta, son-in-law of the kshatrapa Nahapāna, which is earlier than the year 46 Ksh. (= 124 A. D.) contains, it is true, a long panegyric by way of introduction, in which the gifts and pious [110] works previously due to the zeal of Ushavadāta (Nāsik, 5), are celebrated in Sanskrit; but on arriving at the precise announcement of the new gift commemorated by this inscription, the language changes; Sanskrit disappears and is replaced by Prākrit. The other inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna, those of Ushavadāta at Nāsik, 7, 8, 9, dated 42 Ksh. (= 120 A. D.) and 45 Ksh. (= 123 A. D.), those of Dakshamitrā, wife of Ushavadāta and daughter of Nahapāna (Nāsik, 10), that of Ayama, minister of Nahapāna (Junnar, 11), are all in Prākrit. After Rudradāman the known inscriptions of the Kshatrapas are all in Sanskrit: those of Rudrasiṁha at Gunda, 102 or 103 Ksh. (= 180 or 181 A. D.), and at Jūnagaḍh, and of Rudrasēna at Jasdan, 127 Ksh. (= 205 A.D.) and in Ōkhamandal, 122 ? Ksh. (= 200 A. D.).

[1] If I am reproached with extending to all the literature conclusions based on the employment of certain words which the Sanskrit lexicons class under the language of the theatre, I content myself with referring to Śivarāma, the commentator of the *Daśa-kumāra-charita*, who, meeting in Daṇḍin's text (uchchhvāsa I., ed Nirṇaya-sāgar, pp. 30, 178) with the word *vāsū*, remarks as follows: —

bālā syād vāsūḥ । ity Amaraḥ । yat tv asya nāṭya ēva prayōga uchitō nāṭyavargapāṭhāt tan na । tatrānyayōgavyavachchhēdakatvāt । nāṭya ētēshām ēva prayōgō nānyēshām iti । ata ēva kāvyē'pi nāṭyavargasthān dēvyādiśabdān prāyuṅkta Kālidāsaḥ

brāhmē muhurtē kila tasya dēvī
kumārakalpaṁ sushuvē kumāram iti ॥

"It may perhaps be said that the word *vāsū* is reserved for the language of the theatre, since Amara classes it in the section treating of the dramatic art. But that would be a mistake. Amara only betokens by that that the words of that category ought to be employed in the theatre, to the exclusion of others. Thus we see that Kālidāsa employs in poetry (*kāvya*) such words as *dēvī*, *&c.*, which with Amara figure in the section treating of the dramatic art."

By a striking contrast and one which gives cause for reflection, the dynasty of the Śātakarṇis, so closely mixed up with the history of the Kshatrapas, their neighbours and rivals, has all its epigraphy inscribed in Prākrit. From the inscriptions of Nānāghāṭ, which date back to the beginning of the Christian era or further still, down to the last princes of the dynasty, Siri Yaña Gōtamiputa, Māḍhariputa, Sakasēna, Hāritiputa, towards the third century A. D., Prākrit is the only language admitted into the epigraphic documents of the Śātakarṇis. There is only one exception, but it is significant: an inscription of Kaṇheri (11) is written in excellent Sanskrit; it is due to the minister of a [111] princess married to Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi, and daughter of a mahākshatrapa, probably the mahā-kshatrapa Rudradāman whom I have named so often already (*[Vā]sishṭhīputrasya śrīsāta[karṇ]isya dēvyāḥ Kārddamakarāja-vaṁśaprabhavāyā mahākshatra[pa]Ru.putryāḥ . . . śya . . . v[i]śvasyasya amātyasya śatē-rakasya pāniyabhājānaṁ dēyadharm[m]a[ḥ]*). It is the intervention of a daughter of a Kshatrapa, introduced by a political marriage into the family of the Śātakarṇis, which makes in their epigraphy an opening for Sanskrit which immediately closes again.

The linguistic opposition between the two dynasties is still further established by their literary role. Rudradāman, in his inscription, praises himself, or lets himself be praised, for his ability to compose, in prose as in verse, works which satisfy all the exigencies of rhetoric (*sphuṭa-laghu-madhurachitra-kānta-śabda-samayōdārālaṁkṛita-gadya-padya . . .*); and the evidence of the inscription itself leads us to believe that Sanskrit compositions are referred to. The Śātakarṇis, on the contrary, are the traditional patrons of Prākrit literature. Hāla or Śātavāhana, one of the kings of the dynasty, is believed to have compiled the polite anthology in seven 'hundreds' which has preserved for us the charming remains of ancient Mahārāshṭrī poetry. It is a minister of Śātavāhana, Guṇāḍhya, who is supposed to be the author of the original *Bṛihatkathā*, written in paiśāchī Prākrit. Another minister of the same prince, it is true, is said to have composed one of the classical Sanskrit grammars, the *Kātantra*; [112] but the details of the legend seem to represent the historical reality with tolerable exactness. King Śātavāhana, playing with his wives, is spoken to by one of them in Sanskrit; not knowing this language, he makes a mistake which occasions humiliating laughter; mortified, he demands of his ministers a Sanskrit grammar less difficult to study than Pāṇini; and Śarvavarman, to please him, composes the *Kātantra*. This anecdote, shewing the king ignorant of Sanskrit and the queen speaking this language, recalls the anomaly observed between the Sanskrit inscription due to the minister of the princess married to Vāsithiputa and the Prākrit inscriptions of king Vāsiṭhiputa himself. The name of the king Śātavāhana is, as it were, a sort of symbol, adopted and consecrated by tradition to sum up the whole dynasty of the Śātakarṇis.

The pretended ignorance of Śātavāhana is an arbitrary invention of the legend. If they did not personally cultivate Sanskrit, it was easy for the Śātakarṇis to attract to their court of Pratishṭhāna, men of letters practised in the use of the Brahmanic language; there was no lack of Brahmans around a dynasty which paid them the magnificent salaries registered in the great inscription at Nānāghāṭ; the scribes who wrote in Prākrit the royal panegyrics such as the inscription of Gōtamī at Nāsik, needed but a small effort to turn their praises into Sanskrit; they touch so closely upon Sanskrit that they seem rather to guard against it than [113] to try to write it; but they resolutely avoid overstepping the precise limit which separates their Prākrit from classical Sanskrit. The first infraction upon this reserve is found outside the real domain of the Śātakarṇis, among the Pallavas, settled immediately to the south of the Śātakarṇis. The early Pallavas, Śivaskandavarman and Vijayabuddhavarman, used Prākrit in their epigraphs; but Śivaskandavarman, who rivals in Brahmanic zeal the Śātakarṇis of the Nānāghāṭ inscription, and who, like them, flatters himself with having offered the great aśvamēdha-sacrifice, admits at the end of his Prākrit charter a formula in Sanskrit: *Svasti gō-brāhmaṇa-vāchaka-śrōtṛibhya iti* (*Epigr. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 3; Vol. II. p. 482). The accuracy of it is irreproachable; the peculiar character of it is evident; this benediction pronounced over Brāhmaṇs and cows, &c., has a religious character which contrasts with the real

object of the gift. Vijayabuddhavarman, at the end of a donation, equally set forth in Prākrit (*Ind. Antiq.* Vol. IX. p. 101), inserts two verses in Sanskrit and concludes with a Prākrit formula; these two verses are those so often met with under the name of Vyāsa in all succeeding epigraphy; *Bahubhir vasudhā* . . . and *Svadattāṁ paradattāṁ va.* Here again, the authority of Vyāsa gives these two verses a religious character, independent of the context. And more recent contributions to epigraphy only confirm my conclusions. In the Koṇḍamudi plates (*Epigr. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 315) of the prince Jayavarman, a contemporary of Śivaskandavarman, the charter is in Prākrit, but the names of the god Mahēśvara and of the brahmanical gōtra Bṛihatphalāyana are in pure Sanskrit and so also is the legend on the seal: — Bṛihatphalāyanasagōtrasya mahārāja-śrī-Jayavarmmaṇaḥ. And, like his Hīrahaḍagalli plates, the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman (*Epigr. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 84) are in Prākrit, and the name of the king is written Sivakha[ṁ]davammō; but the seal presents Śivaska . . . . , which suffices to establish the purely Sanskrit character of its legend. It is as a religious language that Sanskrit makes its appearance in the official epigraphy, apart from the epigraphy of the Kshatrapas. It is met with also, but hesitating, uncertain and [114] very brief, in the votive inscriptions of the time of the Kushanas and the Kshatrapas of Mathurā: but these inscriptions, of Buddhist and Jaina inspiration, emanating from private individuals, reduce themselves to brief formulæ, and when, by accident, they happen to be correct, they only succeed by dint of their extreme brevity and their entire commonplaceness.

The presence of phrases and formulæ in correct Sanskrit, inserted in Prākrit inscriptions or added to them, expressly contradicts the interpretation given by the legend to the linguistic preferences of the Śātakarṇis. Even when confined to their own direct testimony without recourse to any outside control, the documents of the Kshatrapas suffice to prove it in error. Whereas, by a revolutionary innovation, their inscriptions are set forth in literary Sanskrit, the legends of their numerous coins are uniformly written in Prākrit, as in the case of the Śātakarṇis. It is only when we come down to the Gupta emperors, in the IVth century A. D., that we meet with the first legends on coins in authentic Sanskrit (*e. g.*, *Kāchō gām avajitya karmabhir uttamair jayati*). One only of the Kshatrapas, in advance of the time, coined money in Sanskrit, about the beginning of the second century of the Kshatrapa era, at the end of the second century A. D.; the legend reads: *rājñō [ma]hākshatra[pa]sya Dāmajadaśriya[ḥ] putrasya rājñō kshatrapasya Satyadāmna[ḥ]*. The only inaccuracy bears upon the application of an euphonic law: [115] *rājñō kshatrapasya* instead of *rājñaḥ*. But the innovation, which however does not appear very daring in a dynasty which regularly uses Sanskrit in its epigraphy, does not seem to have been a success; it called forth no imitations, and, whereas the coins of the Kshatrapas are generally rather numerous, that of Satyadāman is known by but one specimen (Rapson, *J. R. A. S.* 1899, p. 379). Without the formal testimony of epigraphy, one would be tempted to recognize in the numismatic usage of the Kshatrapas the same tendency to Sanskrit that has been observed in the inscriptions of Mathurā. Two centuries after Satyadāman, in 304 Ksh. (= 382 A. D.), the coinage of Siṁhasēna, known by several specimens, bears a legend where Sanskrit and Prākrit alternate curiously in the same inscription: *Mahārāja-kshatrapa-svāmi-Rudrasēna-śvasriya[sya] rājñō mahākshatrapasa svāmi-Siṁhasēnasya* (Rapson, *ib.* p. 398-400). And besides, the simultaneous occurrence of Prākrit genitives in °*sa* and the Sanskrit forms *rājñō* and *kshatrapa* in the whole monetary series of the Kshatrapas without exception, the sporadic appearance of the most delicate inflexions of Sanskrit in certain proper names (*e.g.*, *Rudradāmnaḥ* parallel with *Rudradāmasa*, *Dāmajadaśriyaḥ* parallel with *Dāmajadasa*), still place under different aspects the pressing problem of the real relation between Sanskrit and Prākrit, — or, in other words, the positive commencements of literary Sanskrit.

The religious element which dominates all the phenomena [116] of Hindu life seems to suffice to settle all these apparent contradictions. The opposition observed in linguistic usage between the Kshatrapas and the Śātakarṇis reappears in the religious attitude of the two dynasties. There can be no question, assuredly, in ancient India, of determined, absolute,

uncompromising convictions; the avowed and officially proclaimed predilection does not amount to a passion, still less to intolerance. Although they profess themselves fervent worshippers of Bhagavat, of Mahēśvara, of Sugata, &c. (*parama-bhāgavata, p°-māhēśvara p°-saugata*), the Gupta kings, those of Valabhī, the race of Harsha, and many other royal families, distribute none the less their eclectic favours among all the clergy and all confessions (see, *e. g.*, my *Donations religieuses des rois de Valabhī*, in the Mémoires de la section des Sciences religieuses, 1896, pp. 75-100). Without refusing to Buddhism the freedom of circumstance, the Śātakarṇis proclaim their pretensions to Brahmanical orthodoxy. Their epigraphy opens at Nānāghāṭ with a long nomenclature of grand Vēdic sacrifices and magnificent salaries paid to Brāhmaṇs by a prince of their family. From Gōtamiputa onwards, at least, each of the kings is careful to affirm his relationship to the great Brahmanic clans: Gōtamīputra, Vāsishṭhīputra, &c. Gōtamiputa, the hero of the Nāsik praśasti, is exalted as "the Brāhmaṇ par excellence" (*ēka-bamhaṇa*); he has increased the prosperity [117] of the families of the Brāhmaṇs (*dijā-vara-kuṭuba-vivadhana*); he has accomplished the fundamental and essential work of Brahmanism, by putting a stop to confusion among the castes which is the abomination of desolation in society governed by Brahmanic law (*vinivatita-chātuvaṇa-sakara*); the models which he recalls are the heroes of the Brahmanic epic: Rāma, Kēśava, Arjuna, Bhīmasēna, Janamējaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Nahusha. The *Purāṇas* also have faithfully enrolled the list of Śātakarṇi kings in the succession of the dynasties which represent across the dislocation of Indian history the orthodox transmission of sovereign power.

The Kshatrapas, on the contrary, are strangers, chance-masters imposed by the conquest; of Scythian origin confounded with the Greeks, with whom tradition continually associates them (Śaka-Yavana), they have introduced into India the great religious indifference which characterises their race, which manifests itself in the Helleno-Irano-Indian pantheon of the coins of the Kushaṇas as well as in the universal religiousity of the Mogul Akbar. It is not upon them that the Brahmans must count for the restoration of their influence; their mere presence in power is an insult to orthodoxy. Buddhism, on the other hand, greets and welcomes with favour these curious and childish barbarians, always ready to adopt a new faith without abandoning their ancient gods, happy and flattered to naturalize their families and their gods in the classic soil of fabulous riches and of the [118] all-powerful magi; it satisfies therewith its thirst for propagation, its ardour for apostleship; it preaches its holy truths to them, its ideal of gentleness and charity. Rudradāman flatters himself to have "kept his promise to respect human life, except in combat" (*purusha-vadha-nivṛitti-kṛita-satya-pratijñēna anya(tra) saṁgrāmēshu*). The immortal glory of Kanishka, still spread over all oriental Asia, attests at what price the Church knew how to pay for the adherence of these barbarians.

Sanskrit has remained for the Hindu of the present day a sacred language, of magic power, powerful by its syllables, its sounds and its particles; it is a superhuman language which commands the forces of nature. Buddhism itself has in time placed itself at the service of this superstition. The priests who still study the rudiments of Sanskrit in Tibet, China, and Japan, believe the combinations of the alphabet to possess mysterious forces. An object decorated with the Sanskrit character is sacred; to use it outside of religious observance is to commit sacrilege. The Sakas must have found the same prejudice in force when they penetrated into India; but, exploited by the Brahmans for their own profit, the prejudice must have had for adversaries the other rival confessions of Brahmanism, such as Buddhism and Jainism, which keep their canonical and traditional scriptures in Prākrit editions. Two or three centuries earlier, [119] Aśōka doubtless had not so much as thought of borrowing Sanskrit from the Brahmanic schools to use in his inscriptions; but India, unchangeable only in appearance, had changed since then; continued relations with the Hellenic world had introduced new ideas; the invasion of the Sakas and the Turushkas had established barbarian dynasties in the very heart of the country, at Mathurā, at Ujjayinī. Buddhists and Jains aspired to appropriate the language of which the Brahmans had kept the official monopoly.

Protected by the benevolent neutrality of the Kshatrapas of the North (Sudāsa. &c.) and the Kushaṇas, but held either by the remains of superstitious scruple or by imitations of the consecrated forms of their canonical dialects, they combined Sanskrit and Prākrit in their private inscriptions.

More audacious and happier than their neighbours of the North, the Kshatrapas of Surāshtra and Mālava took up the direction of the movement which displayed itself in favour of literary Sanskrit. Local circumstances favoured it; carried by invasion to the confines of the Dekhan, the dynasty of the Śakas was soon isolated from its parent tribes which occupied the North-west of India; the Kharōshtrī writing, an expressive indication of a political orientation towards central Asia, disappears from the Kshatrapa coins immediately after the second of their princes Chashṭaṇa; the only trace of foreign influence which remains is the presence of the Greek or [120] quasi-Greek characters, the interpretation of which remains more or less an enigma. The Indian legend, which is the counterpart of it, is traced in Brahmanic writing, the real Hindu script. Its language is, as I have said, Prākrit; and the purposed, deliberate, and obstinate retention of this numismatic dialect, parallel with epigraphic Sanskrit, seems to me to define clearly the problem of the two languages. If the Kshatrapas who engraved Sanskrit on the rocks and columns, have excluded it from their coins, without being led away by the example set by one of themselves, Satyadāman, it is because the two categories of documents had a very distinct destination: the royal inscription, on rock and column, borrowed from its origin a sort of sacred character; the almost divine majesty of the kings reflected its glory directly upon them; it was still a sort of hymn to the grandeur of a god (*dēva*, the official designation of the king in learned literature). The money had a vulgar function; mixed with the most trivial and ordinary practices of daily life, it passed from hand to hand, without respect of birth or caste, exposed to the most impure contact; the Greek, the Prākrit, accommodated themselves to it without difficulty; the Sanskrit would have given offence, and the political sagacity of the Kshatrapas, proved by their long standing, understood how to spare the strong scruples of the conquered Hindus. The Sanskrit, just descended from the heights of heaven, was averse to treading altogether on the earth. The distribution of dramatic parlance, as [121] fixed by the theorists of the theatre and as practised with docility by its writers, seems to correspond with this phase of unsettled equilibrium between the invading Sanskrit and the Prākrits in a state of possession. The convention which has introduced and maintained upon the scene the usage of four languages concurrently with one another, is a fact not so simple as to explain itself; it would be difficult to find outside of India another theatre where the language regularly and necessarily changes in its vocabulary and grammatical forms, with each category of personages. The hypothesis which would attempt to justify this singularity as an exact reproduction and voluntary imitation of the social condition, would be in contradiction to the essential genius of Hindu art in all its manifestations; Hindu art keeps away, on principle, from the real, which contaminates and spoils the creations of fancy and the pleasures of imagination. Besides, it is sufficient to observe, in order to do away with this supposition, that in all other kinds of literature, unity of language is an absolute rule; in the tales, as in the learned epics, kings and valets, Brahmans and Parias, speak the same language. But, in the theatre, Sanskrit is reserved for the gods, kings, monks, great people; others share divers languages according to a minute technique. From this it appears, — and it is the conclusion to which we have been led by the study of the words with which we commenced — that the Sanskrit theatre must have been constituted at [122] that epoch when Sanskrit, secularised, was not yet vulgarised, under the auspices of these Kshatrapas who realised for a moment in the history of India the particularities of language and protocol which dramatic conventions afterwards perpetuated. Situated behind the port of Bharukachchha (Broach, on the Narmadā, the classical Βαρυγαζα), which Hellenic commerce had adopted as an entrepôt since the discovery of the periodical monsoons, Ujjayinī commanded the three highways required for importation and exportation: in the North, the Mathurā (Μεθορα) road, where there reigned over the Sūrasēnas (Σουρασηνοι) a dynasty related to the Kshatrapas (Śoḍāsa, &c.); in the

North-East, the road to Pāṭaliputra (Παλιβοθρα), the old capital of Magadha and the central market of the Ganges; in the South, the Dekhan (Δαχιναβαδης) route, and that of Pratishṭhāna (Παιθανα), the capital of the Śātakarṇi princes of Mahārāshṭra. The three great literary Prākrits, Śaurasēnī, Māgadhī, Mahārāshṭrī, radiate like a fan round Ujjayinī, the capital of Mālava, where Sanskrit had for a long time tended to emerge. The style of the edicts of Piyadasi engraved on the rocks of Girnar, side by side with the first inscription in Sanskrit of Rudradāman, distinguishes itself among all other parallel writings by its tendency to Sanskrit. In a now old work on the Indian theatre I have called attention to the Śakāra, the illegitimate step-brother of the king, and to the Śakārī parlance, which has fallen to him as to all the Śakas, [123] his congeners. Among a people so indifferent to the memory of their past as the Hindus are, the Śakāra and Śākārī can only be explained as a sacred legacy inspired by tradition. The Śakāra and the Śākārī come into existence either with a prince hostile to the Śakas, or immediately after the fall of the Śakas, while the memory of the personage and his language still lived among his contemporaries. The *Mṛichchhakaṭikā*, if it did not borrow from several of its forerunners, now lost, must date back still further than the rest of the Hindu theatre. Must we return to the theory of Wilson, who thought that the political events described in the piece were not pure fiction, and that Pālaka, by his inclination towards Buddhist doctrines and his disdain for Brahmanic privileges, had actually raised the rebellion related by the drama and which ends in a change of dynasty upon the throne of Ujjayinī? (*Theatre*, ed. Rost, Vol. I. p. 158). The tradition contained in the prologue to the drama, attributing the authorship of the drama to king Śūdraka, may have its origin in actual facts, but tangled and confused. A group of legends studied by Bhau Daji, Mandlik, and Jacobi, represent king Śūdraka as the adversary of Śātavāhana and of his dynasty; to avenge an insult received, he allies himself with the son of the king of Ujjayinī whom Śātavāhana had dethroned; he conquers the son of Śātavāhana, takes Pratishṭhāna and Kollāpura, but spares the inhabitants. We seem to hear an echo of these combats between the [124] Kshatrapas and the Śātakarṇis: the ruin of Nahapāna and of his race, exterminated by Gōtamiputa, then the revenge of Rudradāman who triumphed twice over Pulumayī, son of Gōtamiputa, reconquered the lost territories, and won glory by sparing the vanquished. The more we study the tradition in the light of historical documents, the more we feel the bonds tighten, which unite legend and history. Great names and great facts, imprinted on the imagination of the people and preserved also in documents, in inscriptions and on coins, which did not cease suddenly, between one day and the next, to be legible and intelligible, have been altered and transformed in the course of time without entirely disappearing.

If the Sanskrit theatre came into existence at the court of the Kshatrapas, the theory of Greek influence seems to gain probability. The country of the Kshatrapas was doubtless the most Hellenised of India, because of its being the most important market for Hellenic commerce. But there is nothing to lead us to believe that Greek influence could have extended to literature: the Greek characters engraven on the coins of the Kshatrapas still resist all attempts at interpretation and seem to prove that the Hellenisation remained very superficial.

The sum of the facts I have gathered here, leads me to admit that the Kshatrapa Śakas played a decisive role in the final constitution of Sanskrit literature; these rough Scythian invaders, carriers of civilisation through the world, [125] precipitated by their sudden intrusion the slow development of India. Varnished, through the chances of their adventurous existence, by Iranism, Hellenism, Brahmanism and Buddhism, they burst the bonds of the Brahmanic organisation, still too rigid, in introducing themselves within them; these barbarian conquerors, condemned by orthodoxy, prepared the unity of India. In wresting from the schools and liturgy of the Brahmans their mysterious language, they raised up against the confused variety of local Prākrits an adversary which alone was capable of triumphing over it. India, in guarding faithfully the era of the Śakas as its own era, has been, without knowing it, grateful and just. Their accession opens a new and lasting epoch. The conquered Sanskrit gives to India a common literature, in default of a national literature.

DEPOSIT OF SUTRAS IN STUPAS.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.).

WHEN Dr. Hoey and I described the find of **inscribed bricks, as yet unique, at Gōpālpur in the Gōrakhpur District** (*Proc. A. S. B.* 1896, p. 100) we failed to understand **the nature of the ruined building in which they were enshrined.** The bricks were inscribed with the *sûtra* of the 'Twelve Nidānas,' or the 'Chain of Causation,' and had been deposited on a brick stand or platform in "a small chamber, about eight feet square and about eight feet below the surface, which was built of huge bricks, about a foot and a half long, and some three inches thick . . . . On a ledge in the chamber Dr. Hoey himself found a small earthenware saucer containing eleven copper **coins,** which had evidently been undisturbed since they were deposited." Ten of the coins belonged to the Kushān kings, Kadphises II. (Hima), Kanishka, and Huvishka, while one was a specimen of the 'Cock and Bull' series of Ajodhya, with the name Ayu, or, as Mr. Rapson reads it, Ayya (for Ārya), Mitra.

Apparently, therefore, the deposit was made in the reign of Huvishka, the latest of the four kings represented. Possibly the number of coins, eleven, may be intended to signify the years of his reign. If so, the date, according to my chronology, which assumes the Kushān inscriptions to be dated in the Laukika era, would be **A.D. 164.** Even if my theory of the early use of the Laukika era should not be sustained, and it should be proved that the great Kushān kings employed a special 'era of Kanishka,' the date named would still, I am convinced, be approximately correct. The reasons for placing both Kanishka and Huvishka in the second century A. D. seem to me to be overwhelming.

A passage in **I-tsing's** work, *Records of the Buddhist Religion* (transl. Takakusu, p. 150), **proves clearly that the chamber at Gōpālpur opened by Dr. Hoey was the relic-chamber of a stūpa.** "The priests and the laymen in India," I-tsing observes, "make *chaityas* or images with earth, or impress the Buddha's image on silk or paper, and worship it with offerings wherever they go. Sometimes they build *stûpas* of the Buddha by making a pile and surrounding it with bricks. They sometimes form these *stûpas* in lonely fields, and leave them to fall in ruins. Anyone may thus employ himself in making the objects for worship. Again, when the people make images and *chaityas* which consist of gold, silver, copper, iron, earth, lacquer, bricks, and stone, or when they heap up the snowy sand (*lit.*, sand-snow), they put in the images or *chaityas* **two kinds** of **śarīras [relics] : (1) the relics of the Great Teacher ; (2) the Gāthā of the Chain of Causation.** The **Gāthā** is as follows :—

'All things (*Dharmas*) arise from a cause.
The Tathāgata has explained the cause.
This cause of things has been finally destroyed;
Such is the teaching of the Great Śramaṇa (the Buddha).'

If we put these two in the images or *chaityas,* the blessings derived from them are abundant."

In a note Mr. Takakusu cites Professors Oldenberg and Rhys Davids as remarking that this famous stanza, the so-called 'Buddhist creed,' doubtless alludes to the formula of the twelve Nidānas, which explains the origination and cessation of what are called here '*dhammahētu-ppa bhava.*' Instances may be quoted of this stanza having been either enshrined in a *stûpa,* or incised upon the building, but **as yet the full sūtra of the twelve Nidānas has not been found in any stūpa, except that at Gōpālpur.**[1]

[1] Compare the late Mr. Carlleyle's discoveries in the great mound near Kasiā in the Gōrakhpur District, which was for a long time erroneously believed to be the site of Kuśinagara. He writes :—" This sitting figure of Buddha . . . was actually found inside and in the centre of the base of a small brick votive *stûpa.*" In clearing away another similar, but ruinous, little *stûpa,* he found in the centre of its base a fragment of sculpture exhibiting a female figure, apparently broken off from a group. "This placing of religious sculptures, or small statues," Mr. Carlleyle observes, " inside small brick votive *stûpas* was something new to me ; and I thought this circumstance to be very curious and worthy of record." In a deep excavation in front of the temple of the Dying Buddha, he obtained a small plate of copper, about four and a half inches in length by an inch in width, inscribed with the usual Gāthā, *Yē dharma,* &c. The script was judged to be of the fifth century A. D. I have no doubt that this plate also had been used as the sanctifying deposit placed inside either an image or votive *stûpa.* (Cunningham, *Reports,* XVIII. 70.)

I may add that Dr. Hoernle has for long entertained the intention of publishing a complete edition of the Gōpālpur inscribed bricks, but has not yet found an opportunity of doing so. A small scale photograph of one side of one of them is given in Prof. Rhys Davids' latest book, *Buddhist India* (p. 123, fig. 27). The fact is also worth noting that **bricks of huge dimensions** were still used as late as the second century A. D.; but it is possible that they were taken from an earlier building. Bricks of such size are commonly associated with buildings of greater antiquity.

RAMABHADRA-DIKSHITA AND THE SOUTHERN POETS OF HIS TIME.

BY T. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI; TANJORE.

(Concluded from p. 142.)

Pupils of Râmabhadra-Dîkshita were also eminent scholars. They all acknowledge him as preceptor in very respectful terms in their works. They were **(1) Śrînivâsa-Dîkshita**, the author of the *Svarasiddhântachandrikâ*, a well-known work on Sanskrit grammar.

व्याकृतिनिर्माणचणान्प्रणमामि त्रीन्मुनीञ्जगद्वन्द्यान् ।
गुरुमपि समष्टिमेषां वन्दे श्रीरामभद्रयज्वानम् ॥
कष्टं व्याकरणं पतञ्जलिरपि प्राह स्म तत्राप्यसौ
दुर्ज्ञाना मतिमद्भिरप्यतितरां कष्टा स्वरप्रक्रिया ।
क्वैषा सा त्वमलीमसा मम मतिर्मन्दा तथाप्युत्सहे
यन्मह्यं दयतेतरां निरुपधि श्रीरामभद्रो गुरुः ॥
संकृत्यन्वयसंभवाद्गुणमहाम्भोधेरनन्ताम्बया
जाह्नव्येव पवित्रया क्षितितले संवर्धितश्रेयसः ।
जातः कृष्णविपश्चितो विधुरिव प्रीणन्बुधानां मनः
सन्मार्गाभिगमोज्ज्वलो विजयते स श्रीनिवासः सुधीः ॥

Svarasiddhântachandrikâ.

(2) Venkaṭêśvara-Kavi, the commentator on Râmabhadra-Dîkshita's *Patañjalicharita* and the well-known author of the *Uṇâdinighaṇṭu* compiled under the patronage of Śâhaji I. of Tanjore.

वन्दे धाम विचित्रं तत्प्रत्यूहध्वान्तशान्तये ।
यन्नराद्विरदाकारं लाल्यं वामार्धजानिना ॥ १ ॥
शातकोटिककोटीरकुटीरमणिकोटिभिः ।
आटीकिताङ्घ्रिनिकटं त्रिकोटीश्वरमाश्रये ॥ २ ॥
अस्ति तञ्जापुरं नाम हस्तिवाजिकुलाकुलम् ।
अशेषचोलधरणीविशेषकमनोहरम् ॥ ३ ॥
*   *   *   *   *
*   *   *   *   * ॥ ४ ॥
तत्रास्ति शाहनृपतिः सुत्रामसमवैभवः ।
प्रतापतपनस्फूर्तिप्रकाशितदिगन्तरः ॥ ५ ॥
*   *   *   *   *   *

एकराजतपःसंपत्पाकभूतनिजोद्भवः ।
उदारचरितश्लाघ्यः स्वदारनिरतः सुधीः ॥ ११ ॥
तेन साहित्यसर्वस्वनिधिना कविबन्धुना ।
भोसलाम्बुधिचन्द्रेण दीपाम्बाभाग्यराशिना ॥ १२ ॥
नियुक्तः करुणापूर्वं नितरां प्रीतिशालिना ।
पुत्रः श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तेर्गङ्गापावितवर्ष्मणः ॥ १३ ॥
रामभद्रमखिश्रेष्ठदयासर्वस्वभाजनम् ।
वेदश्रौतनिधिः शब्दशास्त्रमार्गाध्वनीनधीः ॥ १४ ॥
कौण्डिन्यकुलमूर्धन्यः सुमतिर्वेङ्कटेश्वरः ।
निघण्टुं पण्डितप्रीत्यै निबध्नाम्येष नूतनम् ॥ १५ ॥
उणादिपञ्चपाद्यां ये शब्दाः पूर्वैरुदाहृताः ।
व्युत्पादितक्रमेणैव सविमर्शं वदामि तान् ॥ १६ ॥
अत्यन्तदुष्करेष्व्यस्मिन्भवाम्यहमकातरः ।
श्रीरामभद्रमखिनां देशिकानामनुग्रहात् ॥

At the end —

प्राचीनैः पञ्चपाद्यां ये शब्दा व्युत्पाद्य दर्शिताः ।
तानेकार्थाननेकार्थान्नानालिङ्गानुलिङ्गकान् ॥
सतां क्रमाद्ज्ञापयितुं कवीनां वेङ्कटेश्वरः ।
निघण्टुं कृतवान्विद्वत्कविसञ्जीवनामृतम् ॥
श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरकृतौ शाब्दिकविद्वत्कविप्रमोदकरे ।
अभवदुणादिनिघण्टौ संपूर्णः पञ्चमः परिच्छेदः ॥

Uṇādinighaṇṭu.

यं भाष्यं महदध्यजीगपद्दृषिः श्रीचोक्कनाथाध्वरी
यो रामस्य च नीलकण्ठमखिना बाणस्तवं कारितः ।
व्याचष्टे किल रामभद्रमखिनस्तस्याप्रशिष्यः कृतिं
भोगीन्द्रस्य हि वेङ्कटेश्वरकविर्यस्यां निबद्धं यशः ॥
टीकेयं ललिता नामगिरिजाता कृता मया ।
रमयेदपि सर्वज्ञं विषमेक्षणमप्यहो ॥

Commentary on the *Patañjalicharita.*

(3) **Bhûminâtha-Kavi,** who wrote the *Dharmavijayachampû,* a romance from which extracts have already been made above on p. 132 ff.

विबुधकुलसमृद्धिः सुस्थिरा येन क्लृप्ता
प्रणमदभयदाने यस्य दीक्षा प्रतीता ।
जनकनृपतिकन्याधन्यपार्श्वः स देवः
शहजिनरपतीन्दोः श्रेयसे भूयसेऽस्तु ॥

विश्वख्यातैकराजामितसुकृतपरीपाकभूतोद्भृतश्रीः
कौसल्यायामिवाभूद्रघुकुलतिलको योऽत्र दीपाम्बिकायाम् ।
सः श्रीमद्भोसलाख्यामलकुलजलधेरिन्दुरिन्धानतेज-
स्सान्द्रः शाहावनीन्द्रो जगति विजयतां मूर्तिमान्राजधर्मः ॥
रामचन्द्रचरणारविन्दयोराश्रयप्रबलतश्चिकीर्षति ।
भूमिनाथकविचक्रवर्त्यसौ शाहधर्मविजयोक्तिसाहसम् ॥
अस्माभिः पञ्चविंशे वयसि मदवशे पण्डितंमन्यमुख्यै-
स्तत्ताद्रृक्षातिचित्रक्रमकवनपथव्यापृतैस्तापितासि ।
तत्पुण्यश्लोकशाहाधिपचरितसुधापूरगाढावगाहै-
र्निःशेषं याहि शान्ति भुवनजननि वाग्देवि मे संप्रसीद ॥
इच्छामात्राच्चयमिदमुपानम्रतां याति येषां
हृद्योल्लेखः सरलरचना कोमलं संविधानम् ।
आचन्द्रार्कं सरसकवयः क्षेममेते भजन्तां
पृथ्वीचक्रं कुकविनिहतं शश्वदुज्जीवयन्तः ॥

* * * *

साहित्यरत्नकोशाय शब्दब्रह्मस्वरूपिणे ।
रामभद्राय मखिने रामभक्त्यध्वये नमः ॥

Dharmavijayachampûkâvya.

(4) Vaidyanâtha, the author of the *Paribhâshârthasaṁgraha* and nephew of Râmabhadra-Dîkshita.

मूर्तिर्यस्य हि पाणिनिः पदमहाभाष्यप्रबन्धा तथा
वाक्यानां कृदपि स्वयं वितनुते वाग्यस्य दास्यं सदा ।
शिष्या यस्य विरोधिवादिमकुटीकुट्टाकवाग्धाटिका-
स्तस्मै मातुलरामभद्रमखिने भूयो नमो मे भवेत् ॥
प्रणम्य परमं देवं भवानीपतिमव्ययं ।
क्रियते वैद्यनाथेन परिभाषार्थसंग्रहः ॥

Paribhâshârthasaṁgraha.

(5) Raghunâtha, at whose request our poet wrote his *Sriṅgâratilakabhâṇa*.

प्रार्थितो निजशिष्येण रघुनाथेन धीमता ।
शृङ्गारतिलकं नाम भाणं विरचयाम्यहम् ॥

Sriṅgâratilakabhâṇa.

The following names of Râmabhadra-Dîkshita's contemporaries are given in his *Shaḍdarśanîsiddhântasaṁgraha*: (1) Râmanâthamakhin, (2) Naraharyadhvarin, (3) Periyappâ-Kavi *alias* Vinatêya, (4) Srîveṅkaṭêśa, (5) Yajñêśvarâdhvarin, and (6) Srînivâsamakhin.

रामभद्राध्वरिवरो रामनाथमखीश्वरः ।
नरहर्यध्वरिमणिः पेरियप्पबुधाग्रणीः ॥

श्रीवेङ्कटेशविबुधः श्रीमान्यज्ञेश्वराध्वरी ।
मखी च श्रीनिवासार्यो महतामपि संमतः ॥
शासनाक्षरमाकर्ण्य शाहराजस्य धीमतः ।
सर्वेते शास्त्रसिद्धान्तान्संगृह्णन्ति यथामति ॥

Shaḍdarśanîsiddhântasaṁgraha.

All of them flourished in the reign of Śâhaji I., A. D. 1684-1711. Further, the learned men to whom the grant of the village of Tiruviśainallûr was made by Râja Śâhaji I. were his contemporaries. Including Râmabhadra-Dîkshita himself they were 46 in number, the most prominent of them being **(1) Bhâskara-Dîkshita,** the author of the *Ratnatûlikâ*, a commentary on Kṛishṇânanda Sarasvatî's *Siddhânta-Siddhâñjana*, a general treatise on Vêdânta.

यद्दीक्षाविषयं विनेयविषयाः प्रीत्या भजन्ते स्वयं
लक्ष्मीकीर्तिसरस्वतीधृतिदयाह्रीशान्तिदान्त्यादयः ।
कृष्णानन्दसरस्वती शमरसश्चित्ते मदीये शुभे
नित्यं संनिहितोस्त्वसौ मम गुरुर्ध्वान्तापनुत्त्यै विभुः ॥
यदुपदेशवशान्मम शेमुषी गहनमर्थमपि स्फुटयत्यसौ ।
विजयराघवशास्त्रिणमाश्रये गुरुमहं तमशेषगुणाकरम् ॥
ग्रामे पञ्चकचेरिनाम्नि महिते विद्वज्जनालंकृते
यज्वा याजयिता च वेङ्कटपतिर्नाम्ना शिवे भक्तिमान् ।
अस्ति श्रीहरितान्वये समुदितः श्रुत्यर्थनिर्णायकः
सूत्रेषु त्रिषु कल्पसंज्ञिषु पटु···विज्ञाग्रणीः ॥
तत्सूनुर्विवृणोत्येष सिद्धाञ्जनकृतिं गुरोः ।
सर्वतोमुखयागस्य कर्ता भास्करदीक्षितः ॥

इति श्रीहरितगोत्रतिलककुरवशेरिकुलप्रदीपश्रौतस्मार्तस्वतन्त्रश्रीवेङ्कटपतियज्वनस्तनूजस्य नाचम्माम्बागर्भसंभूतस्य श्रीविजयराघवशास्त्रिगुरुवरकटाक्षलब्धान्वीक्षिक्यादिकतिपयविद्यस्य श्रीकृष्णानन्दसरस्वतीगुरुचरणारविन्दपरिचरणलब्धसकलविद्यावैशद्यस्य सर्वतोमुखयाजिनो भास्करदीक्षितस्य कृतौ सिद्धान्तसिद्धाञ्जनव्याख्यायां रत्नतूलिकाख्यायां * * * ॥

Ratnatûlikâ.

(2) Veṅkaṭakṛishṇa-Dîkshita, who wrote the *Natêśavijayakâvya* at the request of Gôpâla Bhûpâla, a governor of Śivâji's possessions in the South, near Chidambaram. Gôpâla was the son of Dâdâji, son of Bâlâji. He patronised letters, founded *agrahâras*, gave annual allowances in the shape of corn or money to learned *paṇḍits*, and made several other charitable endowments.

बालाजिनामाजनि पण्डितेन्द्रः ॥ १ । ७ ॥
अजायतास्मादरणेरिवाग्निर्दादाजिनामा तनयोग्रतेजाः ॥ १ । ८ ॥
उमाम्बिका नाम हुताशनस्य स्वाहेव तस्याजनि धर्मपत्नी ।
अजीजनद्धर्ममिवात्तदेहं गोपालनामानमसौ कुमारम् ॥ १ । ९ ॥

गोपालभूपालवरस्य तस्य गुणौघमाणिक्यखनिः कनीयान् ।
रामस्य सौमित्रिरिवातिमात्रप्रेमाश्रयो विठ्ठलपण्डितोऽभूत् ॥ १ । ११ ॥
धर्मप्रतिष्ठापनतत्परस्य तथाविधोऽङ्कूरहितस्य तस्य ।
सखानघः शङ्करपण्डितोऽभूद्गाण्डीवधन्वेव गदाग्रजस्य ॥ १ । १२ ॥
राज्ञः शिवच्छत्रपतेः प्रसादात्प्राज्ञस्तदीयामवलम्ब्य मुद्राम् ।
चिदम्बरप्रान्तभुवं चिराय गोपायति ब्रह्मकुलानुकूलः ॥ १ । १९ ॥
विद्वज्जनो यस्य विभोः सकाशादासाद्य वर्षाशनमात्तहर्षः ।
आविष्करोत्यात्मनि चातकत्वं दातुर्घनत्वं च दिगन्तरेषु ॥ १ । ३२ ॥
विद्वन्मणिश्रेणिविराजमानैर्महीं परिष्कृत्य महाग्रहारैः ।
ननु स्वयं नायकरत्नभूतो विद्योतते त्रासविवर्जितोऽसौ ॥ १ । ३७ ॥
चिदम्बरे शक्तिशिवगङ्गयाङ्घ्रियया जनानां ह्रियतेऽत्र पङ्कः ।
हन्तास्य तस्या अपि पङ्कहर्तुर्वयं कथं पावनतां वदामः ॥ १ । ३९ ॥
कान्तेन साकं कलधौतशैले विहारवार्ता हृदि विश्वमातुः ।
व्यावर्तितानेन विहारहेतोरान्दोलिकामर्पयताभिरूपाम् ॥ १ । ४० ॥
सभेशसेवासमयानुशंसिन्यनेन दत्ते निनदत्यमन्दम् ।
घण्टामणौ मूर्ध्नि कृताञ्जलिः स्वे लोके वसिष्ठं हि विलोकतेऽजः ॥ १ । ४१ ॥
विशुद्धवाधूलकुलाब्धिचन्द्रो विद्वन्मणिर्वेङ्कटकृष्णयज्वा ।
गोपालनेतुः कवने विनेता प्राचेतसस्येव पितामहोऽभूत् ॥ १ । ४९ ॥

Naṭêśavijayakâvya.

Veṅkaṭakṛishṇa-Dîkshita next wrote, in the following order, the *Srîrâmachandrôdayakâvya*, the *Uttarachampû* and the *Kuśalavavijayanâṭaka*.

अस्ति श्रीचोलधरणीजानिरद्भुतविक्रमः ।
आज्ञाचीटी विभोर्यस्य राज्ञामुत्तंसकेतकी ॥ ३ ॥
यः श्रीभोसलवंशमौक्तिकमणिर्यं शाहराजं विदु-
र्येनैकप्रभुनन्दनेन विदिता दीपाम्बिका वीरसूः ।
यस्मै श्रीः स्पृहयत्यरातिरयते यस्माद्भयं यस्य तौ
सोदर्यौ शरभोजितुक्कजिनृपौ यस्मिंश्च धर्मः स्थिरः ॥ ४ ॥
सर्वज्ञचूडामणिना विपश्चित्सन्दोहभाग्योपनतेन तेन ।
सञ्चोदितो वेङ्कटकृष्णयज्वा संदर्भयत्यौत्तरकाण्डमर्थम् ॥ ५ ॥

श्रीभोजलक्ष्मणसुधीन्द्रकृते प्रबन्धे
लग्नं सदल्पमपि मे लपितं स्वदेत ।
कल्याणरूप्यकलशद्वयसंभृतेन
क्षीरेण वारि सहितं महितं किल स्यात् ॥ ६ ॥

At the end — वाधूलान्वयवार्धिशीतकिरणाद्विद्वद्गणाग्रेसरा-
ज्जन्यायामिह वेङ्कटाद्रिविदुषो मङ्गाम्बिकायां गुणैः ।
संजातेन विदर्भलक्ष्मणकृते चम्पूप्रबन्धे कृतः
काण्डो वेङ्कटकृष्णयज्वविदुषा जीयाच्चिरं सप्तमः ॥

Uttarachampû.

आदिष्टोऽस्म्यशेषकलाभिनवभोजराजेन भोसलकुलजलधिपूर्णचन्द्रेण सार्वभौमेन शहजिमहाराजेन । * * * । अस्ति खलुसमस्तजगत्प्रशस्ताभिजनशालिस्य वाधूलकुलजलधिकौस्तुभस्य विद्वज्जनश्लाघनीयस्य वेङ्कटाद्रिमहोपाध्यायस्य तृतीयऋणापकरणकारणीभूतदेहपरिग्रहो मङ्गलाम्बिकागर्भशुक्तिमुक्तामणिर्वेङ्कटकृष्णयज्वेति विख्यातः कविः । * * * ।

स किल पलकचेरिग्रामवास्तव्यविद्व-
ज्जनमकुटवतंसाद्वासुदेवाध्वरीन्द्रात् ।
अधिगतपदवाक्यन्यायतन्त्रस्त्रिलोकी-
गुरुपरमशिवेन्द्राध्यापितब्रह्मविद्यः ॥ ४ ॥
श्रीरङ्गपट्टणपतिस्त्रिशिरःपुरेश-
चेञ्जीपुराधिपतितञ्जपुराधिनाथैः ।
उच्चैर्यथोत्तरमुदञ्चितगौरवश्री-
रास्ते सुखं शहजिराजपुरेऽधुनासौ ॥ ५ ॥

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बाल्येऽसौ निजतातपादनिकटादभ्यस्तसाङ्गश्रुतिः
सम्यक्छीलितकाव्यनाटकरसालंकारभावक्रमः ।
चक्रे काव्ययुगं नटेशविजयश्रीरामचन्द्रोदया-
भिख्यं सोत्तरचम्पु पदसंदर्भेऽस्य यत्नः कियान् ॥ ६ ॥

In the Prastâvanâ of the *Kuśalavavijayanâṭaka.*

(3) **Vêdakavi,** who wrote the *Jîvânandananâṭaka, Vidyâpariṇayanâṭaka* and its commentary and who attributed his works to his patron Ânandarâyamakhin. Mention is made of Ânandarâyamakhin, minister of Śâhajî I., in the *Paribhâshâvṛittivyâkhyâna* by Râmabhadra-Dîkshita.

सरसकवितारसज्ञः षड्दर्शन्यर्थतत्त्वविदुदारः ।
भाति त्र्यम्बकयज्वा भाग्यपरीणाम एव सूरीणाम् ॥ ११ ॥
एको यस्य विशुद्धयेऽलमुदयः काकोजिविद्वत्प्रभो-
स्त्रेरप्यधिकादमर्त्यतटिनीस्नानं तदभ्युच्चयः ।
बोधे सत्यपि तावदौपनिषदे व्यक्त्यै जगत्यां विधि-
प्रामाण्यस्य सहस्रदक्षिणमखानुष्ठानमप्यादृतम् ॥ १२ ॥

जातं जयन्तमिव शार्ङ्गभृता समस्य
यस्याग्रजान्मघवतो नरसिंहरायात् ।
वृद्धश्रवःप्रियगुणं विबुधैरुपेय-
मानन्दरायमखिनं कथयन्ति सन्तः ।। १३ ।।
शाहजिक्षितीन्द्रसचिवे तस्मिन्पोषयति रामभद्रमखी ।
लम्भितमनःप्रसादो रचयितुमधुनाहमुत्सहे ग्रन्थान् ।। १४ ।।

Paribhâshâvrittivyâkhyâna by Râmabhadra-Dîkshita.

Ânandarâyamakhin continued as minister and general during the reigns of Sarabhôjî I. and Tukkojî. He defeated in A. D. 1725 the combined forces of the Nâyaka of Madura and the Toṇḍamân of Pudukkôṭṭai, both of whom espoused the cause of Taṇḍatêvan, a claimant for the Marava Chiefship of Râmnâd in opposition to Bhavânisaṁkara. This fact is borne out by the subjoined extract from the *Tanjore District Manual*, p 771 f., paragraph 14:—"In 1725, on the death of Vijayaraghunâtha, the adopted son of the infamous 'Kilavan' (old man) who persecuted and brutally murdered the Portuguese Jesuit Missionary, John D. Britto (1693), the right of succession to the Maravan Chiefship became the subject of violent contest, attended with bloodshed, between two rival claimants, Tandatevan, a descendant in a collateral branch of a former Chief, and Bhavanicankara, an illegitimate son of Kilavan. The latter's cause was espoused by the Rajah of Tanjore, while the Nâyak at Madura and the Tondaman of Pudukkottai (Poodoocottah) supported the former. The troops of Madura and Pudukkottai, however, were put to flight by the Tanjore general, Ânanda Râo Peshva, who having seized and slain Tanda, put Bhavanicankara in possession of the country."

Ânandarâyamakhin died probably in the latter part of Tukkôjî's reign and was succeeded by Ghanaśyâmapaṇḍita, generally known as Chauṇḍâjipant. The *Jîvânandananâṭaka* was composed during the reign of Sâhajî I. (1684-1711).

सूत्रधारः—नन्वस्ति मम वशे सहृदयजनचन्दनं जीवानन्दनं नाम नवीनं नाटकम् ।
पारिपार्श्विकः—कस्तस्य प्रबन्धस्य कविः ।
सूत्रधारः—विद्वत्कविकल्पतरुरानन्दरायमखी । य एष इह

गुरुदेवद्विजभक्तो नैमित्तिकनित्यकाम्यकर्मपरः ।
दीनजनाधीनदयो विहरति समरे च विक्रमार्क इव ।।
यः स्नातोऽजनि दिव्यसिन्धुसलिले यः स्वात्मविद्याश्रितो
येनाकारि सहस्रदक्षिणमखो यः सद्भिराश्रीयते ।
सोऽयं त्र्यम्बकराययज्वतिलको विद्वत्कवीनां प्रभो-
र्यत्तातस्य नृसिंहरायमखिनस्तुल्यप्रभावोऽनुजः ।।

* * * * *

सूत्रधारः—(विहस्य) मारिष, त्वं न जानासि यत एवं ब्रवीषि । शृणु तावत् ।

आ बाल्यादपि पोषितोऽजनि मया प्रेम्णा तथा लालित-
स्तेनासौ सरसामुपैतु कवितामानन्दरायाध्वरी ।
इत्येकक्षितिपालवंशजलधेर्देव्या गिरां जातया
श्रीशाहावनिनायकाकृतिभृता नूनं प्रसादः कृतः ।।

Jivânandananâṭaka by Ânandarâyamakhin.

The Vidyâpariṇayanâṭaka and its commentary by the same author were written during the reign of Sarabhôji I. (1711-1729), the younger brother and successor of Sâhaji I.

सूत्रधारः—नन्वस्ति मम वशे सकलशमधनहृदयानन्दसमुद्घाटकं विद्यापरिणयनं नाम नवीनं नाटकम् ।

पारिपार्श्विकः—कस्तस्य प्रबन्धस्य कविः ।

सूत्रधारः—विद्वत्कविकल्पतरुरानन्दरायमखी ।

* * * * *

नानापूर्वमहाक्रतुप्रणयनैरध्यात्मसंमर्शनैः
कर्मब्रह्मपथप्रचारसविता षड्दर्शनीवल्लभः ।
तातो यस्य किलैकराजवसुधाधौरंधरीगीष्पतिः
क्षोणीपालकिरीटलालितपदः ख्यातो नृसिंहाध्वरी ॥

अपि च ।

यस्य तातानुजन्मापि यशःपावितदिङ्मुखः ।
त्रिवर्गफलसंपन्नस्त्र्यम्बकामात्यदीक्षितः ॥ ॥

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पारिपार्श्विकः — * * * * * * *

एतत्प्रणीतमभिनवमिदं नाटकमस्माभिरभिनीयत इति वाङ्मनसातिवर्ति ननु भाग्यमिदमस्माकम् । परंतु श्रुतिस्मृतीतिहासागमतन्त्रादिसिद्धनानाविधसाम्बशिवचरणपरिचरणतदनुसंधानानिरन्तरितानिखिलवासरस्य तदन्तराल्परिमितपरिशिष्टकतिपयमुहूर्तनिर्वर्तनीयचतुरुदधिपरिमुद्रितसकलराज्यतन्त्रस्य शरभमहाराजमन्त्रिशिखामणेरस्य जनकसनकसनन्दनप्रमुखाभिनन्दनतदीदृशमहाप्रबन्धनिबन्धनपटिमधौरंधरीयमिति मे महदाश्चर्यम् ॥

Vidyâparinayanâṭaka by Ânandarâyamakhin.

व्यक्तं व्यासपुरोगमैः कृतमपि ज्ञातं गुरुभ्योपि य-
त्तत्त्वं नित्यमलौकिकश्रुतिगिरामास्ते परोक्षात्मना ।
तद्धृद्यं सरसप्रवृत्तिजनकं कृत्वा नवं नाटकं
व्याचष्टे सुखबोधनाय विदुषामानन्दरायाध्वरी ॥

Vidyâpariṇayanâṭakavyâkhyâna by Ânandarâyamakhin.

Certainly Vêdakavi must have lived during the reign of Sarabhôjî I. if he wrote the *Vidyâpariṇayanâṭaka*. Mahâmahôpâdhyâya Paṇḍit Durgâprasâd, in identifying Sâhajî with Sarabhôjî, in his edition of the *Jîvânandananâṭaka*, p. 108, has evidentlly made a mistake. Likewise Dr. Burnell's supposition in his *Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 172, that the *Vidyâpariṇayanâṭaka* was composed about A. D. 1750 is not free from error. Another work by, or rather attributed to, Ânandarâyamakhin is the *Âśvalâyanagṛihyasûtravritti*.

आनन्दराययज्वेन्द्रुरक्षरत्स्वरसानुगाम् ।
आश्वलायनसूत्रस्य वृत्तिं वितनुते सुधीः ॥ १२ ॥

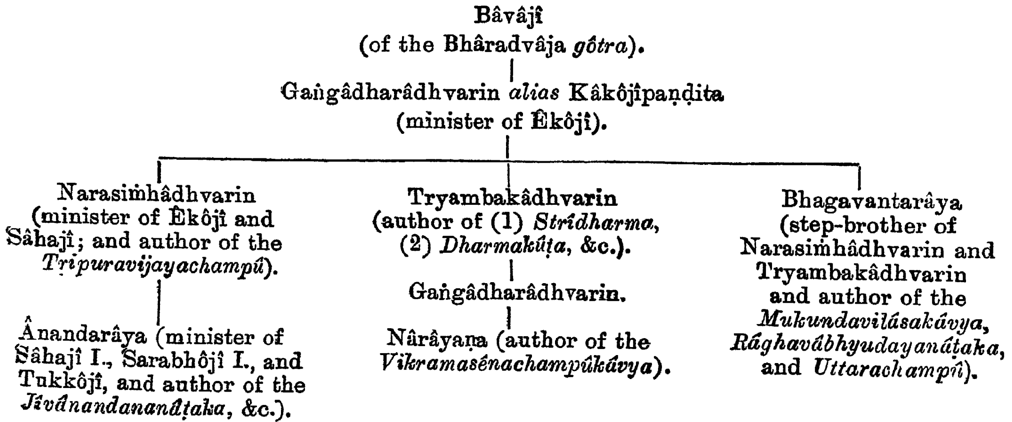
Âśvalâyanagṛihyasûtravṛitti by Ânandarâyamakhin.

That Ânandarâyamakhin was dead, when Pratâpasiṁha (Pratapasing) ascended the throne in 1741, is beyond all doubt, as the name of the former is mentioned among the benevolent men of the past in the subjoined verse of the *Mahishaśataka,* which was composed at that time by Vâñchhêśvara.

नानाजिप्रभुचन्द्रभानुशाहजीन्द्रानन्दरायादयो
विद्वांसः प्रभवो गताः श्रितसुधीसन्दोहजीवातवः ।
विद्यायां विषबुद्धयो हि वृषलाः सभ्यास्त्विदानींतनाः
किं कुर्वेऽम्ब कृषे व्रजामि शरणं त्वामेव विश्वावनीम् ॥

Therefore, the *Âśvalâyanagrihyasûtravṛitti* by Ânandarâyamakhin could certainly not have been written so late as 1770 A. D. as Dr. Burnell supposes (see his *Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 13).

The following pedigree of Ânandarâyamakhin is based on the extracts quoted below it :—



श्रीमद्भोसलवंशभूपतिकुलामात्येषु विख्यातिमा-
न्भारद्वाजकुलार्णवेन्दुरुदभूद्बावाजिरभ्याह्वितः ।
पुत्रस्तस्य किलैकभूपतिमणेर्मन्त्री सदैवादृत-
स्तेनासीद्गुरुवत्प्रगल्भधिषणो गङ्गाधराख्योऽध्वरी ॥ ३ ॥
तस्य द्वौ तनयावुदारचरितौ कृष्णाम्बिकागर्भजा-
वेकक्ष्मापतिलालितौ गुरुपदे चारोप्य संमानितौ ।
तत्पुत्रेण च शाहजिक्षितिभृता ज्येष्ठानुवृत्त्यादृतौ
तत्तादृग्विविधाग्रहारकरणाद्विद्वत्प्रतिष्ठापकौ ॥ ४ ॥
ज्येष्ठस्तत्र सदावदातचरितः श्रीमान्नृसिंहाध्वरी
गायत्रीसमुपासनादिभिरपि श्रौतैश्च सत्कर्मभिः ।
आत्मानं परिपूर्य तं सुचरितैः पुत्रैः प्रतिष्ठाप्य च
त्रेधा ब्रह्महिताय सत्कृतिचितान्स ब्रह्मलोकानगात् ॥ ५ ॥
तस्यात्मत्रितयेऽग्रजस्तु धृतिमानानन्दरायाध्वरी
कौमारात्प्रभृति प्रगल्भधिषणः श्रीशाहराजादृतः ।
इष्टापूर्तसदन्नदानसुहितत्रैविद्यवृद्धैः सह
श्रुत्युक्तार्थपरिष्क्रियापटुमतिः सत्कर्मनिष्णातधीः ॥ ६ ॥

*   *   *   *   *
*   *   *   *   *

ज्येष्ठे तत्र नृसिंहयज्वनि दिवं यातेऽनुजस्तत्सुता-
न्पश्यन्पुत्रवदग्रजापचितिमप्यानन्दराये दधत् ।
वैतानानि च कारयन्सुचरितान्येतैः स्वपुत्रेण च
श्रीमानत्र महाग्निचिद्विजयते श्रीत्र्यम्बकार्योऽध्वरी ॥ ७ ॥

Mudrârâkshasanâṭakavyâkhyâna by Dhuṇḍhi.

विद्वत्कल्पतरोस्त्र्यम्बकविभोः पौत्रेण गङ्गाधरा-
मात्यस्यात्मभवेन बालकविना नारायणेन स्वयम् ।
अभ्यासाय महाप्रबन्धकरणे सद्वाप्यसद्वा कृतं
श्रीमद्विक्रमसेनराजचरितं नन्दन्तु सर्वे बुधाः ॥
श्रीनारायणरायेण समास्वष्टादशीष्वसौ ।
विश्वावसौ कृतश्चम्पूप्रबन्धस्तान्मुदे सताम् ॥

Vikramasênachampû by Nârâyaṇarâya.

एकोजिक्षितिपालमुख्यसचिवश्रेष्ठस्य गङ्गाधरा-
मात्यस्यात्मसमुद्भवेन भगवन्ताख्येन विख्यातये ।
प्रोक्तं रामचरित्रमार्यनरसिंहस्य प्रसादादिदं
श्रीमत्त्र्यंम्बकवर्यवंशतिलकस्यास्तां चिरं श्रेयसे ॥

Uttarachampû by Bhagavantarâya.

गङ्गाधराध्वरिसुतो नरसिंहसूरे-
र्यस्त्र्यम्बकाध्वरिमणेश्च सुधीः कनीयान् ।
काव्येऽमुना विरचिते भगवन्तनाम्ना
सर्गः शुभोऽजनि मुकुन्दविलासनाम्नि ॥

Mukundavilâsakâvya by Bhagavantarâya.

(4) **Mahâdêvakavi,** the author of the *Adbhutadarpaṇanâṭaka* and *Sukasandêsa.* (5) **Periyappâ-Kavi** *alias* Vînatêya, who composed the drama *Sṛingâramañjarîsâharâjîya* and who has already been mentioned (p. 178 above) in Râmabhadra-Dîkshita's *Shaḍdarsanîsiddhântasaṁgraha.* (6) **Mahâdêvavâjapêyin,** the author of the *Subôdhinî,* a commentary on *Bôdhâyanasrautasûtra.*

अस्ति बौधायनं सूत्रमाद्यमांध्वर्यवाश्रयम् ।
अधीतिबोधाचरणप्रचारैस्तत्प्रपञ्चयन् ॥
भारद्वाजान्वयाम्भोधिसुधांशुः सत्सु संमतः ।
त्र्यम्बकाध्वरी लोके त्र्यन्तज्ञः समेधते ॥
तदध्वर्युर्महादेववाजपेयी तदाज्ञया ।
बोधायनोक्तकर्मान्तद्वैधकल्पानुसारतः ॥
वै . . . . . ज्ञानां भवस्वामिमतानुगाम् ।
कर्माध्वगानां सुगमां करोति श्रौतचन्द्रिकाम् ॥

Subôdhinî.

Mahâdêvavâjapêyin was the father of Vâsudêva-Dîkshita, the author of the *Bâlamanôramâ* and *Adhvaramîmâṁsâkutûhalavṛitti*. His commentary on the *Siddhântakaumudî* is called the *Bâlamanôramâ* in contrast with the *Praudhamanôramâ* of Bhaṭṭôjî-Dîkshita, the author of the text. According to the colophon, the *Bâlamanôramâ* was composed during the reign of (the Marâṭha king) Tukkôjî of Tanjore. Tukkôjî ascended the throne in A. D. 1729. Therefore this commentary must have been written between that date and 1736, the last year of his reign. Vâsudêva-Dîkshita was the pupil of his elder brother Viśvêśvara-Dîkshita. This Viśvêśvara-Dîkshita's grandson, Bâlâ-Dîkshita *alias* Yajñêśvara-Dîkshita, wrote the *Bôdhâyanamahâgnichayanaprayôga*, *Srautaparibhâshâsaṅgrahavṛitti*, *Sâvitrachayanaprayôga*, *Âgrahâyaṇaprayôga*, *Darśapûrṇamâsaprayôga*, and several other works on *Bôdhâyanasûtra*.

Introduction to the *Bâlamanôramâ* :—

अस्तु नमः पाणिनये भूयो मुनये तथास्तु वररुचये ।
किं चास्तु पतञ्जलये भ्रात्रे विश्वेश्वराय गुरवे च ॥

Colophon of the *Bâlamanôramâ* :— इति श्रीमत्सन्ततसन्तन्यमानश्येनकूर्मषोडशाररथचक्राकारादिबहुगुणविराजमानप्रौढापरिमितमहाध्वरस्य श्रीशहजिशरभोजितुक्कोजिभोसलचोलमहीमहेन्द्रामात्यधुरंधरस्य श्रीमदानन्दरायविद्वत्सार्वभौमस्य अध्वर्युणा पञ्चपुरुषीपौष्येण बाल्य एव तद्दयानिर्वर्तितापरिमितमहाग्निविजृम्भितवाजपेयसर्वप्रष्ठाप्तोर्यामप्रमुखमखसन्तर्पितशतमखप्रमुखबर्हिर्मुखेन पदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावारपारीणाग्रजन्मविश्वेश्वरवाजपेययाजितो लब्धविद्यावैशद्येन अध्वरमीमांसाकुतूहलनिर्माणप्रकटितसर्वतन्त्रस्वातन्त्र्येण बोधायनापस्तंबसत्याषाढभारद्वाजकात्यायनाश्वलायनद्राह्यायणादिकल्पसूत्रतद्भाष्यपारीणमहादेववाजपेययाजिसुतेन अन्नपूर्णागर्भजातेन वासुदेवदीक्षितविदुषा विरचितायां सिद्धान्तकौमुदीव्याख्यायां बालमनोरमाख्यायां, &c.

Introduction to the *Bôdhâyanadarśapûrṇamâsaprayôga* :—

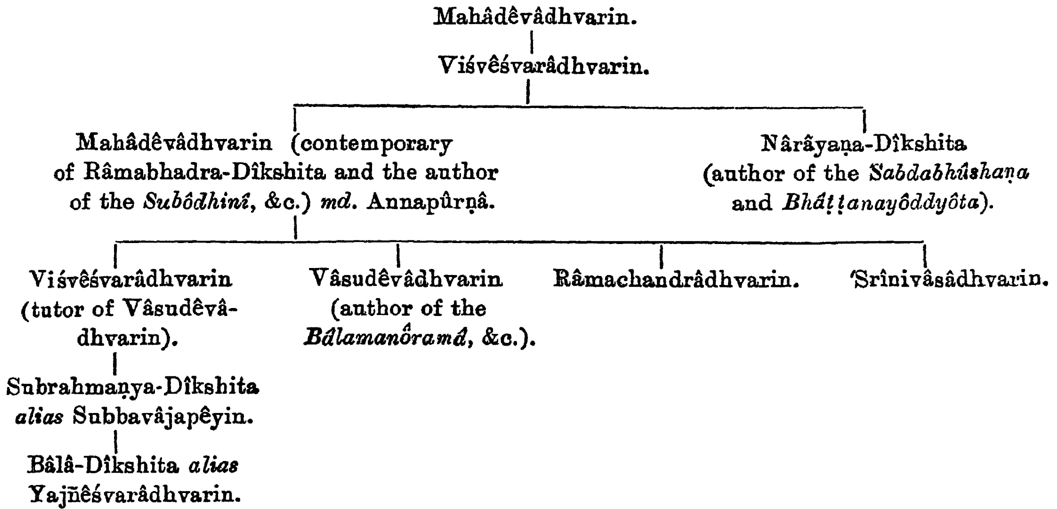
साग्निभिः सोमसंस्थाभिस्तर्पितेन्दुशिखामणिम् ।
सुब्रह्मण्याभिधं वन्दे पितरं श्रौतसागरम् ॥
श्रीवत्सान्वयवार्धिकौस्तुभमणिर्विश्वेश्वराध्वर्यभू-
त्तस्याभूत्प्रथमः सुतः किलमहादेवाध्वरीन्द्रस्ततः ।
श्रीनारायणदीक्षितो यदनुजस्तस्याभवन्सूनव-
श्चत्वारः पदवाक्यमाननिपुणा वेदादिमूर्ता इव ॥
ज्यायान्विश्वेश्वराध्वर्यथ विदितयशा वासुदेवाध्वरीन्द्रः
ख्यातः श्रीरामचन्द्राध्वरकृदथ ततः श्रीनिवासाध्वरीन्द्रः ।
तेषु ज्येष्ठस्य पुत्रो विरचितचयनानेकसंस्थाकसोमः
श्रीसुब्रह्मण्ययज्वा मम पितृचरणः सूत्रषट्कप्रवक्ता ॥
श्रीबोधायनकल्पसूत्रसरणौ न्यायादिसिद्धान्तवि-
द्गोपालाध्वरिकारिकाप्रकटितान्युक्तानि यानि स्फुटम् ।
अस्मत्तातकनिष्ठतातचरणैः श्रीवासुदेवाभिधै-
रप्येतानि च तत्र तत्र कलये सूत्रेषु यज्ञेश्वरः ॥

At the end of the above work—

राजश्रीशरभावनीन्द्र(Sarabhôjî II.)वचसा नागेशयज्वाभिध-
प्रौढप्रार्थनयापि संकलयतः कल्पोक्तिशेषं मम ।
दोषो यद्यपि नो भवेदथ पुनः स्याच्चेत्परामृश्य त-
न्निःशेषं परिशोधयन्तु दयया सन्तो विदन्तोऽखिलम् ॥

इति श्रीशहजिमहाराजपुरवास्तव्येन बालादीक्षितविदुषा कृता बोधा-
यनसयाजमानदर्शपूर्णमासाविवृतिः संपूर्णा ॥

The subjoined pedigree shows the descent of Mahâdêvavâjapêyin and his relationship to Bâlâ-Dîkshita:—



(7) Śrîdharaveṅkaṭêśa, known as Ayyâ Avâḷ throughout Southern India and celebrated for his piety and devotion, was the author of several religious lyrics. The following are his works:— (1) *Âkhyâshashṭi*, (2) *Dayâśataka*, (3) *Mâtṛibhûtaśataka*, (4) *Stutipaddhati*, (5) *Śivabhaktikalpalatikâ*, (6) *Śivabhaktalakshaṇa*, (7) *Târâvalîstôtra*, (8) *Ârtiharastôtra*, (9) *Kulirâshṭaka*, (10) *Ḍôlânavaratnamâlikâ*, &c., published in one volume in Grantha character in the Śrîvidyâ Press, *Kumbhakôṇam*, (11) *Sâhêndravilâsakâvya* in 8 cantos describing the exploits of his patron Śahajî of Tanjore. The following **events** referred to in it are **of historical interest**. Êkôjî, the founder of the Marâṭha dynasty of Tanjore, came on an excursion to the south accompanied by a large body of cavalry and his eldest son Śâhajî I., the hero of the poem. On his way he overthrew many chiefs that were hostile to him and left in power those that were well-disposed towards him. On reaching the banks of the Kâvêrî, his second son Surphôjî was born. The then ruler of the Chôḷa country in great apprehension sent an army against him; but it was completely defeated and Êkôjî easily took possession of the country. After some time, he got his son Śâhajî crowned as sovereign of Tanjore. In the reign of Śâhajî, the Nâyakas of Madura made frequent encroachments upon the territories of the Sêtupati of Râmnâḍ who had declared himself a feudatory of Tanjore. The army sent to help the latter defeated the Nâyakas of Madura and strengthened the position of the Sêtupati. Râjarâm, the illegitimate son of Śivâjî the Great and therefore a cousin of Śâhajî I., was at this time the regent of the Marâṭha dominions in the North on account of the minority of Shâhu and seems to have been on very friendly terms with him. In 1690 Shâhu was taken prisoner by the Muhammadans and Râjarâm escaped to Gingî in South Arcot, where he was besieged. Śâhajî despatched an army from Tanjore, which compelled the Muhammadan troops to raise the siege for a time. But the fort was eventually taken by Zulfikar Khân, who allowed

Râjarâm to escape. The details of Êkôjî's accession to power in Tanjore have not been fully stated in this work.

मालोजिभूभर्तुरभूदशेषमान्यस्तनूजो भुवि शाहभूपः ।
निधिर्गुणानां निजकीर्तिकान्ताविहारसीमायितवैजयन्तः ॥
मालोजिभूभर्तुरनन्तरं स राज्यं समालम्बत शाहराजः ॥
निजामशाहप्रमुखाः प्रतापप्राग्भारधुर्या भुवि सार्वभौमाः ।
अस्य प्रसादं प्रतिपद्य कृच्छ्रादुच्छ्रायिणीं संपदमन्वभूवन् ॥
शम्बाजिराजश्च शिवाजिराजो जीजाम्बिकायां तनयावभूताम् ।
तुकाम्बिकायां सुत एकभूपस्तस्य त्रिभिस्तैर्मुदितं मनोऽभूत् ॥
औदार्यगाम्भीर्यमुखं गुणौघं तुलासमुल्लङ्घिनमादधानः ।
शम्बाजिनामा जगति प्रतीतः स कालधर्मेण समन्वितोऽभूत् ॥
शिवाजिराजोऽथ विभुर्यशस्वी प्रागल्भ्यमत्युन्नतमाललम्बे ।
चण्डैर्भुजादण्डमहःप्रकाण्डैर्विखण्डयन्यावनमण्डलानि ॥
सामर्षदुर्धर्षविरोधियोधप्रवेशनस्वावनतल्क्षयादिम् ।
यः साहसव्यूहमशक्यतर्कमचर्करीत्कर्कशमर्कतेजाः ॥
प्रौढप्रतापान्क्षितिभृत्कलापान्दुरुद्धरं मज्जयतः स्वयं यः ।
दिल्लीश्वरोद्दामचमूपयोधेर्गाधेतरस्यास्त चिरादगस्त्यः ॥
प्रतापभूम्ना रिपुवर्गदुर्गाण्यरं हरन्नश्वगणेश्वरो यः ।
तुलातिगां छत्रपतित्वकीर्तिमुपार्जदूर्जस्वलमर्जुनौजाः ॥
एकोजिराजं समुपेत्य धीरोदात्तं ततस्तत्त्वविदग्रगण्यः ।
राज्यश्रियः कल्पयति स्म नाथं प्राज्यप्रतापं स हि शाहभूपः ॥
त्रातुं निलिम्पानिव संप्रविष्टत्रिविष्टपेऽथो पितरि प्रगल्भः ।
शशास पृथ्वीं शमितप्रतीपो गुणैर्मनोहारिभिरेकभूपः ॥
दीपाभिधाथ क्षितिवल्लभेन पाणौ गृहीता हरिणेव लक्ष्मीः ।
तस्य प्रभोः सा तनुते स्म पूर्वव्यूढाङ्गनातोऽभ्यधिकं प्रमोदम् ॥
अनवद्यगुणौघजन्मभूरथ दीपाम्बिकया शुभे दिने ।
तनयो जनितः कुलोद्वहो जगदानन्दधुकन्दलैः समम् ॥
अभिधामथ तस्य शाह इत्यकृत क्षोणिपतिः कविच्छटे ।
सुरभीकुरु मयोनिजां नवकस्तूरिकयेव भारतीम् ॥
गुणमण्डलमण्डितं सुतं स तमासाद्य वसुंधरेश्वरः ।
प्रमदं महितं प्रपेदिवानजनि स्कन्दमिवेन्दुशेखरः ॥
स कदापि दिशः प्रतापवान्विजिगीषुः क्षितिपाकशासनः ।
निरगादथ बद्धकूरुतस्तुरगानीकितभूमिमण्डलः ॥

विपिनं कतिचिद्दिवं परानपि नीत्वा परिपाल्य चापरान् ।
परिरब्धभुजो जयश्रिया नृपतिः प्रैक्षत सह्यजातटीम् ॥
उदभूदथ तत्र नन्दनः शरभोजिर्धरणीबिडौजसः ।
निपुणः परिपन्थिनिग्रहे समरोत्साह इवाकृतिं वहन् ॥
अथ चोलपतिर्निशम्य तं निकटोपागतमेकभूपतिम् ।
समराय भयादिमेदुरां पृतनां प्रेषयति स्म सस्मयः ॥
वनवन्हिमिताम्बुजच्छटे विनिकर्तुं रिपुवर्गमुद्भटे ।
कुपितस्य तदैकभूपतेरचलन्मूलतया समं चमूः ॥
रथिनो रथिभिस्तुरंगिणो हयिभिर्हस्तिपकांश्च हस्तिपैः ।
मिमिलुर्ववृधे ततो रणः परितः सुस्रुवुरस्रनिर्झराः ॥
अथ भोसलवंशभर्तुरुद्भटकोपारभटी भटच्छटा ।
नटति स्म समित्तटे स्फुटा त्रुटितारातिघटा बलोत्कटा ॥
अथ शाहसुतस्य सैनिकैः पुरमाक्रम्यत चोलभूपतेः ।
वरणप्रसभाधिरोहणैर्भुवि किं साहसिनां दुरासदम् ॥
महसां निधिरित्थमेकभूरमणश्चोलपतिं निरस्य तम् ।
स्वकरेऽकृत चोलमेदिनीमपि तञ्जानगरं तदास्पदम् ॥
उदपादि ततस्तनूभवस्तुलजाराज इति क्षमापतेः ।
परिवृद्धिमुपानयन्मुदं परिवृद्धिं स दधद्दिने दिने ॥
धरणीपरिणीतिमूर्जितामथ शाहाधिपतेर्गुणोदधेः ।
प्रचकार च निर्ववार च प्रभुमौलिः स हि तत्त्वकोविदः ॥
शुभैर्गुणैस्त्र्यम्बकरायधीरः श्रेयानुदर्काव्यभिचारितर्कः ।
देशान्तविश्रान्तयशा महीन्दोरसेवताभ्यर्णममात्यमौलिः ॥
त्र्यम्बकार्यस्य गुणानुकारी नृसिंहरायस्य तदग्रजस्य ।
आनन्दरायस्तनुभूरमात्यः प्राप्तोऽन्तिकं प्रेमपदं क्षितीन्दोः ॥
सेतुनेतुरधुना विपत्तिराकर्णितैव यवनेन्द्रयूथपाः ।
राजरामविषये वितन्वते विप्लवं तदुभयं सुदुःसहम् ॥
भाषितं तदवनीहिमद्युतेराकलय्य नयतत्त्वकोविदः ।
ऊर्जिताश्रयतया मनोहरामभ्यधत्त स गिरं मिताक्षराम् ॥
सेतुनेतुरवसीदतो विना त्वां परं हि शरणं न दृश्यते ।
नैष योद्धुमरिभिः प्रगल्भते संधिकर्म तु न तेऽनुमन्वते ॥
कर्तुमर्हसि तदस्य पालनं पर्युदस्तपरिपन्थिमण्डलम् ।
रक्षणं हि शरणाभिकाङ्क्षिणां त्वत्कुलस्य सहजं गुणं विदुः ॥

इत्यमात्यवचसा स वाहिनीप्रेषणं नरपतिर्मुदाशिषत् ।
अञ्जनाधिकटकं चमूपतिः संनिवेश्य कियतोऽपि सैनिकान् ।
दारुणप्रहरणां चमूं दधत्प्रत्ययात्समिति माधुरं बलम् ॥
प्रस्फुरन्नलिकवर्गनिर्गतप्रौढसीसगुलिकागणैरपि ।
रंहसा धनुषि संहितैः शरैर्माधुरानुदनुदद्भटच्छटा ॥
माधुरौघमधुनीत दारुणे शाहभूपतिचमूस्तदा रणे ।
शाहभूहिमरुचेश्चमूपतिस्तन्निदेशमथ मूर्ध्नि धारयन् ।
सेतुनाथमतनिष्ट हृष्टमाधूतविप्लवमुपेतवैभवम् ॥
तेन सेतुपतिनार्पितां मणिश्रेणिकां च कियतीमपि क्षितिम् ।
शाहभूवलभिदे न्यवेदयद्यूथपः पुनरुपागतो बलैः ॥
श्रुत्वा तद्राजरामक्षितिपतिविपदुद्धारबद्धादरः श्री-
शाहक्ष्मापालमौलिर्यवनविदलनोच्चण्डपाण्डित्यभाञ्जि ।
सैन्यानि स्वैरमश्वद्विपखुरजरजोदानधाराभिरङ्कि-
र्लुम्पान्ति स्थापयन्ति द्रुतमदिशदथामंस्त सेतुं च यातुम् ॥
अथ क्षितीन्द्रो रघुनाथसेतुं प्रातिष्ठताखण्डलविक्रमश्रीः ।
निषेव्यमाणः पृतनाप्रकाण्डैश्चण्डैः प्रतापैरिव मूर्तिमद्भिः ॥
स्नातः पयोधौ विधिना स रामकोदण्डकोटिव्यतिषङ्गधन्ये ।
ततः क्षितीन्द्रः सचमूसमूहस्तञ्जानगर्युन्मुखतां दधानः ।
प्रतिष्ठते स्मानुपमानतेजा हेमन्तलीलामवलोकमानः ॥
पौरैः समुत्कैरिति सेव्यमानस्तञ्जापुरीं प्राविशदुर्वरेन्द्रः ।
पुष्पस्फुरत्तोरणधोरणीभिर्हिमाम्बुसेकैरपि लोभनीयाम् ॥
ततो निदिष्टस्य बलस्य राजरामावनोदारगुणां जयाङ्काम् ।
उपानयंश्चारवराः प्रवृत्तिं सिंहासनोल्लासिनि शाहभूपे ॥
बलैर्महाराज भवन्निदिष्टैर्दिल्लीन्द्रसैन्यानि विदारितानि ।
स राजरामश्च तथाभिगुप्तस्तदञ्चति त्वां महती यशःश्रीः ॥
दिल्लीपतेः संप्रति यूथपालाः केचिद्गृहीता दलिताश्च केचित् ।
विदारिताः केऽपि विभो त्वदीयैर्हताश्च तत्सिंधुरसैन्धवौघाः ॥
स्वात्मा यदुज्जीवति रक्षति क्ष्मां तत्त्वत्प्रसादादिति राजरामः ।
स मन्यते भूवलयामरेन्द्र तदप्रतीपस्तव हि प्रतापः ॥
प्रमोदसान्द्रः क्षितिपालचन्द्रः श्रुत्वेति वाणीमधिगोष्ठि तेषाम् ।
संमानतोऽहर्षयदाशु चेतस्तस्य प्रसादो न हि जातु वन्ध्यः ॥
ग्रामोत्तुङ्गतुरङ्गदन्तिशिबिकाहेमाभिषेकादिभिः
सानन्दं कविवृन्दमाकलयतः शाहेशितुः कीर्तयः ।

मुक्तादामपरंपराः परिलसन्मल्लीमतल्लीस्रजो
भद्रश्रीरचना भजन्ति ककुभामाकल्पमाकल्पताम् ॥
* * * * *
पश्यत्पादनयादिमाखिलनयस्वातन्त्र्यमन्यादृशं
धर्मिग्राहकमानसिद्धममृतस्फीताश्च यस्योक्तयः ।
तस्य श्रीधरवेङ्कटेशसुधियो लिङ्गार्यसूनोः कृतौ
श्रीशाहेन्द्रविलासकाव्यतिलके सर्गोऽजनिष्टाष्टमः ॥

Sâhêndravilâsakâvya.

(8) **Sâmavêda Veṅkaṭêśvara Śâstrin**, who wrote the *Upagranthabhâshya* and several other works in connection with the Sâmavêda. He was the son of Ikkiri Appâ Śâstrin already mentioned among the learned men of the village of Kaṇḍaramâṇikyam.

अस्ति प्रयागाभिधमुत्तमं नः पदं पृथिव्यां त्रिजगत्प्रसिद्धम्।
तत्राप्लुतासो दिवमुत्पतन्ति श्रुतिर्यदीयं महिमानमाह ॥
तत्र कौशिकगोत्राणां वैश्वामित्राघमर्षणैः ।
कौशिकप्रवरो येषां साङ्गाध्ययनशालिनाम् ।
बहुश्रुतानां साधूनां सुशीलानां सुधर्मिणाम् ॥
आब्रह्मसोमविच्छेदरहितानां कुलोद्भवः ।
श्रीनिवासाभिधो विद्वानप्पाशास्त्रीति विश्रुतः ॥
पूर्णानन्दयतित्वं च प्राप्यान्ते ब्रह्मतां गतः ।
तस्यात्मजोहं नाम्ना मामुर्व्यां सर्वे वदन्ति हि ॥
वेङ्कटेश्वरशास्त्रीति कात्यायनमहामुनेः ।
उपग्रन्थस्य तस्यैव कृता व्याख्या तदाज्ञया ॥
गायत्रगानं निर्णीतं ऋक्स्वरस्यापि निर्णयः ।
सुब्रह्मण्यस्वरस्यापि निर्णयः शास्त्रतः कृतः ॥
सामव्याकरणस्यापि व्याकृतिर्विशदीकृता ।
सामतन्त्राभिधानस्य सामस्वरविधानतः ॥
यज्ञेषु चमसादीनां भक्षणस्य च निर्णयः ।
आपस्तम्बमुनीन्द्रस्य तात्पर्येण ततः परम् ॥
आपस्तम्बस्य सूत्रस्य प्रावभेदे च निर्णयः ।
छान्दोग्यभाष्यं विदुषां कृतमान्तं च यन्मतम् ॥
श्रौतोपासाविधिश्चैव मया संव्याकृतोऽभवत् ।
सामव्याकरणस्यापि सामतन्त्रस्य च स्फुटम् ॥
व्याकृतिं गणनाथो मे कृतवान्हृदयस्थितः ।

कात्यायनकृतस्यैव प्रायश्चित्तविधेरिह ॥
व्याख्यां संग्रहतः कृत्वा प्रयोगस्य च निर्णयम् ।
सर्वेषामुपकाराय याज्ञिकानां करोम्यहम् ॥
काहं कचैष निगमार्णवरत्नकुंभः
कात्यायनस्य करुणानिधिनैव तेन ॥
सुस्वप्न एत्य कथितं क्रियतां मदीयो-
पग्रन्थभाष्यमिति सा कुरुते तदाज्ञा ॥

Upagranthabhâshya.

Another contemporary of Râmabhadra-Dîkshita was **Appâ Dîkshita or Appâdhvarin of Mâyavaram,**[6] who wrote his *Âchâranavanîta* between A. D. 1696-1704, in the reign of Sâhajî I. Other works by the same author are the *Madanabhûshaṇabhâṇa* and the *Gaurîmâyûrachampû.* He belonged to the Srîvatsa *gôtra* and his father's name was Chidambara-Dîkshita of Killayûr. In A. D. 1696, in the Cyclic year Dhâtṛi, during the reign of Sâhajî, he went to Tanjore to attend the *yâga* (sacrifice) performed by Tryambakâmâtya-Dîkshita (*i. e.* Tryambakarao Peshva). The latter was then officiating as minister in place of his elder brother's son Ânandarâyamakhin (Ânandarao Peshva), who was still a youth. After the sacrificial ceremonies were over, the king detained Appâ Dîkshita at Tanjore for about three months in order to hear him recite the *Mahâbhârata.* On his departure after three months, he was desired by the king to write a digest on the law, religion, and customs of the country. He, accordingly, began the *Âchâranavanîta* in A. D. 1696, and together with his son completed it after a lapse of eight years in A. D. 1704.

It begins as follows :—

वन्दे गुरूनुदयमूर्तिबुधाभिधाना-
न्यद्गोविजृम्भणमहो जगतस्तमोनुत् ।
तान्पिङ्गशाख्यभिधलोकगुरोः पुराण-
पुण्यानुभावकृतभूमितलावतारान् ॥
गौरीमायूरनाथाङ्घ्रिपद्मेन्दिन्दिरमानसः ।
अप्पाध्वरी वितनुते सदाचारस्य संग्रहम् ॥
आलत्तूरधिवासस्य पिङ्गशास्त्रिबुधेशितुः ।
आचारनवनीताख्यं निबध्नाति कृपाबलात् ॥
किंचिदज्ञः काहमप्पाध्वरिपदविदितो धर्मशास्त्रं क चेदं
वेदेभ्यः प्रोद्धृतं यन्मनुमुखमुनिभिर्वेदतत्वार्थविद्भिः ।
किंतु स्वाधीनवृत्तेर्वेटविटपितले सेव्यमानस्य शिष्यै-
र्बुद्धेः संप्रेरकस्य प्रकटितयशसः पश्यत प्रौढिमानम् ॥
श्रीशाहक्षितिपालनायकदयादत्तान्नभोगोल्लस-
द्बुद्ध्युत्कर्षविभावितश्रुतिबहुस्मृत्यर्थसारोदयः ।
सभ्यानां प्रमदाय सर्वविषयान्धर्मान्रहस्योत्तरा-
न्संगृह्णाति मितैः पदैरधिवसन्मायूरमप्पाध्वरी ॥

[6] This author has been already mentioned on p. 137 above.

End :—

धातुवर्षे यदा यज्ञसेवार्थमहमागतः ।
श्रीमहाराजराजस्य मन्त्रिणस्त्र्यम्बकप्रभोः ॥
महाराजस्तु मां प्रीत्या स्वसभायामवासयत् ।
भारतश्रवणार्थाय रात्रिंदिवमुदारधीः ॥
यदा मासत्रयादूर्ध्वं प्राप्यानुज्ञां महीपतेः ।
गन्तुमिच्छामि च तदा धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धने ॥
महाराजेन चाज्ञातो गौरीमायूरमागतः ।
तस्मिन्वर्षे वृश्चिकार्के धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधेः ॥
एकेनैव मया पुत्रयुक्तेन शनकैः कृते ।
बुद्धिदण्डेन मथने रात्रिंदिवमनेकधा ॥
अष्टभिर्लब्धवानस्मि वत्सरैस्तत्फलं महत् ।
आचारनवनीतं तन्मृदु सर्वमनोहरम् ॥
महाराजस्य दयया तत्संग्राह्यमभूद्भुवि ।
समाप्तं पञ्चदशभिः सहस्रैर्ग्रन्थसङ्ख्यया ॥
प्रचारोऽस्य महाराजाधीन एव हि सर्वथा ।
अहमप्पाध्वरी नाम्ना महाराजेन सादरम् ॥
दत्तां महीं समादाय * * * * दिसंभृतैः ।
धान्यैः परंपरासिद्धे ग्रामे कृष्या समार्जितैः ॥
कुर्वन्कुडुम्बभरणं पुत्रपौत्रैः समावृतः ।
श्रेयः प्रार्थयमानः सन्महाराजस्य सन्ततम् ॥
आयुःशेषं सुखं वस्तुमिच्छाम्यग्निक्रियान्तिके ।
मनोरथो महानेष महाराजेन पूर्यताम् ॥
एकक्ष्मापतिपूर्वपुण्यसुकृतोत्कर्षेण लब्धोदयो
दीपाम्बोदरवासभाग्यमहिमप्रख्यातपुण्योच्चयः ।
श्रीशाहक्षितिराट् प्रशास्तु वसुधामाचन्द्रमप्पाध्वरी
यद्दत्तान्नबलेन धर्मविषयं शास्त्रं समग्रन्थयत् ॥
श्रीमच्चिदम्बरमखीन्द्रसुतेन वत्स-
वंशाम्बुराशिविधुना विधिशास्त्रमार्गे ।
सञ्चारनिर्मलधिया सकलार्थबोध-
माचारसारनवनीतमिदं गृहीतम् ॥

Again, in his *Madanabhûshaṇabhâṇa*:—

याः सर्वत्र सुधासमाः सुरभितं कुर्वन्ति दिङ्मण्डलं
याभ्यश्च्योतति माधुरी बुधमनःसन्तोषसन्दायिनी ।
याश्चावेक्ष्य सभासदामतितरां मान्या वयं तादृशा-
मप्पायज्वकविर्गिरां कवयिता किं नो भयं संसदः ॥

पारिपार्श्विकः—अस्ति जानामि ॥

तातो यस्य चिदम्बरेश्वर इति प्रख्यातनामा मखी
यद्रात्रिंदिवदत्तहव्यनिवहादानैककृत्याः सुराः ।
श्रीवत्सान्वयवारिधीन्दुरवसद्यः किञ्जयूर्नामनि
श्रीमान्विश्रुतकीर्तिरार्द्रहृदयः पुण्येऽग्रहारे सुधीः ॥
अद्य खलु तत्तनयोऽयं गौरीमायूरमध्यास्ते ।

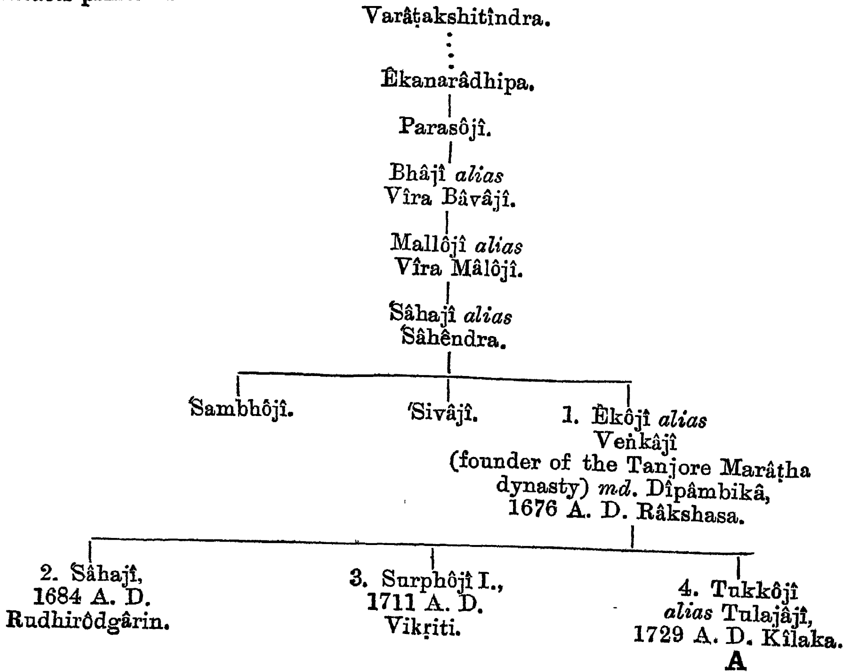
सूत्रधारः—(साभ्युपगमम्) प्रख्यातविद्याः खलु तद्वंशीया जगत्याम् ।

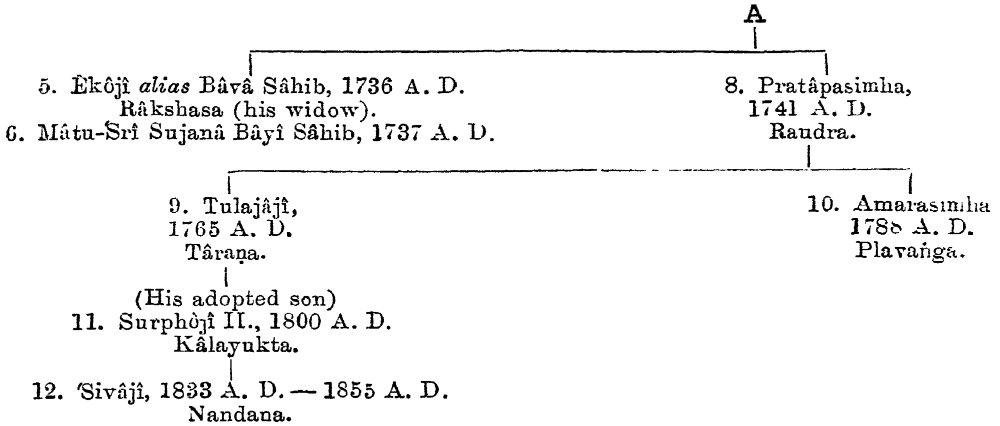
पारिपार्श्विकः—(सशिरःकम्पम्) अस्ति किममुना कविना प्रणीतः प्रबन्धः ।

सूत्रधारः—

किं न श्रुतः कविवरेण कृतस्त्वयासौ
भाणः सभाजनवशीकरणप्रवीणः ।
द्रष्टुर्जनस्य हृदयं परतो निरुन्धे
तत्तादृशो मदनभूषणनामधेयः ॥

In conclusion, I give a revised pedigree of the Marâṭha Râjas of Tanjore, based partly on the extracts printed below it: —





Kâtturâja or Śâhajî II., whose relationship is still uncertain, reigned as the seventh prince for about a year.

आसीदाशावकाशप्रसृतसितयशा दक्षिणाशाविभूषा
शौर्यस्त्रीकेलिसौधायितकरकमलोदग्रराजत्कृपाणः ।
नानादेशोपसीदद्बुधजननिकरस्तूयमानावदान-
श्चण्डांशोरन्ववाये त्रिभुवनमहिते श्रीवराटक्षितीन्द्रः ॥
तदन्ववाये प्रथितप्रभावः श्रीमानभूदेकनराधिपो यः ।
औदार्यशौर्यादिगुणैरवन्यां पुरातनक्षोणिभृतोऽत्यशेत ॥
तस्मादजायत निजायतनं गुणानामाजानबोधविमलः परसोजिनामा ।
यस्य प्रतापदहनं करवालधूमः प्राप्ताविपक्षमनुमापयतीह चित्रम् ॥
अस्तोकाचक्रवालाचलवलयलसत्कीर्तिरासीदमुष्मा-
दासिक्तारातिभूमीपरिबृढदलनोद्दामभीमप्रतापः ।
तत्तादृग्दानलक्ष्मीविहरणकलनासौधहस्तारविन्दो
भूयः पुण्यैरगण्यैर्जनकमनुसरन्वीरबावाजिनामा ॥
तस्मादुद्यत्प्रतापः कमलभव इवाभ्यस्तसत्यानुवृत्ति-
र्जज्ञे पाठीनकेतुप्रमथन इव प्राप्तभूरिप्रकर्षः ।
क्ष्मालक्ष्मीसाहचर्यस्फुरदुरुमहिमा पद्मनाभेन तुल्यः
प्रौढत्यागावधूतामरतरुविभवो वीरमालोजिनामा ॥
तस्यासीत्पूर्णपुण्यः सुरयुवतिगणस्तूयमानप्रशस्तिः
सूनुः शाहेन्द्रनामार्जुन इव नियतं धर्ममार्गानुसारी ।
राकानीहारभानुद्युतिहसनरुचिर्भासुरा यस्य कीर्ति-
र्दानश्रीश्चोज्जिजृम्भे सततमधिधरं कर्णमार्गप्रवृत्ता ॥
तस्मादत्रेरिवासन्विधिहरहरयः पूर्वपुण्यप्रभावा-
देकक्ष्मापालशंभुक्षितिपतिशिवभूजानयो नामतो ये ।
तत्र ज्येष्ठो गुणौघैरपि च जननतः शंभुभूमीमहेन्द्रो
धीरस्तस्यानुजन्मा शिवनृपतिरभूदेकभूभृत्ततोपि ॥

अनेकदुर्गाधिपतिः शिवोसौ सामन्तचूडामणिरञ्जिताङ्घ्रिः ।
चमूपतीनां यवनावनीन्दोः संवर्तकालानलतां प्रपेदे ॥
डिल्लीपुराधीशमुखावनीशदुर्वारगर्वग्रहमान्त्रिकः सः ।
वरूथिनीरन्वहमेतदीया निजप्रतापज्वलने जुहाव ॥
तस्यानुजन्मैकधरावलारिर्मुक्तामणिर्भोसलवंशजातः ।
गुणैरशेषैर्विबुधप्रशस्तैरन्वर्थनामेति यमाहुरार्याः ॥
बुद्ध्या बृहस्पतिसमः किल तस्य मन्त्री काकोजिपण्डित इति प्रथितो बभूव ।
तद्बुद्धिमार्गघटिताखिलकार्यजातः स्वर्गं पुरन्दर इवैष शशास पृथ्वीम् ॥
तस्यैकराजस्य गुणैरनूना वाणी विधातुः कमलेव विष्णोः ।
दाक्षायणीव स्मरशासनस्य दीपाम्बिकाभूत्किल धर्मपत्नी ॥
तस्यामभूवन्नवनीसुधांशोः शाहेन्द्रनामा शरभाभिधानः ।
भुवि प्रतीतस्तुलजाभिधश्च समानरूपाकृतिशालिनोऽमी[7] ॥

Bhôsalavaṁśamuktâvalî.

प्रतापसिंहक्षितिपालतेजसा पराभवन्वह्निरपि स्वयं सदा ।
न शोभते किंतु निलीय नक्तं गृहे गृहे कम्पत एव सर्वदा ॥
प्रतापसिंहक्षितिपालसूनोर्महीभुजः श्रीतुलजाह्वयस्य ।
तेजोविशेषं परिगृह्य पूर्णं विधुं विधिः पर्वाणि साधु चक्रे ॥
श्रीमत्तुलजभूपालसूनोः शरभभूपतेः ।
तेज एव नभोमार्गे सूर्यनाम्ना विराजते ॥
शरभक्ष्मापतेः कीर्तिं श्रुत्वा मौलिः प्रकम्पते ।
भुवः पातभयाच्छेषोऽकर्ण एव ततः कृतः ॥

Bâlabôdhinî by Śêshabhaṭṭa.

BOOK-NOTICE.

ON THE INDIAN SECT OF THE JAINAS. By J. GEORG BÜHLER, C.I.E., LL.D., PH.D. Translated from the German. Edited, with an Outline of Jaina Mythology, by JAS. BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E. (London: Luzac & Co., 1903.)

THE Jainas of India are not a very large community; but there are several points of interest connected with them. We are glad to receive the translation by Dr. James Burgess of a valuable paper read by the late Dr. Buhler at a meeting of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna, in May 1887. It extends to 79 pages.

Dr. Bühler was a very careful and accurate scholar; and it is very satisfactory to have this subject discussed up to date. The translation has been carefully executed and runs in simple natural English. Some useful footnotes have been added by the translator.

The relations of Jainism to Buddhism have not always been properly understood even by professed Orientalists. There are singular resemblances and singular differences between the two systems; and there are approximations of Jainism to Brahmanical doctrine. More than any other creed the Jaina is opposed to the taking of animal life. The Jainas have not taken to agriculture, but mainly to commerce; the former would have involved the death of living creatures. They have built the most splendid temples in India; and they have largely cultivated literature both Sanskrit and popular. Like Buddhism, Jainism is decidedly atheistic.

J. M. M.

[7] Compare also verse 4 quoted on p. 180 above from Veṅkaṭakṛishṇa-Dîkshita's *Uttarachampû*, where Tulaja is called Tukkôjî.

NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

Amôghavarsha I. as a patron of literature.

FROM some time in A. D. 814 or 815, to about A. D. 877-78, there reigned in Western India a king, of the great **Râshṭrakûṭa** dynasty, whose proper name has not yet come to light,[1] and who is best known, by his principle *biruda* or secondary appellation, as **Amôghavarsha I.** That he **began to reign in A. D. 814 or 815,** is shewn by the Sirûr inscription of A. D. 866, as explained in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 204 f. His **latest known record** is the Kaṇheri inscription which is dated, without any further details, in the Śaka year 799 (expired), = **A. D. 877-78.**[2] And a literary statement, noticed on page 199 below, indicates, — if it is applicable to him, as most probably it is, — that he brought his long reign to an end by **abdicating.**

Other birudas of Amôghavarsha I., established by records of his own time, were **Atiśaya-dhavala,** Lakshmîvallabha, Mahârâjaśarva, **Nṛipatuṅga,** and Pṛithvîvallabha.[3] Subsequent similar records present for him the *birudas* of Mahârâjashaṇḍa, Śrîvallabha, and **Vîranârâyaṇa,** and apparently Durlabha.[4] And a literary work entitled *Kavirâjamârga*, which was composed during his reign and under his patronage, and which is the subject of my next Note, puts forward for him the further *birudas* of Kṛitakṛityamalla, Naralôkachandra, Nîtinirantara, and Nityamallavallabha.

There are **literary references to a Nṛipatuṅga,** which most probably allude to Amôghavarsha I., though that same *biruda* belonged to also his successors Gôvinda IV. and Kakka II. Thus, the Kanarese writer Nâgavarma, — the second author of that name, who, as has been shewn by Mr. R. Narasimhachar, flourished about A. D. 1150,[5] — has presented, in illustration of sûtra 74 of his *Kâvyâvalôkana*, a stanza in the Kanda metre which, with the reading *Nṛipatuṁgaṁ* in preference to the various reading *nṛipa-putraṁ*, runs :[6] — Kari-vôl bhadra-guṇaṁ kêsari-vôl nirvyâja-śauryyan=aṁbhônidhi-vôl śaraṇ-âgata-rakshaṇa-paṭu giri-vôl nishkaṁpa-chittan=â Nṛipatuṁgaṁ : — "Possessed of auspicious good qualities like an elephant (*of the bhadragaja class*) ; possessed of unfeigned courage like a lion ; capable like the ocean of protecting those who sought refuge with him ; and immovable as a mountain in his intentions ; (*such was*) that (*well-known or famous*) **Nṛipatuṅga.**" So, also, the Kanarese writer Kêśirâja, — who has been placed by Mr. Rice about A. D. 1225,[7] — has presented in his grammar entitled *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, as an illustration to sûtra 140, part of a stanza in the same metre which runs :[8] — Vîran=udâraṁ śuchi gaṁbhîraṁ naya-śâli kaidu-vottara dêvaṁg=âr=eragar Nṛipatuṁgaṁge : — "Who will not make obeisance to **Nṛipatuṅga,** who was brave and generous and pure and profoundly sagacious and conversant with polity, and was a very god among those who carry weapons ?" And another Kanarese writer, Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka, in his grammar entitled *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsana*, which with its gloss named *Bhâshâmañjarî* and the commentary thereon named *Mañjarîmakaranda* he finished in A. D. 1604,[9] has put forward, in

[1] Regarding some indications that we may expect to find that it either was Nârâyaṇa, or else was a name beginning with Vishṇu, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 100.

[2] Vol. XIII. above, p. 135, No. 43 A.

[3] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 174 f.

[4] See *ibid.* p. 175.

[5] On the points that there were two Kanarese writers named Nâgavarma, that the first of them, the author of the *Chhandômbudhi* and probably of also the Kanarese *Kâdambari*, is to be placed about the close of the tenth century A. D., and that the second of them, the author of the *Kâvyâvalôkana*, the *Karnâṭakabhâshâbhûshana*, and the *Vastukôśa*, flourished about the middle of the twelfth century, see Mr. R. Narasimhachar's remarks in his *Nâgavarmma's Kâvyâvalôkanam and Karnâtakabhâshâbhûshaṇam*, Bangalore, 1903, Introd. pp. 1 to 7.

[6] See the *Kâvyâvalôkanam*, mentioned in the preceding note, p. 55, verse 339.

[7] *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsanam* (see note 9 below), Introd. p. 33.

[8] The Rev. Dr. Kittel's *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, Mangalore, 1872, p. 171.

[9] The full details of the date, — which seems to apply strictly to the completion of the *Mañjarîmakaranda*, — as given in Mr. Rice's *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsanam*, Bangalore, 1890, pp. 290, 291, are the Śôbhakrit *saṁvatsara*, Śâlivâhana-Śaka-varsha 1526 (current), Mâgha śukla 5, Guruvâra, the Rêvatî *nakshatra*, the Kumbha *lagna*, and the rising of Śukra (Venus). And these details are correct for Thursday, 26th January, A. D. 1604. On that day, the given *tithi* ended at about 9 hrs. 55 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain); and, according to all the three systems of the *nakshatras*, the moon was in Rêvatî at sunrise and up to about 12 hrs. 19 min. after mean sunrise.

illustration of sûtra 352, a stanza in the same metre which runs:[10] — Irmmaḍi Baḷige Dadhîchige mûrmmaḍi Jîmûtavâhanaṅgaṁ bageyal nûrmmaḍi Sibigaṁ diṭa sâsirmmadi migil=iḷege châgadoḷ Nṛipatuṅgam: — "Nṛipatuṅga excelled Bali twice, and Dadhîchi three times, and, when you think it over, even Jîmûtavâhana a hundred times, and Sibi certainly a thousand times, in liberality in the world."

The three allusions quoted above do not in any way indicate that the Nṛipatuṅga who was the subject of them was an author. One of them simply praises him for his liberality. And the other two merely eulogise him for various other qualities, amongst which literary attainments are not mentioned. But another passage in the *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsana* does plainly indicate **a Nṛipatuṅga who was, or was believed to have been, an author.** It is found in Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka's commentary on sûtra 288, where, in referring to a certain point of difference between the northern and the southern poets, he has said: — Dakshiṇ-ôttara-mârga-bhêda-bhinna-prayôga-châturî-prapañchô Nṛipatuṅga-granthê drashṭavyaḥ:[11] — "A clever disquisition on the different usages of the varying styles of the south and the north, is to be seen in **the book of Nṛipatuṅga.**" The bearing of this allusion will be explained further on.

We thus have four literary passages, all presenting the name **Nṛipatuṅga,** and one of them tending to indicate its Nṛipatuṅga as **an author.** Two of them, — those which are contained in the *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsana,* — are probably to be quite correctly taken as referring to one and the same person. And we may, without prejudice, take the other two also, — those which are contained in the *Kâvyâvalôkana* and the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa,* — as most likely referring to that same person. But there is nothing in any of them to shew explicitly who that person was. From the second of them, however, — the passage in the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa,* — we may infer that he was **a king.** And we know that the appellation Nṛipatuṅga was a *biruda* of a king, namely Amôghavarsha I., who had reigned for a long time in that part of the country to which the works themselves, from which these passages have been quoted, belong. Also, we know, as will be shewn in my next Note, that that king had been represented as patronising and being personally versed in a certain line of study, to such an extent that a particular work came, and not unreasonably, to be spoken of, in much later times, as "the book of Nṛipatuṅga" in one of the passages quoted from the *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsana.* And there is, therefore, no objection to assuming that the Nṛipatuṅga of all these four passages is that king, namely, **the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha I.** In this, we agree, partially at least, with Mr. Rice, who has already, in 1890, identified with Amôghavarsha I. the Nṛipatuṅga who is mentioned in the two passages quoted from the work of Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka,[12] without, however, assigning any reasons for the identification. And there is at any rate this to be said; namely, that the identification cannot apparently do any harm, inasmuch as it does not entail anything opposed to what we know about the history, both political and literary, of the periods to which belonged Amôghavarsha I. and the authors of the *Kâvyâvalôkana,* the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa,* and the *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsana.*

Evidence that **Amôghavarsha I. was, or was believed to have been, an author,** has been found in the following fact. There is a small Sanskrit tract, of about thirty verses, consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects, and entitled **Ratnamâlikâ** or **Praśnôttaramâlâ.**[13] Among the Brâhmaṇs, some claim that the author of it was Śaṁkarâchârya; while others assign

[10] *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsanam* (see the preceding note), p. 194. — This verse helps to illustrate further my remarks on the title Mûvaḍi-Chôḷa and similar appellations; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 51, note 4.

[11] *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsanam,* p. 161. The word *Nṛipatuṅga* is there printed in italics. I presume that that was done either to emphasise it, or to mark it as a proper name, and not to indicate that it is in any way a doubtful reading.

[12] *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsanam,* Introd. p. 7.

[13] For the matter stated in this paragraph, — except in respect of the fuller reference to the Tibetan translation, for the basis of which I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Thomas, — see Vol. XII. above, p. 218, and Vol. XIX. p. 378 ff., and Dr. Bhandarkar's Report on Sanskrit MSS. for the year 1883-84, Notes, p. 2, and his *Early History of the Dekkan,* in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency,* Vol. I. Part II., p. 200 f.

it to a certain 'Samkaraguru. And the 'Svêtâmbara Jains attribute it to Vimala, by presenting in their recension of it a verse which runs: — Rachitâ sitapata-guruṇâ vimalâ Vimalêna ratna-mâl=êva Praśnôttaramâl=êyaṁ kaṇṭha-gatâ kiṁ na bhûshayati: — "This pellucid *Praśnôttaramâlâ*, or string of questions and answers, has been composed by Vimala, a preceptor who wore the white garment;[14] when it is in the throat (*for recitation*), does it not adorn a man, just like a string of jewels placed on the throat?" On the other hand, **the Digambara Jain recension** of the work presents, at the end, a verse which runs: — Vivêkât=tyakta-râjyêna râjñ=êyaṁ Ratnamâlikâ rachit=Âmôgha-varshêṇa su-dhiyâm sad-alamkṛitih: — "This *Ratnamâlikâ*, or string of jewels, an excellent ornament for the learned, has been composed by **king Amôghavarsha**, who laid aside the sovereignty through discrimination," or, as Dr. Bhandarkar has translated, "through the growth of the religious sentiment," or "in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit in him." Now, the appellation Amôghavarsha belonged, among the Râshṭrakûtas, to also Vaddiga, a great-grandson of Amôghavarsha I., and, amongst others of his descendants, to a member of the family who is known only as Amôghavarsha II., and to Kakka II. And it was not confined to the Râshṭrakûtas; it was, for instance, also another name of the Paramâra king Vâkpati-Muñja.[15] However, Amôghavarsha II. did not reign at all. Kakka II. did reign; but he did not abdicate; he was overthrown by the Western Châlukya Taila II. We do not know of any grounds for thinking that Vaddiga terminated his reign by abdicating. And Vâkpati-Muñja was killed in fighting against Taila II.[16] But Amôghavarsha I. may well have brought his long reign voluntarily to an end, in order to obtain, in his old age, peace and quiet in religious retirement; as was done, just about a century later, though after only a comparatively short period of rule and with the object of apparently at once securing a refuge from all worldly troubles in death, by the great Western Gaṅga prince Mârasiṁha II.[17] And, in these circumstances, we may understand that it was the Râshṭrakûṭa king **Amôghavarsha I.**, to whom the Digambara Jains sought to point as the author, in their opinion, of the *Ratnamâlikâ* or *Praśnôttaramâlâ*. It is to be added that there is **a Tibetan translation** of this tract. This translation has been mentioned on previous occasions, in connection with Amôghavarsha I. And the essential point in it may as well be now stated more fully and definitely. The Tibetan translation exists in two versions. Dr. Schiefner edited one version in 1858. And in his remarks on it he gave a translation of a final verse which stands in only the other version. His German translation of that verse, rendered into English, runs thus: — "This jewel-wreath, made by **Amôghôdaya**, of the king who abandoned his inly established sovereignties, is the best ornament of the wise." In respect of this, Mr. F. W. Thomas has explained to me that the name of the author is expressed by the words *don•yod•ḥchar*, in which *don•yod* is a well-established equivalent of the Sanskṛit *amôgha*, and *ḥchar* means the Sanskṛit *udaya*. From this it follows that Dr. Schiefner was quite justified in restoring the name as Amôghôdaya: that name was distinctly suggested by the text; and, at that time, the Sanskṛit original of the work had not been made known, and little, if anything, was known about any Amôghavarsha. Mr. Thomas, however, has kindly examined a block-print of that Tibetan version, which is in the Library of the India Office. He remarks that, with the Sanskṛit original to guide us, the actual reading *ḥchar*, = *udaya*, may be reasonably corrected into *char*, 'rain,' = *varsha*, *varshâ*, which gives at once the name **Amôghavarsha.** He also finds that, with one or two other equally slight and justifiable emendations, the Tibetan verse reproduces exactly the whole meaning of the original Sanskṛit verse of the Digambara recension. And he has further shewn me that both the Tibetan versions include a colophon, wherein the author is again mentioned as *don•yod•ḥchar*, for *don•yod•char*, = Amôghavarsha, and is described in terms which represent the Sanskṛit *Mahârâja*, *Kavivara*, and *Mahâchârya*. Thus we may safely and finally substitute the name Amôghavarsha for Dr. Schiefner's Amôghôdaya. It must, however, be remarked, though it should hardly be necessary, that even the understanding that the Tibetan translation also indicates an Amôghavarsha as the author of the work,

[14] The text, however, might possibly be taken to mean "by the pure preceptor Sitapaṭa."
[15] See Prof. Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V., Appendix, p. 8, No. 46.
[16] See Vol. XXI. above, p. 168.
[17] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 152.

does not add anything to the value of the Sanskṛit verse. The Tibetan translation, being a translation of the Digambara recension, has naturally repeated the assertion made in that recension. It does not prove the assertion, any more than it would have disproved it if it had happened to present another name through being a translation of, for instance, the Śvêtâmbara recension. And all that we can say, is, that, **according to the Digambaras** the work was composed by an **Amôghavarsha,** and he was **most probably Amôghavarsha I.,** but other sects attribute the work to other authors. We may, however, accept the Digambara recension as indicating that Amôghavarsha I., most probably, was remembered as having **ended his reign by abdicating.**

So far, we have been dealing only with possibilities. We now come to something definite, which does not, indeed, shew that the Râshṭrakûṭa king **Amôghavarsha I.** was himself an author, but which does exhibit him as interested in a certain line of study, and as **a patron of literature** in connection with it.

There is a Kanarese metrical work entitled **Kavirâjamârga,** which deals with *alaṁkâra* or the art of ornate poetical expression. This work forms the subject of my next Note. The composition of this work has been attributed to Amôghavarsha I. That attribution, however, is a mistake. The **author** of the work was a person who has made himself known to us by the name of **Kavîśvara.** But **Amôghavarsha I. was his patron.** The author of the work has made that point quite clear. But, further, he has credited his patron with inspiring at least part of the work, and has also represented himself as expressing his patron's views more or less throughout the whole work. And what we gather from it, is, that **Amôghavarsha I. took, or was credited with taking, a special interest in the subject of alaṁkâra, and directed, or was credited with directing, the composition of this work.** This is the work which Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka, in the seventeenth century, came to mention, in the passage in his *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsana* which has been given on page 198 above and will be referred to again in my next Note, as *Nṛipatuṅgagrantha,* **"the book of Nṛipatuṅga;"** being, no doubt, led to do so from recognising the meaning of the real author of the work, and from noticing the prominent place given in the colophons to the name Nṛipatuṅga, which is further mentioned so conspicuously in the opening verse in addition to being introduced in various other passages.

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS FROM A XVIIth CENTURY MS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART.

(*Continued from p. 160.*)

METCHLI.

Fol. 35. Metchlipatam, Soe called from yᵉ Hindostan ore Moors Languadge word **Metchli** signifieinge fish and patam or Patanam a towne.

Not in Yule. [The word is for Hindostani *machhlî.*]

MOCHA.

Fol. 48. built for yᵉ trade to **Mocho in yᵉ Red Sea.**

Fol. 98. I saw a horne of about 13: or 14: inches longe, in yᵉ Very forme and Shape yᵗ wee picture or carve a Vnicorn's horne it was of a very darke gray colour, I happened accidentally both to See and handle yᵉ Same wᶜʰ gaue me more Satisfaction as to yᵉ Vnicorne then I had before, wᶜʰ Shall be spoken of more at large in yᵉ accompt of **Mocho in the Red Sea** [unfortunately there is no such "accompt" in the MS.].

Not in Yule [This is a pity, because there is a Moca in Sumatra, easily to be mixed up with it in reading the old books.]

MOGUL.

Fol. 140. The Kinge of Syam . . . Sent a New Radja (**a Mogol bred and borne**) to Janselone].

See Yule, *s. v.* Mogul. [An Indian Muhammadan of the ruling class.]

MOGUL, GREAT

Fol. 8. all . . . . these mighty Kingdoms . . . . brought Tributary to **the Great Mogol.**

Fol. 25. and condescendinge Obedience to **yᵉ Mogol.**

Fol. 50. yᵉ Ancestors of yᵉ familie of this present Kinge revolted from **yᵉ Mogoll.**

Fol. 57. As for theire Idolatrous way of worship, they Enjoy it as fully as in any Other place in yᵉ Empire of **the Grand Mogoll** (or territories of Golcondah).

Fol. 59. Orixa: This Kingdome . . . . Subject to **yᵉ Great Mogoll** for yᵉ most part but not altogeather.

Fol. 66. however **yᵉ Mogoll** was Extraordinary kind to him [Emir Jemla's Son] in all Other respects.

Fol. 97. Pattana . . . . longe Since become tributarie to **yᵉ Emperours of Hindostan (or great Mogol).**

See Yule, *s. v.* Mogul, the Great.

MOHUR, GOLD.

Fol. 68. he laded 60 Patellas with Silver and by credible report tenne wᵗʰ **Gold Moors.**

Fol. 72. Where-Vpon he gave in his present of . . . . Some **Gold Moors.**

Fol. 94. They alsoe Coyne Rupees here of yᵉ finest refined Gold wᶜʰ are called **gold Moors,** they are of yᵉ same Stampe, magnitude and weight the Silver ones are . . . . . they passe very currant at $15\frac{1}{4}$ and 15 : $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees each . . . . The **Gold Moore** is Valued att 01 *lb* 14*s* $10\frac{1}{2}$*d.*

See Yule, *s. v.* Mohur, Gold.

MOLUCCAS.

Fol. 3. great Stores are transported and Vended into most places of note in . . . . . . yᵉ South Seas, more Especially to Moneela one of **yᵉ Molucca Isles.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Moluccas. [Quotation valuable as the earliest yet made of the modern spelling.]

MONSOON.

Fol. 31. most Chiefely yᵉ East India Company's goods that were to be Sent that **Monsoone** for England.

Fol. 38. but at Some time of yᵉ **Monzoone** I have knowne them to be at Sea one month.

Fol. 75. yᵉ great raines yᵗ fall here Sometime before yᵉ breakeinge up of the **Monzoone.**

Fol. 81. & then (the **Monsoone** beinge shifted) to goe away with theire Ship and Sloope where they pleased.

See Yule, *s. v.* Monsoon. For a full discussion of this word in all its senses, see *ante*, Vol. XXX, p. 393 ff.

MONSOON PLUMS.

Fol. 175. This Country [Achin] affordeth Severall Excellent good fruites Namely . . . . . **Monsoone Plums.**

Not in Yule. [*masâna*, *mansâna*, Malay, through Portuguese *maçâo*, is the *zyziphus jujuba* or Indian plum, the commonest North Indian term for which is *bêr*.]

MONTAPOLY.

Fol. 31. Salt peeter, Iron, Steele, wch is brought downe from ye high land Over this place wch is called **Montapolee.**

Not in Yule. [But see his *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 297. It is on the Madras Coast near Masulipatam.]

MONTHLY PAY.

Fol. 41. I have knowne Some persons . . . . keep above 300 [punes] in constant Sallary, wch is Ordinarily **2 rupees every Moone.**

Not in Yule. [A valuable reference to the old Indian custom of payment by the month, still obtaining for every kind of servant, from highest to lowest; official, commercial, and private.]

MOOLLAH.

Fol. 171. those taken aliue were put to death every man Save One who Vpon his Examination was found to be a **Mola** : or **Mahometan Priest.**

Fol. 172. att wch one **Mola** or Other Vttereth 2 or 3 Sentences.

See Yule, *s. v.* Moollah.

MOOR.

Fol. 8. these mighty Kingdoms were in a Short Space wholy Subdued by ye **Moors** . . . . . . all of them now in generall wholy Submittinge to ye Mahometan yoke.

Fol. 29. ye ffrench who in ye yeare 1672 tooke ye Citty St Thomæ from ye **Moor's** forces.

Fol. 36. The ffrench had a ffactory in this place [Metchlipatam] not many years agoe, but Since these troubles of St Thomæ, A Citty 3 English miles Southward of ffort St Georg's (they beinge Ambitious of honour & Conquest in these Easterne parts of ye World) tooke that Citty from a Small handfull of **Moors** . . . . . . they tooke St Thomæ wth much Ease, and kept it but 3 years and with much trouble and losse.

Fol. 37. The ffrench Chiefe Resident in Metchlipatam was killed by ye **Moors,** what more of them there made their Escape by Sea.

Fol. 39. Most Eminent Men that inhabit Metchlipatam and Guddorah are Mahometans vizt **Moors** and Persians.

Fol. 41. The Governour of Metchlipatam is a **Moore.**

Fol. 44. The **Moors** have wth in a Very few years put many grievous Affronts, both Vpon ye English and Dutch.

Fol. 49. there are many **Moors,** beinge ye Retinue of ye Governour.

Fol. 56. Some ffortifications alsoe but all Vnder ye Goverment of ye **Moors.**

Fol. 59. Orixa . . . Subject to ye Great Mogoll for ye most part but not altogeather by reason of Severall Radjas who before (ye Mahometan Conquest of ye Hindoos) possessed this Kingdome some of wch are not as yet Subdued and brought Vnder ye **Moorish** Yoke.

Fol. 73. ye **Moors** Governours haveinge Strict Orders to see them finished with all Speed and gunned and well manned.

Fol. 80. The Commadore mentioned ye treaty of Peace, att wch ye **Moors** Governour Seemed to be Struck wth an admiration.

See Yule, *s. v.* Moor, an Indian Muhammadan. [See *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 396 f.]

MOOREES.

Fol. 31. Very Considerable quantities of these followinge Commodities are here [Pettipolee] wrought and Sold to fforaign Merchants vizt . . . . . **Murrees.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Piece-Goods, ed. 1903. [*N. and E.* p. 18, for 13th April 1680, — has "**Moorees** ordinary : **Moorees** fine. ? a loin-cloth.]

MOORS.

Fol. 35. Metchlipatam, Soe called from yᵉ **Hindostan ore Moors Languadge** word Metchli signifieinge fish and patam or Patanam a towne.

See Yule, *s. v.* Moors, the Hindustani Language. [The above quotation is a century earlier than any of Yule's.]

MOSQUE.

Fol. 8. **the Mosquees or Tombs of yᵉ Mahometans.**

Fol. 45. They Congregate yᵉ people to their **Mosquees** 4 times a day by Voice of man.

Fol. 51. yᵉ **Mosquees** and Tombs of yᵉ deceased Kings and Queens.

Fol. 174. all that piece of land whereon Standeth the Pallace yᵉ great **Mosquee.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Mosque = *Masjid.* [*N. and E.* p. 14, for 28th March 1680,—"was a Mussleman and built a **Musseet** in the Towne to be buried in." With reference to this quotation it is interesting to note that it relates to the death of the great Broker "Cassa Verona" [Kâśî Virunna] and the dispute among the Natives as to whether he was a Hindu or a Musalman: a dispute that has arisen over other well-known personages, *e.g.*, Kabîr, the reformer.]

MUCOA.

Fol. 27. fishermen or yᵉ like, those are called **Moquaes.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Mucoa, a fisherman on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts. [*N. and E.* often refers to them. P. 3 for 9th Feb. 1680: "The 7 **Muckwars** or Mussulamen (whereof one since dead) that have been imprisoned ever since July last about a man then drowned were now discharged of their imprisonment." P. 37 for 27th Oct. 1680: "the **Muckwas,** Cattamaran-men and Cooleys had left the Town privately upon a combination." P. 39 for 26th Nov. 1680: "25 **Muchwas** captured by the peons at Sᵗ Thoma." P. 40 for 7th Dec. 1680: "The Chief men of the **Muckwaes** being captured and committed to prison, all the rest came in and submitted themselves." The "Mussulamen" above means Mussoola-boatmen.]

MULMUL.

Fol. 158. ffrom Bengala . . . . **Mulmuls.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Mulmull, muslin.

MULTAN.

Fol. 62. to the Eldest Dara he gave Cabul and **Multan.**

Not in Yule.

MUSK.

Fol. 61. This Kingdome [Bengala] most plentifully doth abound with . . . **Muske in Codd and out of it.**

Fol. 101. with a Considerable investment of each Nation in **Codde Muske,** wᶜʰ is here [in Pattana] found to be very good, it is in generall taken from a Small deere of about 2 foot high, of wᶜʰ this Countrey doth mightilie abound . . . . a muske deere . . . Great quantities of **Muske** brought from Cochin-China and China it selfe.

See Yule, *s. v.* Musk. [The quotations above are useful.]

MUSLIN.

Fol. 3. provideinge great quantities of **Muzlinge** Callicoes &c.

Fol. 56. great Store of Calicos are made here most Especially beteelis (wᶜʰ wee call **Muzlin).**

Fol. 101. from Dacca: The Chiefe Commodities brought are fine Cossas, commonly called **Muzlinge.**

Fol. 162. And there wee pay for y^e^ Chopp 2 pieces of very fine callicos or **Muzlinge.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Muslin. [All the above quotations are useful for the history of this word. See *ante*, Vol. XXVIII. p. 196.]

MUSSOOLA.

Fol. 27. The boats they doe lade and Vnlade Ships or Vessels with . . . . are called **Massoolas.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Mussoola. [*N. and E.* p. 3, for 9th Feb. 1680, has "**Muckwars or Mussulamen.**"]

MUSSULMAN.

Fol. 39. Mahometans vizt Moors and Persians, a Sort of most Insolent men, Entitleinge themselves **Mussleman** vizt true believers although very Eroniously.

Fol. 57. little or noe justice is to be acquired where ye Mahometans are Lords Over them, for if complaint be made to ye high Court of Iustice, ye **Mussleman** as they call themselves, Shall Certainly carry it (if he appeare in Person). Onely wth this one Saying Ka **Mussleman** jute bolta: Will a true believer lye.

Fol. 65. it is against ye laws of God and his Prophet Mahomet he not beinge a **Mussleman,** ergo begged of him to desist such his desires.

Fol. 81. And now the Moors come Vpon them for Satisfaction for a great Number of **Musslemen** they had killed and taken Prisoners.

See Yule, *s. v.* Mussulman. [The last quotation is an interesting early example of a mistake still sometimes made. See *ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 112.]

MYLAPORE.

Fol. 25. A Naique that liued neare **Mylapore vizt St Thomae.**

Not in Yule. [It is now a part of Madras itself.]

MYROBALAN.

Fol. 82. They [Portugals] make many Sorts of Sweetmeats vizt . . . . . . **mirabolins.**

Fol 175. This Countrey [Achin] affordeth Severall Excellent good fruites, Namely . . . . **Mirablines.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Myrobalan. [A variously spelt and pronounced term for astringent dried fruits of several species.]

NABOB.

Fol. 65. Emir Jemla: hath now ye Goverment of Bengala Orixa and Pattana firmly by Phyrmand Setled Vpon him with an absolute Power and title of **Nabob.**

Fol. 66. they lost the best of **Nabobs** [in Emir Jemla].

Fol. 69. The Governour hereof [Cuttack] . . . . . . is ye next in place to the Prince himselfe and hath ye title of **Nabob.** Hee is put into place by ye Prince of Bengala and his councell . . . . . . I remember in ye yeare 1674 . . . . a new **Nabob** was Sent from Dacca to Settle in Cattack.

Fol. 70. he passed ye Vsual Ceremonie holding Vp both hand and downe Vpon his heels Sayinge **Nabob** Salamat: vizt Liue O Prince.

Fol 71. The Old **Nabob** of Cattack beinge Sent for to the Court at Dacca.

Fol. 73. Some few days afterwards the **Nabob** rode through ye towne of Ballasore in his greatest State mounted upon a Very large Elephant and thus proceeded towards the Citty Cattack.

See Yule, *s. v.* Nabob; a Muhammadan Viceroy.

NAIK.

Fol. 25. The richer Sort more Especially those in Office, as **Naiques** (for soe yͤ Hindoo Governours are Entitled) . . . . . A **Naique** that liued neare Mylapore . . . . . where yͤ Countrey is Governed by yͤ Gentue **Naiques**.

See Yule, *s. v.* Naik, in its sense of a nobleman.

NARSAPORE

Fol. 37. and there [the ffrench] Sent 4 or 5 men On Shore for Spies to **Narsapore**, who were very Suddenly Surprized in yͤ English ffactory where yͤ Moors cut off theire heads Vpon yͤ doore thrashold [May 1672].

Fol. 46. **Narsapore**: Is yͤ lowest [most Northerly] towne of any Vpon this Coast, it lieth Some 40: or 45 miles below [*i. e.* to the North of] Metchlipatam, haveinge the benefit of an Excellent Riuer, wᶜʰ addeth much to the benefit of the place, and is called **Narsapore river**.

Not in Yule. [An important Factory in the early days of the European trade. See *ante*, Vol. III. p. 354 f.]

NEGAPATAM.

Fol. 142. yͤ Southermost parts of yͤ Choromandell Coast: Vizᵗ . . . **Negapatam**.

See Yule, *s. v.* Negapatam.

NIPA.

Fol. 40. another Sort there is yᵗ distilled from **Neep toddy** and yᵗ is commonly called **Nipa de Goa**.

See Yule, *s. v.* Nipa. [The thatching palm of the estuaries East of the Hugli River, and the liquor distilled from it. It is now known as the **Dhani [Dhunnie] palm.**]

OMRAH.

Fol. 25. and condescendinge Obedience to yͤ Mogol and his **Omrahs**.

Fol. 62. Aurege-Zebe yͤ Emperour's 3ʳᵈ Son haveinge yͤ best ffriends att Court namely of yͤ **Omrahs** and Emperours Councell.

Fol. 67. he kept him at his owne Court, made him one of his Chiefest **Omrahs** and assosiates.

See Yule, *s. v.* Omrah. [It is the plural *umarâ* of *amîr* (ameer, emir), and signifies a high official, a court grandee.]

OORIYA.

Fol. 59. These inhabitants [of Orixa] are called **Ourias**, and be a very poore Idolatrous people.

Fol. 85. yͤ Sufferers yͤ Jgnorant Gentues and **Orixas** . . . . of all Jdolaters in India yͤ **Orixas** are most jgnorant.

Fol. 86. much frequented wᵗʰ wilde beasts, vizᵗ Tygers: Bears: Rhinocerots: &c: wᶜʰ alsoe dreadeth yͤ poore **Orixas** . . . . . Cowries (all yͤ moneys knowne to yͤ jgnorant **Ourias**) . . . The **Ourias** are a Very Strange Sort of Phisicians to theire Sick people.

Fol. 87. and thus all yͤ **Ouria** Sicke folke are served . . . the **Orixas** bury not theire dead, nor burne them as yͤ Gentues doe, but heave them naked into yͤ Riuers.

See Yule, *s. v.* Ooriya, who however gives no quotations. [An inhabitant of Orissa.]

OPIUM.

Fol. 61. This Kingdome [Bengala] most plentifully doth abound with . . . . . **Opium** (the best in Jndia).

Fol. 77. In Exchange for . . . . **Opium**.

Fol. 170. 600 warre Elephants diligently attended and **Opium** 3 times a day giuen them to animate them in yͤ highest degree.

See Yule. *s. v.* Opium.

ORAMMALL.

Fol. 101. ffrom Hugly and Ballasore . . . . **Orammalls.**

Fol. 158. ffrom Bengala . . . . . **Oromals.**

Not in Yule. [? for **rûmâl**, a kerchief; or cloth for a kerchief.]

ORANKAY.

Fol. 143. next to whom [the Sultan] are yᵉ Leximana : **Orongkays**: and Shabandars.

Fol. 146. yᵉ Cape Merchant when he cometh Vp to towne visiteth yͤ **Orang-kay.**

Fol. 161. **yͤ great Orongkay** is Lord Chiefe Justice, there are other **Oronkays** &c: under this . . . . **the great Oronkay** or Some of yͤ Others doe come into yᵉ Pallace and declare theire businesse . . . . . who applyeth himselfe to **yͤ Great Orongkay.**

Fol. 162. he must goe and pay his respects to yᵉ **Orongkay** and wᵗʰ noe Small reverence. first Observinge to pull off his Shoos (although never soe cleane) and leave them att yᵉ doore or in yᵉ Court Yard . . . . . Here must he waite an hour or two before yͤ **Orongkay** will appeare . . . . . . Here yͤ **Orongkay** must be presented with one piece of Baftos to yᵉ Value of 2 tailes.

Fol. 165. they Straight ways giue yͤ **Orongkay** Notice of it . . . . but for what is giuen to the **Orongkay** there is little lost by it . . . . . and the **Orongkay** &c: Officers accompany us . . . . taketh leave of yᵉ **Orongkay,** beinge the chiefe man concerned in all yᵉ Affaires of Shipps and Commerce.

Fol. 173. carried him (and his purchase) before **yͤ great Orongkay** . . . . and in yᵉ presence of yᵉ **Orongkay.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Orankay. [A personage, noble, high official among the Malays.]

ORISSA.

Fol. 3. The Kingdom of **Orixa.**

Fol. 59. **Orixa:** This Kingdome is of noe great Extent, but is an indifferent pleasant Countrey.

See Yule, *s. v.* Orissa. [He gives very few quotations and never the direct Portuguese form above.]

PADRE.

Fol. 29. yᵉ Portugal **Patrees** whose dependance is meerly upon tellinge faire tailes.

See Yule. *s. v.* Padre, a Christian priest.

[*N. and E.* p. 13, for March 19th, 1680, has "would now be buryed by the French **Padrys.**" And *N. and E.* p 37, for 28th Oct., shows that the still existing difference between international courtesies as understood by the English and Continental nations is an old story :—"It is observed that, whereas at the Dedication of a New Church by the French **Padrys** and Portugey in 1675 guns had been fired from the Fort in honour thereof, neither **Padry** nor Portugey appeared at the Dedication of our church nor so much as gave the Governor a visit afterwards to give him joy of it."]

(To be continued.)

GLIMPSES OF SINGHALESE SOCIAL LIFE.

BY ARTHUR A. PERERA.

(Continued from p. 147.)

(9) Amusements and Pleasures.[27]

During the New Year and other festive days **strolling players** (men and women) amuse themselves at open places in the village: they skilfully twirl metal-plates (*neti*) or small tambourines (*raban*) on their fingers or pointed stakes; they keep time to a merry dance by striking together sticks (*likeliya*), by tossing pitchers up in the air and catching them (*kalagedi netîma*), or by thudding their arms against the sides (*dingi gahanavâ*); and they eulogize the hamlet and its people in **extempore verses** (*viridu kiyanavâ*) with the **meaningless refrain,** "*Tana tanamda tânênâ, tanâ, tamda tânenâ, tana tanamda, tana tanamda, tana tanamda, tânênâ.*"

The people also enjoy themselves on the **merry-go-round** (*katuru onchillâva*) — a large revolving wheel on a tall wooden superstructure with seats attached; at theatrical representations called *kôlan netum*, *rûkada netum*, and *nâdagam*; and at divers forms of out-door games.

Kôlan netuma is a series of **dances** of a ludicrous character by actors dressed like animals and demons, **wearing masks** and sometimes perched on high stilts; and the *rûkada netuma* is a **marionette** show of village life.

The *nâdagama* is the **drama,** and for its performance a circular stage is erected with an umbrella-shaped tent over it (*karalia*); booths are erected all round for the audience, who, though admitted free, willingly contribute something into the collection-box brought by the **clown** (*kônangiya*) at the end of the play. Before the drama begins, each of the actors, in tinselled costume, walks round the stage singing a song appropriate to his character, and the **subject usually represented** is either the landing of Vijaya, the Conqueror of Ceylon, or the tragic and insane deeds which led to the deposition of the last of the Royal line.

Buhukeliya (**playing at ball,** a kind of stump cricket) is a popular out-door game; the youngsters take sides, choose their captains, and each party places at a distance of 20 or 30 yards a piece of stick on two cocoanut-shells; a member of one team bowls an unripe *citrus decumana* (*jambolaya*) to knock down the opposite wicket and the opponents try to catch the ball, above the knee-cap, as it comes past the wicket: if the bowler knocks the wicket over, one of the other side has to retire, while the bowler himself goes out if the ball is caught; this goes on alternately till one or other of the teams is all dismissed, and the victory is celebrated with a pleasant mixture of raillery and wit.

For the game of *muttê* (**rounders**) a post is erected as a goal, and one of the players stands by it and has a preliminary conversation with the others:—

Q. — *Kikkiyô.*

A. — *Muddarê.*

Q. — *Dehikatuvada batukatuvada* — Is it a lime-thorn or a brinjal-thorn?

A. — *Batukatuva* — Brinjal-thorn.

Q. — *Man endada umba endada* — Should I come or would you come?

A. — *Umbamavaren* — You yourself had better come.

As soon as the last word is uttered, he gives chase, and they dodge him and try to reach the post without being caught; the one who first gets out succeeds the pursuer.

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[27] For other out-door and in-door games not described in this article, *vide* Ceylon Asiatic Society's *Journal*, Vol. V. No. 18 (1873), p. 17.

Hâlmelê is somewhat different; there is no saving post, and the area that the players have to run about is circumscribed; the pursuer hops on one leg and is relieved by the person that first leaves the circle or is first touched. Before starting he cries out — *Hâḷmelê*. *A.* — *Kanakabarê*. *Q.* — *Enda hondê?* (May I come ?). *A.* — *Bohoma hondayi* (All right).

In *hâvan paninavâ* (the hare's jump) the players hold their hands together forming a line, and one of them (*hâvan* or hare) comes running from a distance and tries to break through it.

To play *mahasop paninavâ* (Mahason's leap)) a figure in the shape of H is drawn; a player guards each line and the others have to jump across them and return without being touched; it is optional to leap over the middle line and is only attempted by the best players, as the demon Mahason (Mahêśâsura) himself is supposed to guard it.

The children, in addition to their tops (*bombara*), bamboo pop-guns (*bata tuvakku*), cut-water (*rômpetta*), bows dunu), and water-squirts (*watura vedilla*), have their own nursery games; when wearied, hide and seek (*hengin muttan*) they sit in a circle and play at less tiring amusements. They hold the backs of each other's palms with their thumb and fore-finger, move them up and down singing "*kaputu kâk kâk kâk, goraka dên dên dên, amutu vâv vâv vâv, dorakada gahê puvak puvak, batapandurê bulat bulat, usi kaputâ usî*," and let go each other's hold at the end of the jingle, which probably means that "crows swinging on a gamboge-tree (*goraka*) take to their wings when chased away (*usi, usi*), and there are nuts in the areca-tree by the house and betel-creepers in the bamboo-grove." Or they close their fists and keep them one over the other, pretending to form a cocoanut-tree; the eldest takes hold of each hand in turn, asks its owner, "*Âchchiyê âchchiyê honda pol gediyak tiyanavâ kadannada?*" (grandmother, grandmother, there is a good cocoanut, shall I pluck it?); and, when answered "Oh, certainly" (*bohoma hondayi*), brings it down. A sham performance of husking the nuts, breaking them, throwing out the water, scraping the pulp and cooking some eatable follows this. Or they twist the fingers of the left-hand, clasp them with the right, leaving only the finger-tips visible and get each other to pick out the middle finger (*meḍa engilla*).

Or they keep their hands one over the other, the palm downwards, and the leader strokes each hand saying, "*Aturu muturu, demita muturu Râjakapuru hetiiyâ aluta genâ manamâli hâl atak geralâ, hiyala geṭat bedâla pahala geṭat bedâlâ, us us daramiti pêliyayi, miti miti daramiti pêliyayi. kukalâ kapalâ dora pilê, kikili kapalâ veṭa mullê, sangan pallâ*" (*Aturu muturu demita muturu*; the new bride that the merchant, Râjakapuru, brought, having taken a handful of rice, cleansed it and divided it to the upper and lower house; a row of tall faggots; a row of short faggots; the cock that is killed is on the threshold; the hen that is killed is near the fence; *sangan pallâ*); one hand is next kept on the owner's forehead and the other at the stomach and the following dialogue ensues: —

Q. — *Nalalê monavâda* — What is on the forehead?

A. — *Lê* — Blood.

Q. — *Ḷlwaturen hêduvâda* — Did you wash it in cold water?

A. — *Ov* — Yes.

Q. — *Giyâda* — Did it come off?

A. — *Nê* — No.

Q. — *Kireṅ hêduvâda* — Did you wash it in milk?

A. — *Ov* — Yes.

Q. — *Giyâda* — Did it come off?

A. — *Ov* — Yes.

(The hand on the forehead is now taken down)

Q. — *Badê inne mokada* — What is at your stomach?
A. — *Lamayâ* — A child.
Q. — *Eyi andannê* — Why is it crying?
A. — *Kiri batuyi nẹtuva* — For want of milk and rice.
Q. — *Kô man dunna kiri batuyi* — Where is the milk and rice I gave?
A. — *Ballayi bẹlalî kêvâ* — The dog and the cat ate it.
Q. — *Kô ballayi bẹlali* — Where is the dog and the cat?
A. — *Lindê vẹtuna* — They fell into the well.
Q. — *Kô linda* — Where is the well?
A. — *Goda keruvâ* — It was filled up.
Q. — *Kô goda* — Where is the spot?
A. — *Ândiyâ pẹla kittevvâ* — There *ândiyâ* plants were planted.
Q. — *Kô ândiyâ pẹla* — Where are the *ândiyâ* plants?
A. — *Dêvâ* — They were burnt.
Q. — *Kô alu* — Where are the ashes?
A. — *Tampalâ vattata issâ* — They were thrown into the *tampalâ* (*nothosœruva brochiata*) garden.

Then the leader pinches the other's cheek and jerks his head backward and forward singing "*Tampalâ kâpu hossa genen* (give me the mouth that ate the *tampalâ*).

Or they solve in rivalry intricate riddles, *e. g.* —

Q. — *Tan-tan-gânnâ tôra evâpan,*
Tin-tin-gânnâ tôrâ evâpan,
Maga-veli-pisinnâ tôra evâpan,
Degambada rajâ tôrâ evâpan.

"Tell me who it is that makes a *tan-tan* sound, who it is that makes a *tin-tin* sound, who it is that scratches the sand in the road, and who it is that is king on both banks of a river."

A. — *Tan-tan-gânnâ gônâ nevêdê,*
Tin-tin-gânnâ lênâ nevêdê,
Magaveli pisinnâ kukulâ nevêdê,
Degambada rajâ kimbulâ nevêdê.

"Is it not the elk that makes a *tan-tan* sound; the squirrel a *tin-tin* sound; the cock that scratches the sand in the road, and the crocodile that is king on both banks of the river."

The Singhalese are musical and always inclined for a song. Their popular music is now confined to the *rabâna* played by ear, and to the violin and its accompaniment the hand tambourine, which have replaced the stringed *vinâva* formed of a polished cocoanut-shell, a guana skin, and a long handle, and the *udakkea*, an hour-glass-shaped drum covered with deer-skin. The ancient war music is at present used for temple processions, and the instruments consist of the *dawula*, a cylindrical drum beaten only on one side with a stick; the *beraya*, a longer drum beaten with the hands; the *tammattama*, a kettle-drum beaten with two sticks curved at the end; the *taliya* or cymbals, the *horanêva*; a clarionet with seven holes, resembling the bagpipe in tone, and the *hakgediya*, a conch-shell trumpet.

As regards **songs**, the farmer labouring on the field or watching his crop at night, the driver as he goes with his heavy-laden cart, the idle cow-boy at even, the toddy-drawer engaged in his morning occupation, the boat-man busy at his oars in the moonlight — all sing some primitive versicle to lighten their labour, *e. g.* —

"*Pun sanda sêma pâyâlâ ıata meddê,*
Ran kendi sêma pîrâlâ pıta meddê,
Mâra senaga vata karagana yama yuddê,
Levkê metındu ada taniyama vela meddê."

"Like full-orb'd moon his glory shone, its radiance filled the world,
His loosen'd hair-knot falling free, in smoothest threads of gold;
Mâra's host beset him — no thought was there to yield;
To-day Lord Levkê's body still holds the lonely field."[28]

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 97.)

[28] The translation is from *Ceylon Archæological Survey* (Kegalle District), 1892, p. 44.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

LADAKHI STONE-IMPLEMENTS.

To my article on 'A Collection of Stone-implements from Ladakh,' *ante*, Vol. XXXII, p. 389 ff, I wish to add the following: —

1. I have since received two sharp-edged stone-axes of a different shape from those illustrated on Plate I., Fig. 2, Nos. 8 and 9. The shape of the new kind is triangular, thus:  The material is a hard kind of slate.

2. A short time ago, Dr. F. E. Shawe, of the British Charitable Hospital at Leh, discovered a new type of stone-implement in one of the houses there, which is still in use, so the owner said. This *kalam*-like implement is used for stamping down the clay between a mould made of boards in use for the erection of rough mud-walls.

3. In my paper there is no mention of the use of stone-hammers in Ladakh, because, though iron-hammers have hardly been introduced as yet, the Ladakhis have not yet attempted to make real stone-hammers. Ordinary stones are used instead. But Thar-rnyed Chos-'aphel, a native of Trashi-lunpo (now a Christian evangelist), informs me that stone-hammers with a wooden handle are largely in use at his native place.

A. H. Francke.

HOBSON-JOBSON.

Here is a valuable quotation for this Anglo-Indianism:

1632. There are certain Customs or Ceremonies used here (Agra) as also in other parts of India viz **Shawsen,** Hooly, Dewally. **Shawsen** by the Moores in memory of one **Shawsen** a great Warrior slain by the Hindooes at the first conquering this country. So that they do not only solemnize his funerals, by making representative Tombs in every place, but as it were promise to revenge his Death, with their drawn Swords: their hair about their Ears, leaping and dancing in a frantic manner with postures of fighting, always crying **Shawsen, Shawsen:** Others answering the same words with the like gestures: it is dangerous then for Hindooes to stir abroad; this they do 9 or 10 Days; and then he is as it were carried to burial.—*Relation Of Agra what notable there, and thereabouts. 1632. MS Travels of Peter Munday.* Extracted from the copy at the India Office Library.

R. C. Temple.

18th April 1904.

THE MOST SOUTHERN HOARD OF BACTRIAN COINS IN INDIA.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.).

ALTHOUGH it is rather late in the day to describe a discovery made more than twenty-five years ago, yet, inasmuch as no detailed account of it has ever been published, a description of the contents of **a small hoard of Bactrian coins** unearthed in Bundelkhand in 1877, and brought to notice by the local officials in 1878, may still be of interest.

A Chamār labourer, while digging for *ḍhāk* roots in a gram-field belonging to Rāmratan Singh, nephew of the *lambardār*, or headman, of the village of **Pachkhura Buzurg in Pargana Sumērpur of the Hamīrpur District,** to the south of the Jamnā, disclosed a pot full of silver coins at a short depth below the surface. The vessel was probably an earthen pitcher, but, according to some accounts, it was of brass. The **coins recovered** in 1878, through the agency of the police, were as follows:—

Eukratides.

Circular, hemidrachmæ, bilingual —

Obv. — Bust of king, helmeted, to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

Rev. — The Dioskouroi, standing to front with lances. Kharōshṭhī legend, which I read at the time as *rajasa maharajasa Eukratidasa,* but is given by Von Sallet (*Nachfolger*, p. 99) as *maharajasa mahatakasa evukrātidasa.*

Three specimens only were found, of which two had an incomplete border line outside the legend on obv., and mon. The third had no border line, and a different mon. (Gardner, *B. M. Catal.* Supplement, p. 165, pl. xxx., 9). Prof. Gardner notes that "on a coin of this class in Gen. Court's collection, the inscription begins *rajasa* (Von Sallet in *Zeit. f. Num.* 10, p. 157)." I presume, therefore, that I read the legend correctly. I did not obtain a specimen of this rare type.

Apollodotos Sōtēr.

I. — Hemidrachmæ, circular. 4 specimens —

Obv. — Elephant to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

Rev. — Indian bull to r. Kharōshṭhī legend, *Mahārajasa Apaladatasa tratarasa.* (*Gardner*, p. 34, pl. ix., 8.)

II. — Hemidrachmæ, square. 29½ specimens. Devices and legends as on the circular coins. Five specimens had no mon.; the others had various mon.; as in *Gardner*, p. 34, pl. ix., 9. I obtained a specimen of the circular variety, which is now in the cabinet of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Menander.

I. — Hemidrachmæ, circular —

Var. 1. *Obv.* — Bust of king, helmeted, to r. 5 specimens. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev. — Pallas, standing l., with ægis in r., and thunderbolt in l. hand uplifted. Kharoshṭhī legend, *Maharajasa tratarasa Minadrasa.* Mon., as in *Gardner*, No. 10, p. 44.

Var. 2. — As above, but king bare-headed. 14 specimens. I obtained an example.

Var. 3. — As *var.* 2, but king to r. 12 specimens.

II. — Didrachmæ, circular —

Var. 1. *Obv.* — Bust of king, helmeted. 1 specimen.

Var. 2. *Obv.* — Bust of king, bare-headed. 8 specimens.

Legends and reverse device as on hemidrachmæ. (*Gardner*, p. 44.) These didrachmæ are very rare. I secured a specimen of the bare-headed variety, which is now, with all the choice coins of my small collection, in Paris.

Antimachos Nikephoros.

Hemidrachmæ, circular. 20½ specimens —

Obv. — Nikē to l.; holds palm and wreath. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

Rev. — King, helmeted, on horseback, to r. Kharōshṭhī legend, *Mahārajasa jayadharasa Aṁtimākhasa*. (*Gardner*, p 55, pl. xiii., 3.)

Summary.

1.	Eukratides	3
2.	Apollodotos Sōtēr	33½ (34)
3.	Menander	40
4.	Antimachos Nikephoros	20½ (21)
	Total ...	98

It is, of course, possible that the number of coins found may have been larger than the number recovered. The hoard was divided, under orders of Government, among the cabinets of various public institutions and private collectors.

Eukratides was undoubtedly the earliest of the four kings whose coins are represented, and, in my opinion, the date of **his accession may be assumed as B. C. 175.** He reigned about twenty years, when he was murdered by one of his sons, while returning from a successful struggle with Demetrios, "king of the Indians." I agree with the view ably supported by Cunningham (*Num. Chron.* 1869, pp. 241—243) that **Apollodotos was the parricide,** and further agree with him in **regarding Apollodotos Sōtēr and Apollodotos Philopator as one person.** The British Museum Catalogue distinguishes them as two separate kings, although many of the coin legends include both titles. The murder of Eukratides, and the accession of Apollodotos to independent power in the Indian borderland, may be dated in B. C. 156.

Menander was king of Kābul. His invasion of India may be dated with a near approach to accuracy in the years B. C. 155—153, during the reign of Pushyamitra Sunga.

The position of Antimachos Nikephoros is uncertain, and there is nothing definite to show whether he lived earlier or later than Menander.

Sufficiently good evidence warrants the belief that in the course of his invasion **Menander besieged both Madhyamikā (now Nāgarī) in Rājputāna and Sāketa in Southern Oudh, and that he threatened Pāṭaliputra.**[1] If Antimachos Nikephoros was earlier in date than Menander, it is possible that the Pachkhura hoard may have been brought into the interior by some member of Menander's army. **Bactrian coins have never been discovered to the south of the Jamnā on any other occasion.** The coins of all the four kings were in good condition, and many of the specimens were fine.

[1] The authorities for the invasion of Menander will be discussed in my forthcoming work, *The Early History of India*, which will be published by the Clarendon Press in October.

TATTOOING IN CENTRAL INDIA.

BY CAPTAIN C. E LUARD, M.A.,
Superintendent of Ethnography in Central India.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

I AM afraid that the information I am at present able to give on this subject is somewhat sketchy, but I hope to be able to communicate further details when the work of the Ethnographic Survey is taken up in the States of this Agency. I have decided, however, to publish such notes as I have collected, in the hope that they may be of use for comparative purposes. Before actually turning to the subject-matter, I would remark that we can roughly divide Central India into three groups : —

I. — **The Bundelkhand, or Eastern Section.** — Tattooing is restricted to females, and the breast and abdomen are not tattooed.

II. — **The Mālavā, or Western Section.** — Tattooing is less restricted to females, and the breast is almost invariably adorned, the abdomen only occasionally.

III. — **The Wild-tribe Section.** — In this group men are often tattooed, though with fewer devices than the women, the breast, abdomen, thighs and even back being adorned.

Origin of the Custom. — There is, so far as I am aware, **no mention of the custom of tattooing in the Śāstras,** and there are no definite legends as to its origin, though it is said generally to be an invention of the "Dvāpar (Third) Age." I am inclined to think that it is here primarily nothing more than a form of decoration, and is used to increase the attractiveness of the female in the eyes of the other sex, a common use for it among savage tribes in all parts of the world.[1] A few instances of its use for talismanic purposes have come to light, but they seem to me to be modern inventions. One thing is certain, and that is that the wearers of these devices only look upon them as ornamental and decorative devices, with no deeper significance. The only legend I have gathered is a modern one, which states that Kṛishṇa once disguised himself as a Natnî in order to tattoo Rādhā. In this connection there is a verse advocating the tattooing of Kṛishṇa's names on the body : —

1. दे लिखवाहन मे ब्रजचंद्र गोल कपोल कुंजबिहारी ॥
2. त्यों पदमाकर याही हीये हरि गोसे गोबिंद गरे गिरधारी ॥
3. या बिधसे नखसे सिखलो लिख नाम अनंत भव भै प्यारीं ॥
4. श्यामरेकी रंग गोद दे गात है गुदनानकी गोदनहारी ॥

1. Write on arms Brajchandra[2] (and) on round cheeks Kunjbihārī.[3]
2. Padamākara[4] says, likewise inscribe (on) the bosom Hari[5] (and on other particular parts) Gobinda[6] (and on the neck) Girdhārī.[7]

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[1] See Chapter IX. in Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage.*
[2] *Lit.*, moon of Brajmaṇḍal (present Mathurā district), or light of Braj, a name of Śrī Kṛishṇa.
[3] *Lit.*, one who disported in the groves.
[4] A poet who wrote much about the Central India people.
[5] A common name of Vishṇu, and hence applicable to Śrī Krishṇa, who was an incarnation of Vishṇu.
[6] A name of Śrī Kṛishṇa. This name was used by Indra in addressing him when apologising for his conduct in pouring the tremendous rain-storm over Brajmaṇḍal. See Chapter XXVI. of Captain Holling's translation of *Prēmsāgar.*
[7] *Lit.*, lifter of the mountains, from his lifting of the Govardhan hill on his little finger.

3. In this way from head to foot write[8] out, O dear one, the innumerable names known in the world.

4. Oh Tattooer! get my body tattooed (with) the dark blue colour of Śrī Kṛishṇa.

Classes that Tattoo. — Tattooing is practically confined to Hindus and the jungle tribes; the lower classes of the former and all the latter decorating themselves profusely in this manner. The higher classes of Hindus are employing tattooing more and more sparingly I am told, and the designs are not only less numerous but also drawn on a smaller scale.

As regards the sexes, men are practically never tattooed in Bundelkhand, the Eastern Section; it is less uncommon in Mālavā; and quite common among the wild tribes. But even when men are tattooed, they are less profusely adorned with marks than women are. I am told that the Gahlōt Rājputs (of Bhōpāl) have a clan device, but I have been unable to verify this.

I have come across no instance of the use of tattooing to mark male puberty, nor have I been able to trace the least connection between this custom and religion, although it is supposed that women are better fitted to do acts of worship when they have certain marks upon them. The habit is certainly not declining, and new marks are still devised, as, for instance, the "Engine" used by Railway employés.

Methods of Tattooing. — (*a*) *General.* — Tattooing amongst Hindus is done by the females of the wandering tribes, such as Naṭs, Dhēḍs, Kanjars, Banjāras, &c., who make regular cold weather tours. In Bundelkhand Basōrs and Bhangīs are tattooed by Parkīs, a degraded caste who can feed with them. Although tattooing is usually done by these tribes, others are by no means prohibited from doing it, but as a rule the skill is lacking.

Among the jungle tribes it is done by any old woman of the tribe. In no case is tattooing ever done by men. These professional tattooers on entering a village have a regular cry — "Ohē! Ohē! a lovely scorpion, or beautiful peacock, for a pice, Ohē"! The women-folk at once gather round and trade begins.

(*b*) *Process.* — The instrument used is a bundle of four (or six) needles tied together in the middle, or made into a kind of comb. The jungle tribes often use Bābūl (*Acacia arabica*) thorns instead. The operator, on arrival, shews all her designs, drawing them in lamp-black on the part of the body where they will be stamped. When a design is approved of, it is at once executed. I may mention that it is usual for a young girl to have one device copied from among those her mother wears, but there is no rule whatever as to this, nor does any special significance attach to such a copy. The design selected, the operator seats herself before the patient and draws the device in lamp-black in the proper place. She then seizes the skin under the design with the left hand and stretches it, and, while doing so, strikes the needles sharply along the lines of the device, dipping them in the pigment each time, and then rubbing more pigment in with her hand.

In Bundelkhand, when the design is finished, the operator, in order to avert the evil-eye, takes a handful of flour (gram) mixed with salt and casts it into the fire. In these parts it is also considered a good thing that the patient should make her blood circulate briskly; it is said to "settle" the design. Poor women are set to grind for half an hour or so, while the rich carry pots of water about. Dieting is not common. I have noted its use in a few individual cases.

(*c*) *Pigments.* — Various pigments are used, but it may be remarked that only two colours are employed in Central India, blue-black and green; the latter is commonest in Mālavā. The dark-black seen in the United Provinces is not met with in Central India.

(1) Dharba (*Poa cynosuroides*) grass juice and turmeric; gives a dark-green colour.

[8] *Lit.*, from nails to hair on the head.

(2) The bark of the Biyān tree (?) soaked in the water from a *hukka* and mixed with turmeric and lamp-black; gives a green colour.

(3) Bark of the Sīsam (*Dalbergia sisoo*) tree soaked in water with turmeric; gives a green colour.

(4) Cow's milk mixed with the juice of the Karīla plant (*Capparis aphylla*); this is used only by Mālavī Mhārs.

(5) The juice of Nīm-tree (*Melia azadirachta*) leaves mixed with lamp-black; gives a green colour.

(6) In Bundelkhand a "blue-black" is produced by mixing lamp-black with the bark solution of the Biyān tree.

(7) The juice of Māhuā (*Bassia latifolia*) and lamp-black; gives a green colour.

(8) Juice of the Karīla mixed with that of Balur[9] (?); gives a green colour.

Age of Tattooing. — The process of tattooing commences at about five or six years of age, the designs being added to gradually. In Bundelkhand unmarried girls are as a rule only tattooed on the hands, other parts being done after marriage. Tattooing thus becomes a sign of marriage, but not of puberty. The Sarwariyā Brahmans, however, tattoo their married girls only. Widows are only tattooed in the lower classes where widow remarriage is allowed, and then only on re-marriage.

Tattoo marks and their meanings. — On this point the reader must refer to the attached diagrams. Generally it is the parts exposed to view that are dealt with, the practice within certain limits varying in the three groups into which I have divided Central India. I have come across no special devices.

We may arrange the parts adorned thus: — **Decorated by all three groups** — (1) Forehead, between the eyes. (2) Arms — upper; fore. (3) Hands — back; palms, rare; fingers; wrists. (4) Feet and ankles. (6) Calves. (7) Neck.

In the Mālavā group add,—

(*a*) Breast, usual. (*b*) Abdomen, rare.

In the jungle-tribe group add,—

(*a*) Breast. (*b*) Abdomen, usual. (*c*) Thighs. (*d*) Back, rare.

As to what the signs mean I have been able to discover little; all that the people could tell me was what the sign was intended to represent. I could nowhere discover that any deep meaning was supposed to be attached to the symbols; increase of attractiveness was, as I have already said, the principal reason assigned for undergoing the process. The designs, moreover, are the same practically among high and low, probably because the operators in each case are the same people, the only difference being that of quantity, which varies inversely with social position. Symmetry there is none, nor are marks hereditary, though a daughter as a rule adopts some one of the designs her mother has worn. As a rule, any part of the body may be done first, except in the case of unmarried girls in Bundelkhand, and a few others which will be found under the particular instances which I have given. The devices representing bracelets, necklaces, &c., are designed to give the wearer the wherewithal to appear in the next world; these jewels she is supposed to be able to take with her.

The following *Dohā* refers to this: —

Dohā. दोहा.

चतुरनार पहनो घडो सुगड लियो अपने अंग ॥
उतारे से उतरे नहीं सो गयो जीवके संग ॥

[9] Bālor (?) is a vegetable, I am informed.

which may be translated as follows :—

> "An intelligent woman executed (some) ornaments, which a decent one put on her person. (They are such) ornaments as cannot be put off, but which will accompany the soul (to the other world).

I know of no case of tattooing idols or cattle.

THE TATTOO MARKS.

I will now proceed to discuss a series of marks actually taken down off people. Many are repeated — indeed, the actual number of designs is not really large, but the variation in the forms is considerable, and I will therefore give the whole collection as it stands. It has not been everywhere possible to give an English equivalent.

I.

THE BUNDELKHAND OR EASTERN SECTION.

(Collected by Rai Saheb Kashi Prasad.)

No.	Designs or marks.	Names of designs.	English names.
1		माछी	Māchhī (? fish).
2		पुरेनका फूल . ..	Purēn kā phūl (the lotus-flower).
3		चलनी	Chalnī (sieve).
4		जवा...	Javā (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*).
5		घिनौची	Ghinōchī (chatty-stand).
6		हिन्ना	Hinnā (deer).
7		मथानीका फूल ...	Mathānī kā phūl (name given to the bottom of a churning rod).

No	Designs or marks.	Names of designs.	English names.
8		विछू	Bichhū (scorpion).
9		चपेटा	Chapētā (impression of palm of hand).
10		पिडी...	Pīḍī (native stool).
11		लौंग...	Lauṅg (clove).
12		चुरिया	Churiyā (an ornament).
13		मोर	Mōr (peacock).
14		पपीरा	Pāpirā (a kind of musical pipe).
15		बतासा	Batāsā (a kind of sweetmeat).
16		बटुवा	Baṭuvā (small bag).

No.	Designs or marks.	Names of designs.	English Names.
17		झूमर	Jhūmar (an ear-ring).
18		भइयाकी छांह- ..	Bhaiyā kī chhāṅh (the brother's shadow — a protective mark).
19		हिन्ना-हिन्नी	Hinnā and Hinnī (buck and doe).
20		सषी	Sakhī (female companion).
21		पांच पंडुवा	Five Pāṇḍavās of the *Mahābhārata*.
22		रेल	Rēl (supposed to represent an engine: instance of modern type of mark).
23		सरमनकी काँवर .	Sarman kī kāṅwar (two baskets tied by ropes suspended on each side of a straight bamboo; the one tattooed here is that in which Śrāvan carried his parents).
24		संष-झालर	Sankh-jhālar (shell-cymbals).
25		सीत	Sīt (?).

No.	Designs or marks.	Names of designs.	English Names.
26		सीताकी रसुइया ...	Sītā kī rasūiyā. (Evidently Sītā's cooking-place.)
27		चरन...	Charan (feet).
28		मुकट...	Mukaṭ (crown or crest of Kṛishṇa).
29		झांसीकी नकल ..	Plan of Jhānsī Fort.
30		चकई-चकुवा ...	Chakai-Chakwā, Brahminy ducks (*Cascara rutila*).
31		ओरछा का गुंडा ...	Orchhā kā Gunḍā (the beau (fop) of Orchhā).
32		कागला	Kāglā (crows).
33		कनहियाजू	Kanhaiyājū (Srī-Kṛishṇa).
34		गोपी	Gopī (female cowherd).
35		गुवाल	Guvāla (male cowherd).
36		हाथी...	-ī (elephant).

No	Designs or marks.	Names of designs.	English names.
37		रामलक्षमनकी जोड़ी ..	Rāma and Lakshmaṇ together.
38		माथेपरकाबूंदा-टुकली...	Būṇḍā (spangle on the forehead, or spot called ṭuklī — article of ornament).
39		बेसर नाकपर... ...	Bēsar (spot on the nose).
40		ठुडीपरका बूंदा ..	Buṇḍā on chin.
41		गलचूमा	Galchūmā or Buṇḍā worn on the cheek.
42		धाईबूंदा कुंषपर ...	Dhāibūṇḍā (worn on the ribs; only tattooed on women who have lost a child in child-birth, supposed to be due to a defect in her milk).
43		पुतरईंया	Putaraiṅyā (dolls).
44		बिजौरे	Vijaurē (ornament on forehead).
45		महावरका फूल ..	Mahāwar kā phūl. (Mahuā perhaps? It cannot be connected with lac.)
46		सातिया	Sātiyā (cross of mystic properties).
47		बूंदा धिंगरीपरका ..	Buṇḍā (worn on the fifth toe).
48		माई की भेंट	Māi kī bhēṇṭ (the present offered to the goddess?).

No.	Designs or marks.	Names of designs.	English names.
49		सुवा	Suvā (paroquet).
50		सवार	Savār (horsemen).
51		ककई	Kakaī (comb).
52		ककवा	Kakvā (large comb).
53		मकरी	Makarī (spider).
54		चकौटी	Chakauṭī (?).
55		वरा	Varā (an article of ornament).
56		नाहर...	Nāhar (tiger).

Description of the positions of the marks.

Names of marks or designs.	Names of the parts of body where marks are made.
No. 1, Māchhī	On the back of the finger of the left hand, above and below the second joints, and also on the back of the thumb.
No. 2, Purēn kā phūl; No. 3, Chalnī; No. 4, Javā; No. 5, Ghinōchī; No. 6, Hinnā; and No. 8, Bichhū.	On the back of the palm of the left hand.
No. 9, Chapēṭā	On the palm of the left hand.

Names of marks or designs.	Names of the parts of body where marks are made.
No. 10. Pīṛī; No. 11, Lauṅg; No. 12, Churiyā; No. 13, Mōr; No. 14, Papīrā; No. 15, Batāsā; No. 16, Baṭuvā; No. 17, Jhūmar; No. 18, Bhaiyā kī Chhāṅh; No. 51, Kakaī; No. 52, Kakvā; and No. 53. Makarī.	On the middle of the front and back of the fore-arm of the left hand.
No. 55, Barā	On the front of the elbows of both arms — about an inch down towards the fore-arm.
No. 19, Hinnā, Hinnī; No. 20, Sakhī; No. 21, Pāṅch Paṇḍavās.	On the middle of the outer and inner surfaces of the left arm.
No. 24, Sānkh-jhālar	On the back of the third finger of the right hand, below the first joint.
No. 25, Sīt	On the front of the wrist of the right hand. (*Note.* — Some are of opinion in connection with this "Sīt," that a woman wearing it is able to touch her husband's elder brother's clothes, &c., which, as a rule, she cannot touch.)
No. 3, Chalnī; No. 4, Javā; No. 7, Mathānī kā phūl; No. 5, Ghinōchī.	On the back of the palm of the right hand.
No. 26, Sītā kī rasūiyā; No. 27, Charan; No. 28, Mukāṭ; No. 15, Batāsā; No. 29, Jhāṅsī kī nakal; No. 30, Chakaī-Chakwā; No. 32, Kāglā: No. 54, Chakautī.	On the middle of the front and back of the fore-arm of the right hand.
No. 33, Kanhīyājū; No. 34, Gōpī; No. 35, Guvāl; No. 36, Hathī; No. 37, Rām Lachhman kī jōṛī.	On the middle of the outer and inner surfaces of the right arm.
No. 38, Buṇḍā or Tuklī	Between the eye-brows on the forehead.
No. 39, Bēsar	Close to the hole of the nose-ring on the left side.
No. 41, Galchumā	At the centre of the right cheek.
No. 40, Buṇḍā	Just above the centre of the chin under the lower lip.
No. 42, Dhaībuṇḍā	On the side of the body over the middle of the lower ribs of the right side.
No. 43, Putarainyā	On the calves of both legs.
No. 13, Mōr; No. 56, Nāhar	Instead of No. 43 on the calves of both legs.
No. 45, Mahāwar kā phūl	Over the centre of the top of both feet.
No. 44, Vijaurē	Scattered around No. 45.
No. 46, Sātiyā	On the big or first toes of both feet.
No. 47, Buṇḍā	On the fifth toe of both feet.
No. 12, Churiyā; No. 15, Batāsā; No. 16, Baṭuvā; No. 18, Bhaiyā kī Chhāṅh; No. 31, Orchhā kā Guṇḍā; No. 48, Māī kī bhēṇṭ; No. 49, Suvā.	Can be made on the middle of the front and back of the fore-arm of either arm (right or left) as desired by the person to be tattooed.
No. 23, Sarman kī kaṅwar; No. 22, Rēl; No. 17, Jhūmar; No. 12, Churiyā; No. 50, Savār.	Can be made on the middle of the outer and inner surfaces of either arm (right or left) as desired by the person to be tattooed.

(To be continued).

WOMAN SHOWING TATTOO MARKS (BUNDELKHAND).

Plate I.

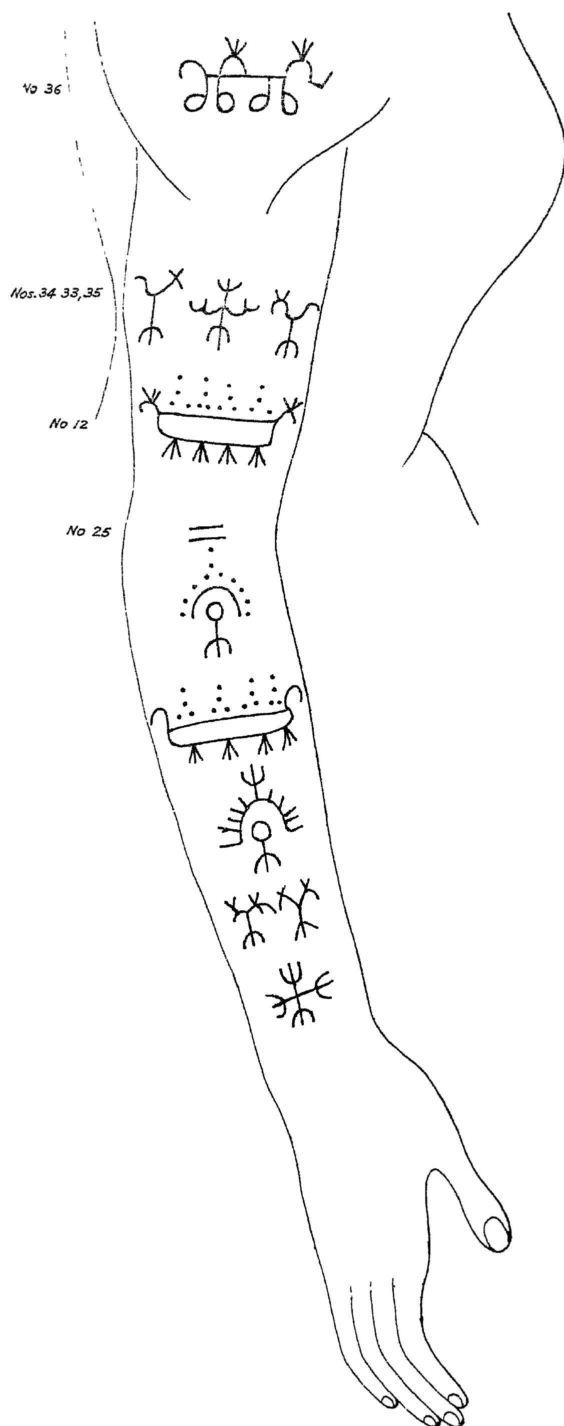


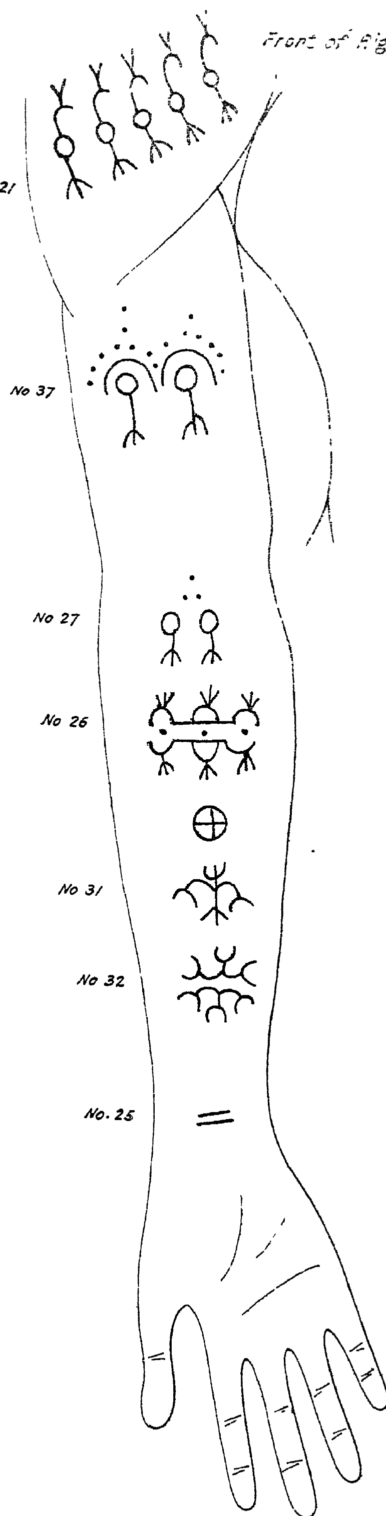
Rai Saheb Kashi Prasad, Del.

B. E. S. Press, Litho.

(BUNDELKHAND.)

Plate II.



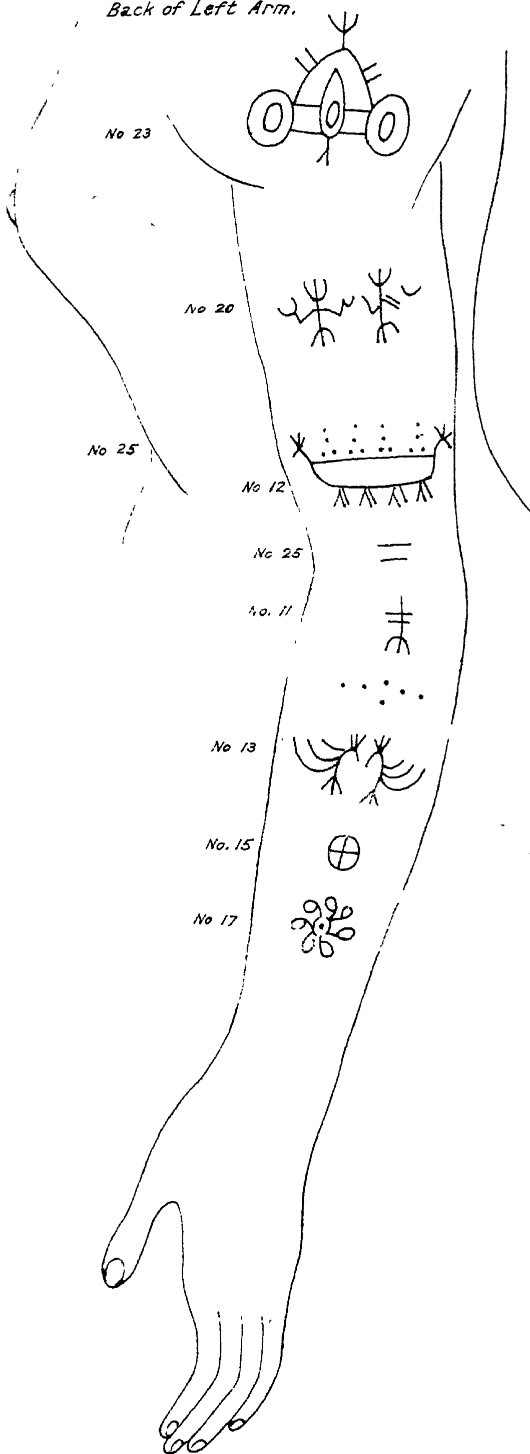


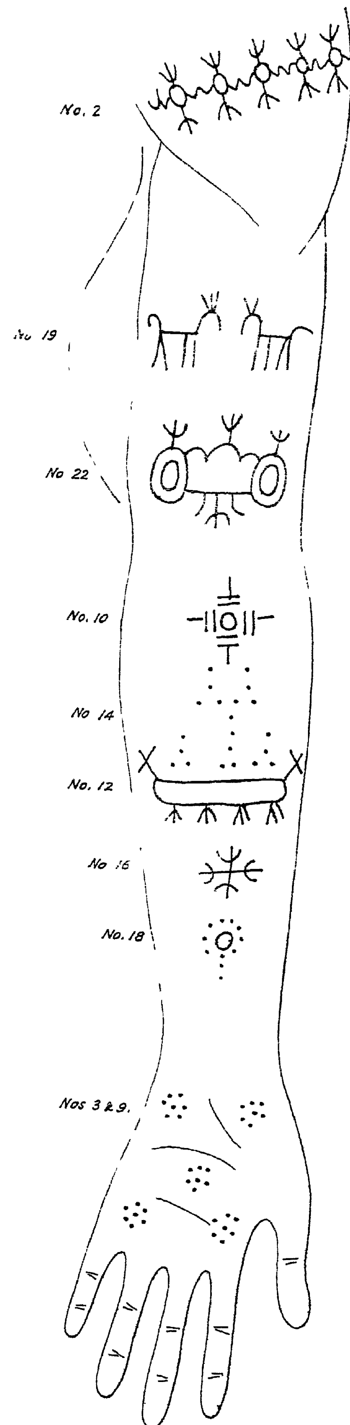
Rai Saheb Kashi Prasad, Del.

B.E.S. Press, Litho.

(BUNDELKHAND.)

Plate III.



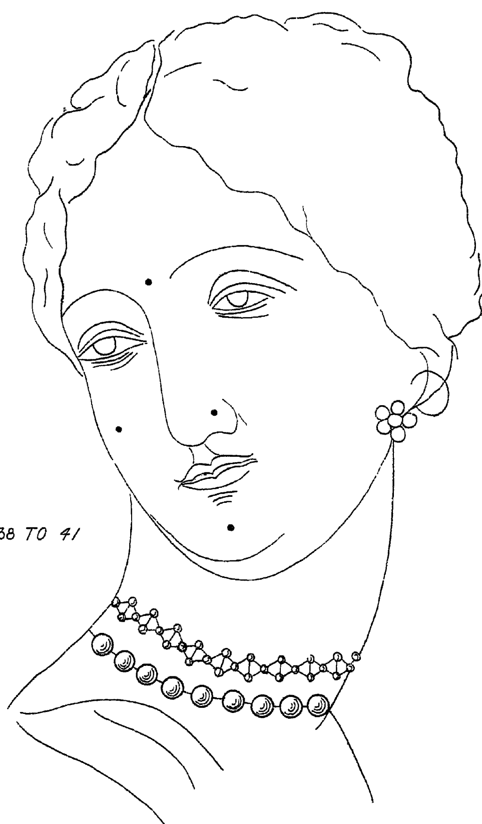


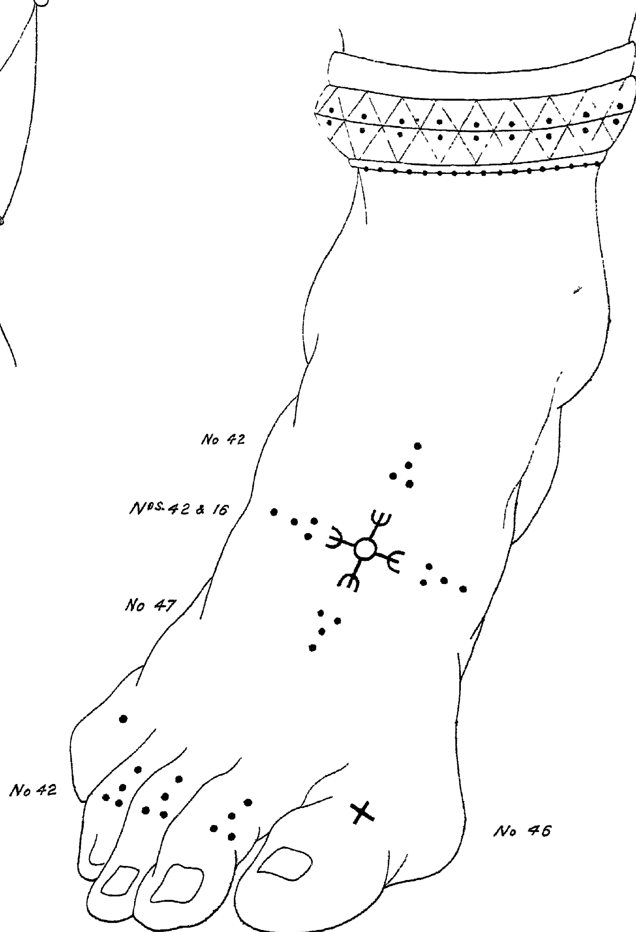
Rai Saheb Kashi Prasad, Del.

B E.S. Press, Litho.

(BUNDELKHAND)

Plate IV





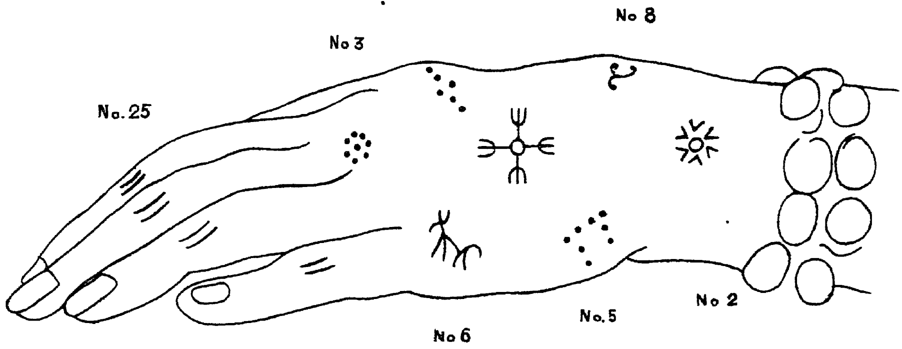
Rai Saheb Kashi Prasad, Del

B E S Press, Litho

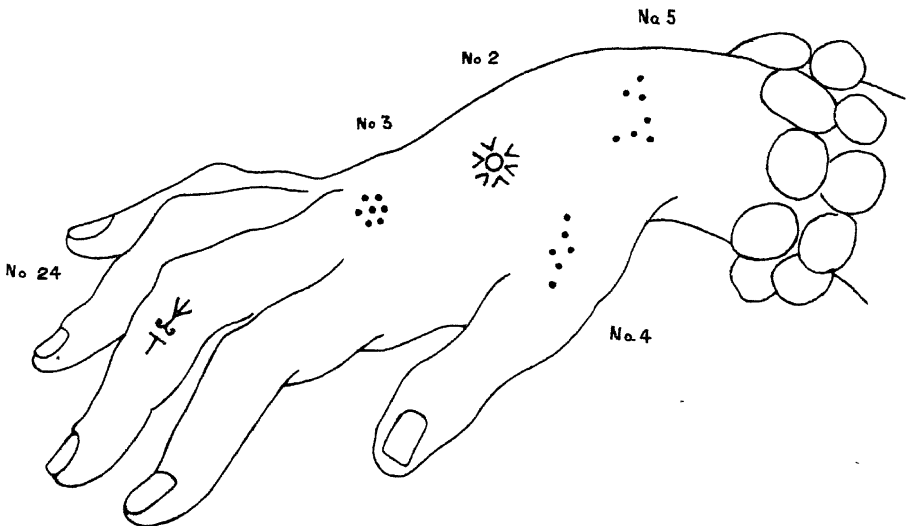
(BUNDELKHAND.)

Plate V.

Left Hand.



Right Hand

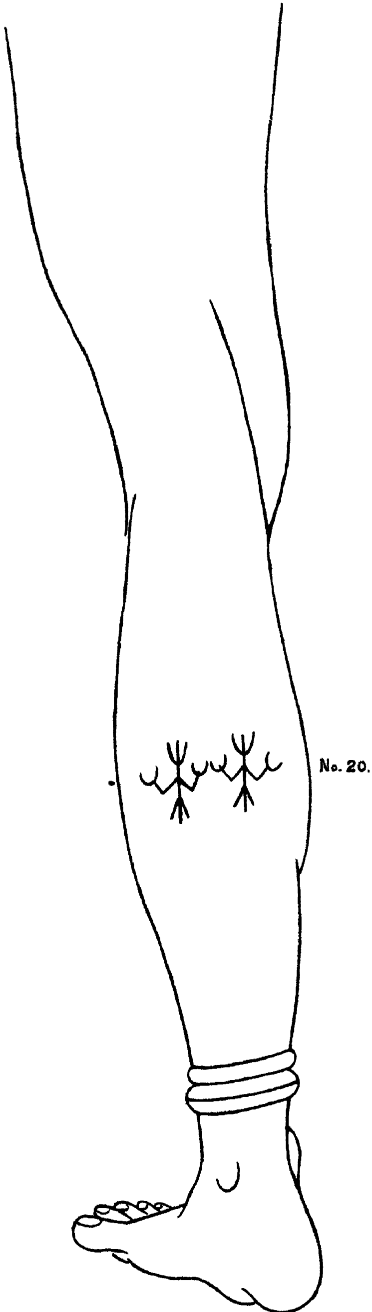


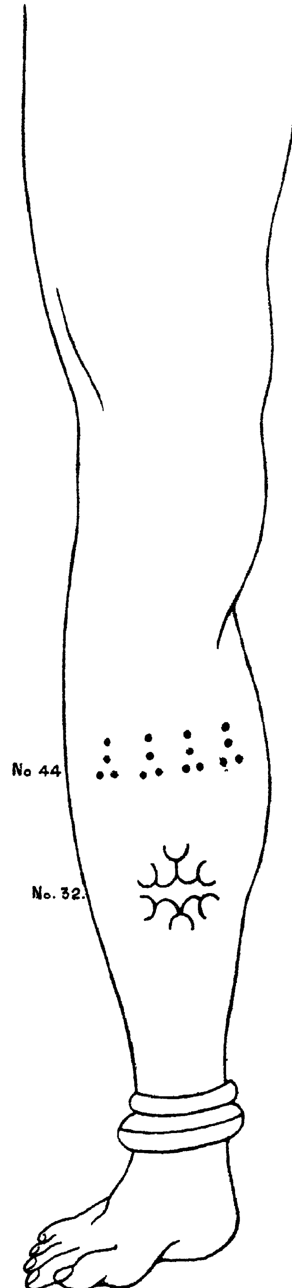
Rai Saheb Kashi Prasad Del.

B. E. S. Press, Litho.

(BUNDELKHAND.)

Plate VI.





Rai Saheb Kashi Prasad, Del.

B. E. S. Press, Litho

GLIMPSES OF SINGHALESE SOCIAL LIFE.

BY ARTHUR A. PERERA.

(Concluded from p. 210.)

(10) Folk-Tales and Legends.[29]

THE Island's **folklore** consists of nature myths, place-legends, and other traditions; riddles, proverbs, and versicles; and nursery tales which tell of speaking animals and of some village anecdote or rural character of the good old communal days.

The Story of the Sky.

Once upon a time the sky was very close to the earth and the stars served as lamps to the people. A woman who was sweeping her compound was so much troubled by the clouds touching her that she gave them a blow with her *ikle* broom (*idala*), saying, get away, get away (*pala, pala*). The sky instantly flew away far out of the reach of man.

The Sun and Moon and their Eclipse.

A poor widow had three sons, who, one day, attended a wedding, leaving their mother at home; they returned late and she enquired what they had brought for her to eat. The eldest angrily replied that he had brought nothing, and the second threw at her the torch which had lighted them on the way. But the third asked for his mother's rice-pot (*hattiya*) and put into it ten grains of rice which he had brought concealed under his ten nails. The few grains miraculously filled the vessel, and the mother, in return, blessed him and cursed the other two, consequently the youngest became the pleasant and cool moon, the second the fierce burning sun, and the eldest the dragon-plant (Râhu) who tries to destroy his brothers by swallowing them and causing their eclipse.

Origin of Earthquakes.

The goddess of the earth (Mihiket) supports the world on one of her thumbs, and, when weary, shifts it on to the other, causing an earthquake.

The Horse and the Ox.

In the olden times the horse had horns but no teeth in his upper jaw, while the ox had no horns but teeth in both its jaws. Each coveted the other's possession and effected an exchange; the ox has the horns now and the horse the two rows of teeth.

The Cheetah and the Cat.

The cheetah was taught by the cat to climb up a tree but not to come down. In revenge he always kills his master, but is grateful enough to keep the body on an elevation and worship it, instead of making a meal.

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[29] *Vide* —

(1) Steele's *Kusa Jâtaka* (1871), p. 247.
(2) Illustrated Literary Supplement of the *Ceylon Examiner* (1875), Vol. I. pp. 16, 21, 45, 110, 167, 199, 223, 231, 238, 240.
(3) Ceylon Asiatic Society's *Journal*, Vol. V., No. 16 (1870-71), p. 134.
(4) „ „ „ „ V., No. 17 (1871-72), p. 25.
(5) „ „ „ „ VII., No. 25 (1882), pp. 208 and 225.
(6) „ „ „ „ VIII., No. 26 (1883), p. 1.
(7) „ „ „ „ XII., No. 42 (1891-92), p. 113.
(8) *The Orientalist*, Vol. I. (1884), pp. 233, 275.
(9) „ „ II. (1885), pp. 26, 53, 102, 147, 150, 174.
(10) „ „ III. (1887), pp. 31, 78, 159.

(3) *Rajek ambu ganitnam dugiyek kâta pavasayi* — When the king takes the wife to whom is the poor man to complain.

(4) *Kandata ballâ biruvata kanda mitivêda* — Though a dog barks at a hill will it grow less.

(5) *Kesbêvi bittara siyagananak lâ kisi sabdayak nokaratat kikili eka bittarê lâ gam kîpêkata ehenta sabdakaranavâlu* — Though the tortoise lays a hundred eggs and makes no noise, the hen crows over her one egg for several villages to hear.

(6) *Atisârêta amuda gehuvâvagey* — It is like wearing a crupper to cure dysentery.

(7) *Gaha uda mîya dekalâ engili levakanavâ-vagey* — It is like licking your finger on seeing a beehive on a tree.

(8) *Ketê muvô kêvâta gedara tibuna gôna hamata tadibêvâ vagey* — It is like flogging the elk-skin at home to avenge on the deer who trespassed in the fields at night.

(9) *Angurak kiren sôdâ sudu karanta berilu* — It is not possible to make a charcoal white by washing it in milk.

(10) *Puhul horâ karen deneyi* — Who steals ash-pumpkins will be known from his shoulder.

The Hare and the Jackal.[30]

Once upon a time a hare and a jackal were sweeping a compound (*midula*) and they found two pumpkin-seeds (*labueta*) ; these they planted, but only one grew, as the jackal nourished his with his urine, while the hare did so with pure well-water. The hare agreed to kindly share the pumpkin with his friend, and the jackal proposed a ruse to obtain the other requisites for preparing their meal, *viz.*, firewood, cocoanut, salt, rice, and earthen utensils. The hare laid himself on the high road as if dead, and when any *pingo*-bearer carrying what they wanted appeared, the jackal cried out, "keep the *pingo* down and kindly take away that dead hare." As the foolish peasant did as he was requested, the jackal carried away his *pingo* and the hare scampered away. After the meal was kept on the fire, the wily jackal asked the hare to procure for him some stalkless *Macaranga tomentosa* leaves (*kenda kola*) and stones with roots. The hare wandered far and wide to find them without success; he returned home late, tired, and asked for his share of the meal. He was directed to the rice-pot, but he only found there a few grains of rice. The insatiate jackal asked for half of that, too; and then ordered the hare to stroke his back. The hare noticed a cocoanut husk (*polmuduva*) acting as a stopper underneath his tail, and, at the jackal's request, pulled it out and was besmeared with his excretion. He ran to a neighbouring mead, rolled himself well on the grass and came back "as white as wool," determined to revenge himself on the jackal, who wanted to know how he was so clean. The hare told him that the *dhobi* washed him, and the jackal, for once foolish, ran to the riverside and requested the washerman to wash him. The *dhobi* took him by his hind-legs and thwacked him, till he died, on the washing-stone, saying, "This is the jackal who ate my fowls."

The Story of Hokkâ.[31]

Once upon a time there was a Gamarâla who had contracted such an abhorrence to the expression "*Aniccan dukkan*" (this is a phrase in every-day use among the Singhalese ; it means literally "sorrow is-not eternal," and is used to express surprise or astonishment) that he formed a resolution to cut off the nose of any person, no matter who, that would dare utter it in his hearing. In

[30] This is the first tale told to a child, who is never tired of hearing it repeated.

[31] From the *Orientalist*, Vol. I. (1884), Part VI. p. 131. This is an entertaining specimen of a Ceylon folk-story. The range of Singhalese tales is not yet fully explored.

order to carry out this extraordinary resolve, he always had in his pouch a sharp knife, and, as soon as ever he heard the words in question fall from anybody's lips, he would rush madly upon him, seize him by the throat and cut his nose completely off. Many of his servants, and others, too, with whom he had to do, had their noses cut off, for no other fault than for uttering these words in his hearing. Some did so through ignorance of his resolution, others by not having a sufficient guard over the door of their lips.

The story goes on to say that, not far from the Gamarâla's village, there lived two brothers, the elder of whom was a dullard — obtuse and foolish — while the younger was sharp as a needle, and had all his wits about him. The elder brother set out one day in search of work, and, happening to come to the Gamarâla's house, was lucky enough to be taken into his service. He worked away hard as he could, and the Gamarâla was so pleased with him that he treated him more kindly than he ever did any of his other servants. One day, however, being astonished at some strange behaviour on the part of a fellow-servant, the man let the words "*Aniccan dukkan*" escape his lips in the hearing of the Gamarâla, who immediately rushed upon him with frantic rage, seized him by the throat, and mercilessly cut off his nose. No sooner was he out of the clutches of the eccentric Gamarâla than he made off as fast as he could, and reaching home, covered all over with blood, related to his brother the sad and strange adventure which had befallen him. Hokkâ (for that was the name of the younger brother) was sensibly affected by the recital of the story, and he made up his mind to pay off the Gamarâla in his own fashion. So he said to his brother, "Be not sad, my brother, at the misfortune that has overtaken you, as the fruit of your actions in a former birth. Stay at home till I go, in my turn, and earn some livelihood for us." So saying he consoled his brother, dressed his wound, and set out for the house of this very Gamarâla, who, after a few preliminary inquiries, took him readily into his service, telling him at the same time, that, if he conducted himself well and performed his duties satisfactorily, he might rely on being handsomely rewarded.

Hokkâ then reverently approached him, and said to him, "Will your honor be pleased to set apart some special work for me, so that I may give it my undivided attention." "Go then and look after my cattle" (*ehenan gohin magê harak balâ piya*) replied the Gamarâla. These words mean literally, "Go then and look *at* my cattle." Pretending to take the cattle for pasture, Hokkâ drove them to the wood, tied them to some trees in such a way that they could not graze, and, sitting down at a place from which he could have a sight of them, he kept on gazing at them all day long. This he did for several days, and during all the time the poor cattle had neither grass to eat nor water to drink.

It was customary with the Gamarâla to examine his cattle periodically. So one morning he ordered Hokkâ to bring them up for inspection. The famished beasts were loosened from the trees by Hokkâ, but not having strength to move, they fell down at the foot of the trees, and lay there more dead than alive. Thereupon Hokkâ hastened into the presence of the Gamarâla and said to him, "The cattle refuse to come or even to rise, so may it please your honor to accompany me to the wood." When the Gamarâla got there, he found, to his great horror, that the poor animals were about to expire. Turning round, his whole frame quivering with rage, he said to Hokkâ, "Did I not bid you to look after (literally look at) the cattle." "And does your honor mean to say that I did not look at them?" replied Hokkâ. "I was looking at them incessantly; meal-time and night alone excepted." The Gamarâla very naturally concluded that the man was dull as a beetle and took the words "look at" in their literal sense, and was thus the innocent cause of the destruction of his cattle. He therefore did not wish to turn him out, but retained him in his service, resolving, however, to be very precise, for the future, in the orders he would give him.

Some days after, the Gamarâla found that his large house (for he had two, one large and the other small) required to be thatched. So he said to Hokkâ, "*Mahâgê, piduruvahapiya.*" The word

"*mahâgê*" means "the large house," and also "the old woman." Hence the order may mean, "cover the large house with straw," or "cover the old woman with straw."

This was sufficient for Hokkâ. As soon as the Gamarâla left home on his daily business, Hokkâ collected a large heap of straw near the house, and carrying thither the Gamarâla's mother, laid her prostrate on the ground and covered her with the whole heap, so that she was suffocated to death. "Now lie there comfortably, you old hag," said he, and went away to attend to his ordinary work. When the Gamarâla returned home in the evening, he found only a heap of straw near the house, and the house itself unthatched. So he said to Hokka, "How is it, you vagabond, that you have not obeyed my orders?" "Not obeyed your orders?" said Hokkâ, "why, what makes you think so? Come and see whether the old lady is not under the straw as snug as ever." So saying he removed the straw, when the Gamarâla to his great horror beheld the corpse of his poor mother. On this occasion, too, the Gamarâla forgave the man, for he attributed the mistake to his natural deficiency of intellect, and was, moreover, unwilling to part with so hardworking a servant.

Some time after this sad occurrence, the Gamarâla received the mournful intelligence of the death of his son-in-law, who was living in a village about a day's journey from the Gamarâla's house. So he made up his mind to pay his widowed daughter a visit of condolence, and ordered Hokkâ to hold himself ready for the journey. At dawn, the next morning, the Gamarâla and his man left home, after taking a hearty meal, and continued their march till noon, when, finding themselves weary and hungry, they sat down to rest under the shade of a large tree. Having nothing with them in the shape of food, the Gamarâla handed some money to Hokkâ, and bade him go and buy something for them to eat. After going a great distance, Hokkâ found a bunch of ripe plantains exposed for sale in a hut, and bought sixteen plantains with the money. He then reflected thus: "If I take these sixteen plantains to my master he will assuredly give me half the number, contenting himself with the other half. I do not see, therefore, any reason why I should wait until he gives me my share. I may as well eat it here at once." So he ate up eight plantains and started afresh with the remainder to get to his master. After proceeding a short distance, he was sure that the Gamarâla would give him half of the eight remaining plantains, and he therefore ate four more of the number. After going a little further, he ate two more, and still a little further he swallowed one more, reasoning on each occasion as he had done before. There was only one plantain left for the Gamarâla, which Hokkâ, on his return, respectfully offered to him. "Is it only one single plantain," said the Gamarâla, "that you have been able to buy for so much money, you big ass" (literally, "you big bullock," *ali gonô*). "No, your honor," answered Hokkâ. "I bought sixteen plantains with your money." "Where then are the other fifteen?" rejoined the Gamarâla. "I ate them" was the innocent reply. "How did you dare eat them, you dog?" (literally, "How did you eat them, you dog?)" said the famished Gamarâla. Upon this Hokkâ held the plantain in his left hand, peeled it with the right, and suiting the action to the words, he said, "This is the way I ate the plantains, your honor," and slipped the plantain down his throat.

The Gamarâla now suspected, and with good reason too, that the man was more a knave than a fool, although he looked very innocent, but suspended his judgment till further experience would enable him to get at the truth. He was very weary and hungry, and having no more money with him, was altogether in a sad plight. Resolving, therefore, to continue his journey, he went on and found himself towards evening within a few yards of his daughter's house. As customary with the Singhalese, he sent Hokkâ beforehand to inform his daughter of his arrival. On reaching the house Hokkâ said to her, "Your father is come to pay you a visit of condolence, and is already within a few yards of your house. He is under medical treatment, and the physician has desired him to eat nothing else but seven-years-old *kudu*" (the dust of the paddy found between the husk and the seed). So saying Hokkâ returned to the place where he had left the Gamarâla, and, in the meantime, the

Gamarâla's daughter set about collecting *kudu*, as old as she could get from her neighbours, and prepared a kind of pulp with it. The Gamarâla was soon at his daughter's house. After the exchange of the customary salutations the *kudu* pulp was served up. The surprised Gamarâla could not guess at the cause of all this, for he had given no offence to his daughter to deserve such treatment at her hands. He felt exceedingly slighted and insulted, but concealing his feelings, he ate the pulp merely because he had nothing else to satisfy his hunger with, and resolved on quitting the house without a word to his daughter.

When the night wore on, the Gamarâla set out with Hokkâ to return home He trudged on as well as he could, and on the following evening he was within a few yards of his own house. Here he sat down on the stump of a tree, and sent Hokkâ forward to inform his wife of his return and of the miserable situation he was in. Hokkâ ran up to the house, and, rushing into the presence of his mistress, said to her, "Your husband is back almost exhausted with hunger and fatigue. To show your sympathy with him in his present unhappy condition, you had better put on sooty rags and meet him on the *edanda* (a small narrow bridge over a canal or stream, constructed with single logs) sitting on the middle of it, like a half-starved dog (*belli*)." He then returned to the Gamarâla and led him over the *edanda*, and coming up to the spot where the Gamarâla's wife was seated, kicked her down into the deep stream below saying, "Get away you filthy dog (*belli*), what business have you here?" Of course, the poor creature tumbled down into the canal and met with a watery grave. The Gamarâla knew nothing about it, as it was dark, but he went on (poor wretch) fully believing that what Hokkâ pushed out of the way was really a dog (*belli*).

Not finding his wife at home when he got there, he thought she had gone on a visit somewhere. He then ordered Hokkâ to prepare a tepid bath for him, but Hokkâ made the water as hot as possible, and, taking the Gamarâla to the bath, poured on him a pot of the boiling water, which so scalded him as to make him scream out pitifully. Being now fully convinced that Hokkâ was not the innocent greenhorn he had always taken him to be, the Gamarâla involuntarily gave vent to his surprise by exclaiming, "*Aniccan dukkan mu mata karana êvâyê heti*" (dear me, see what this fellow is doing to me). Scarcely were the words "*Aniccan dukkan*" out of the Gamarâla's mouth, when Hokkâ seized him by the throat in the same manner as he had heard he had seized his brother, and drawing out of his pouch a sharp knife with which he had provided himself before he left home to seek employment at the Gamarâla's, he cut the Gamarâla's nose clean off, so that not a vestige of it remained on his face. Without losing a single moment he ran as fast as his legs would carry him, with the Gamarâla's nose safe between his fingers, and got home quite out of breath. Finding his brother squatted at the hearth and warming himself, he gave him such a kick on the hind part of the head, as brought his face in contact with the *lig-gala* (hearth-stone) and made the wound in his face bleed. He then made his brother rise, and taking the Gamarâla's nose, he fixed it on the spot where his brother's own nose stood before, in such a way as to make it fit the place exactly. He then bandaged it, after applying to it the juice of a plant which has the power of healing cuts. In a short time the Gamarâla's nose became a part of his brother's face, and he was able to breathe through it freely and to perform with it all the functions of a nose just as he had done before the Gamarâla had chopped his nose off.

National Tradition.

In simple faith, from sire to son, are handed down two national traditions that a Lion and a lascivious Royal Princess were the progenitors of the Singhalese race (*singha*, lion, + *la*, blood); and that there will be born among the people a great emperor, Diya Sêna by name, who will free them from their bondage, extend his sway over the continent of India, and enable them to perform their ceremonies and festivals once again under the shadow of their own flag.

There is reason to believe that the Singhalese are a highly mixed race, and it may be stated as a working hypothesis that the several castes, except the predominating Govi or Grahapati caste, formed tribes of a pre-historic settlement in Ceylon, intermarrying with an earlier people the autochthonic Veddahs; that they were displaced by the Govi race, the Singhalese proper, who, while imposing on them the Aryan language and Buddhism, adopted and developed the existing animistic ideas and the rude social organization. Of course, their blood freely intermingled, though not by regular marriages, and, at a later date, the frequent intercourse with the South Indian kingdoms led to the incorporation of Dravidian captives and emigrants with the thinly populated castes and to a further development in their beliefs and practices.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NAVAGRAHA.

SIR, — In connexion with Mr. Burgess' Article on the Navagraha, *ante*, p. 61 ff., I wish to invite attention to the Singhalese representations of the heavenly bodies and their presiding divinities in Upham's *History and Doctrine of Buddhism*, published with coloured plates in 1828. The Sun rides on a horse, Mercury on an ox, Mars on a peacock, Râhu on an ass, Saturn on a crow, Venus on a buffalo, Kêtu on a swan, Jupiter on a lion, and the Moon on an elephant.

ARTHUR A. PERERA.

Flower Road, Colombo,
17th May 1904.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

HOBSON-JOBSON.

IGNORANCE in English writers of common Indian things takes a lot of killing; witness the latest literary contribution to Hobson-Jobson. It is from the *Daily Mail* of Saturday, April 2, 1904, and contains about the usual number of complete errors made whenever that annual feast is discussed in the Press.

Hobson-Jobson, Hindoo Religious Festival.

During the past few days the Hindoo workers on the various vessels in the London docks have been celebrating their annual religious festival, commonly known in Western countries as Hobson-Jobson.

The last four days of March are always set apart (!) by the Hindoos (!) for the observance of one of their principal religious rites. This year, however, there were not many vessels in the Royal Albert and Victoria Docks (London), and consequently the celebration was shorn of some of its pomp and ceremony.

To the uninitiated the outward "show" appears a ridiculous farce, but apparently the Hindoo regards it as a most solemn festival. It would be almost impossible to describe the dresses and adornments of the principal characters taking part in the ceremony.

The procession was preceded by a crude representation of a horse. To make up this a Hindoo was encased in a wooden skeleton of a horse with a movable head, which was held under control by reins.

No little consternation was caused among the crowd assembled to witness the celebration when this strange creature charged into them. Following the horse were several gaudily dressed Hindoos, bearing aloft strange devices. Behind these came several tom-tom players, and musicians discoursing on whistles, accordions, and cornets. Following these were dancers, persons who appeared to be engaged in a scuffling match. Some were padded abnormally; whilst others were made up to represent bears and dogs.

Then came the "well-conducted" Hindoos, walking in a steady manner, reciting various prayers and exhortations. Even these had gone to the trouble to decorate themselves for the occasion with ear and nose rings. Last of all came the temple, which was carried on the shoulders of four stalwart Hindoos. It resembled a large doll's house, and was decorated with gaudy ribbons.

This procession has marched several times round both the Albert and Victoria Docks, a distance of several miles, and at the close of the festival the temple was burned, the Hindoos present making a great display as the last vestiges of the construction were destroyed.

R. C. TEMPLE.

4th April 1904.

TATTOOING IN CENTRAL INDIA.

BY CAPTAIN C. E. LUARD, M.A.,
Superintendent of Ethnography in Central India.

(Continued from p. 228.)

II.

THE MĀLAVĀ OR WESTERN SECTION.

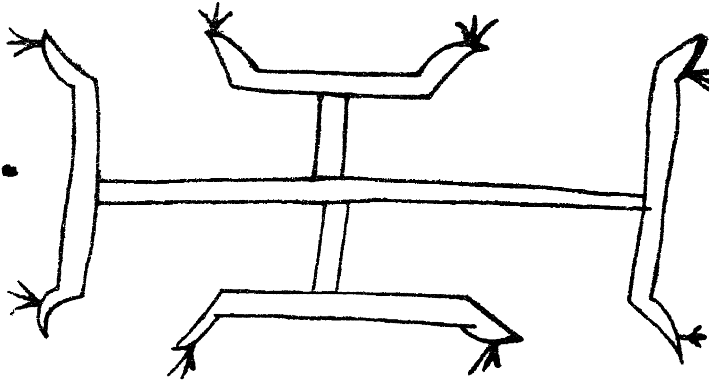
1. Tattooing among Mōchīs in Mālavā.

(Collected by Mr. D. F. Vakil of Ratlām.)

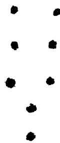
TATTOOING is confined to the female sex. The following parts of the body are tattooed: — The forehead, the part between the eye-brows, the left side of the nose, the breast or chest, the upper arms, the forearms between the elbow and the wrist, the backs of the hands and the calves of the legs. Tattooing is generally commenced at the sixth or seventh year of age, and may be done at various periods, sometimes even after the twentieth year. The designs are generally ornamental, and little or no significance is attached to them. Only one of two colours, black or green, is employed.

The designs.

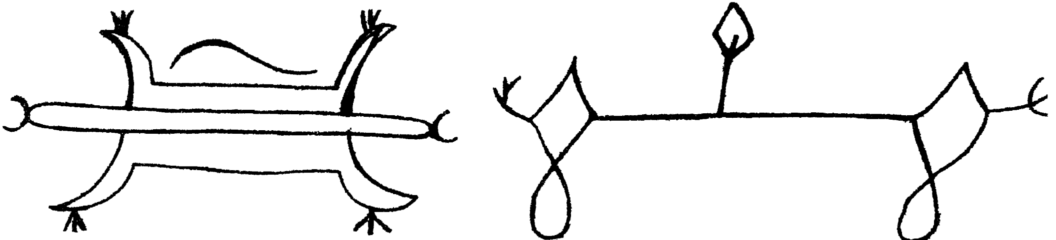
(a) On the back of the hand a figure called Sāthia —



(b) On the fingers of the right hand —



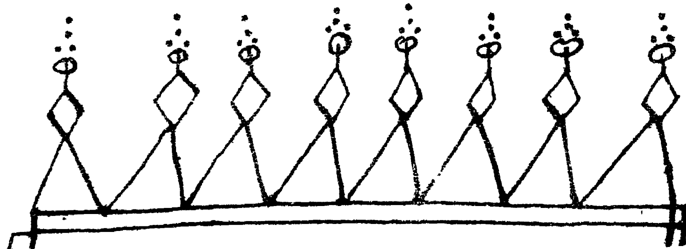
(c) Between the wrist and elbow of the right arm —



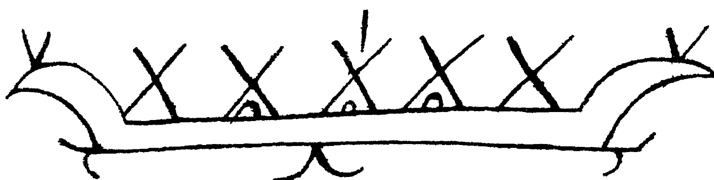
(*d*) On the right arm a pair of peacocks —



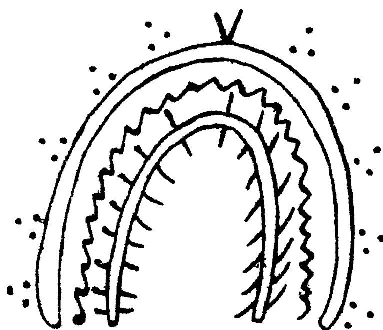
(*e*) On the left hand (just below the elbow) —



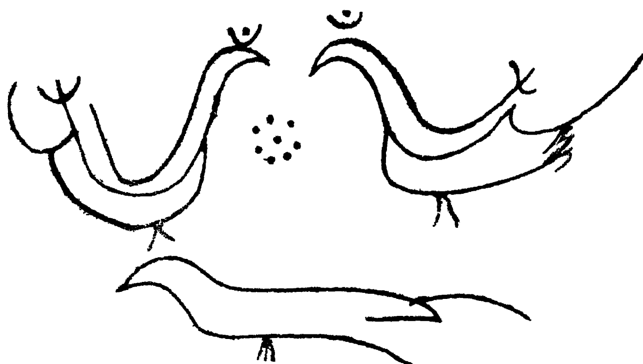
(*f*) On the left arm the figure of a Barā or armlet —



Also the Dehlī Darwājā, as it is called —



(*g*) On the breast or chest a pair of peacocks and a cuckoo below them —



(*h*) On the left side of the nose spots —

(*i*) On the chin a spot —

2. Tattooing among Labhānās in Mālavā.

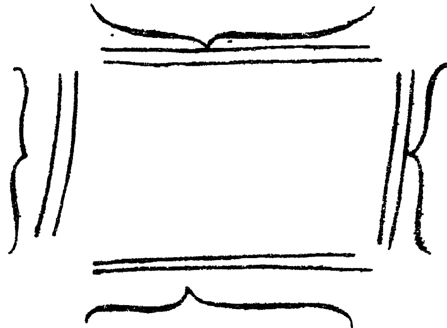
(Collected by Mr. D. F. Vakil of Ratlām.)

Among Labhānās males and females are both tattooed. Among Banjārās tattooing is confined to the female sex only. In the case of Labhānā males, it is confined to the part between the elbow and the wrist, hands, chest, thighs and feet. The marks are found more commonly on the face and the hands. Tattooing is generally commenced before marriage between the eighth and fifteenth year of age.

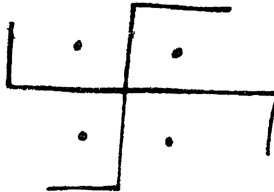
Men tattoo on their hands a dagger —



Women tattoo on the back of their hands—



Between the wrist and elbow a Svāstika —



On the cheeks a circle —

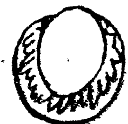


On the chin a dot —

Between the two eye-brows —



Round the neck —



3. Tattooing among Bhīls in Mālavā.

(Collected by Mr. D. F. Vakīl of Ratlām.)

Tattooing may be said to be wholly confined to the female sex, the males being tattooed in rare cases only, the custom differing from that in Bhōpāwar. The forehead, the backs of the hands, and the legs are generally tattooed. The marks are found most commonly on the legs. Tattooing is commenced at the age of nine or ten, and it is done at once and not at various periods. No ceremony is connected with it. No professional tattooers are employed; the women tattoo their own relatives or friends. On the back of the hand a flower or the figure of a woman with a water-pot on her head, and on the calf of the leg a mango-tree, are the usual designs. Black is the only colour used.

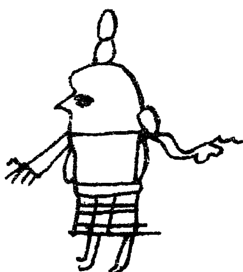
On the forehead a spot —

On the hands spots or flowers —

On the calf of the leg a mango-tree —



A Paniārī, *i.e.*, a female with a water-pot on her head —



4. Tattooing among Mhārs of Mālavā.

(Collected by Mr. D. F. Vakil of Ratlām.)

Tattooing is invariably confined to the female sex. Males are never known to tattoo. It is confined to forehead, chin, cheeks, and the part between the wrist and elbow. These parts are most exposed to view, and as the main object of tattooing is decoration, parts which are covered by garments are generally not tattooed. It is commenced at the age of seven or eight years and always before the marriage ceremony takes place. The designs employed are figures of the Tulsī, the lotus-flower, the ornamental border of Sītā's *sāṛī*, the crescent, &c. Sometimes the words राम नाम, *Rām-nām*, and श्रीनाम, *Srī-nām*, are pricked on the hand. The forehead is generally tattooed first. The Mhār women here do not get themselves tattooed on the breast or abdomen.

On the forehead the crescent with wheat-grains above and below —

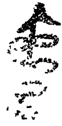


Spots on the chin and cheeks —



Between the wrist and the elbow, flowers, trees, words, border of Sītā's *sāṛī*, &c. —





रामनाम आनाम

Names.

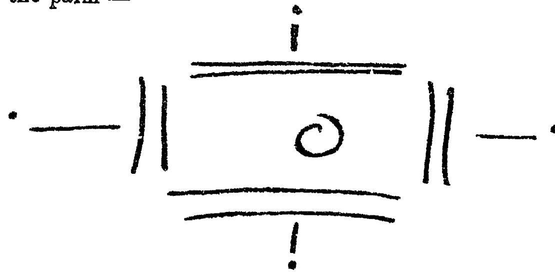


5. Tattooing among Mālavā Brāhmans, Chhānyatis, Sarvariyās, &c.

(Collected by Mr. D. F. Vakil of Ratlām.)

Tattooing is confined to the female sex only. Tattoo marks are generally made on the following parts of the body: — Forehead, nose, chin, hands, arms, breast, legs and feet. Among the local Sarvariyā Brâhmaṇs, who are a branch of the Kanyākubja Brâhmaṇs, a girl is tattooed immediately after her marriage. Virgins are not tattooed. Among the other Brâhmaṇs tattooing is commenced at about the seventh or the eighth year, irrespective of whether the girls are married or unmarried. No ceremony is connected with it, but molasses and sweets are distributed among the women present. Among Sarvariyā Brâhmaṇs Naṭnīs (female acrobats) are employed, but among others the elderly female members of the family tattoo the young girl. Only one colour is employed — green. The marks are chiefly made on hands, chin, cheeks and forehead.

On the back of the palm —



On the fingers —



On the feet —



On the hand , and the figure of Sītā cooking —





On the cheeks —



On the lower lip —



On the chin —



On the forehead —



6. Tattoo Marks from the Dhār State.

(Partly Mālavā, partly Jungle Section.)

(Collected by Mr. W. T. Kapse of Dhār.)

Males.

No.	Parts of the body.	Design.	Name of Design.	Meaning of Design.
1	On both the temples ...		Ākhyā, आख्या ..	The temples.
2	On the chest ...		Ghōḍā, घोडा ...	Horse.
			Mōra, मोर ..	Peacock.
			Bichhū, बिच्छू ..	Scorpion.
3	On the shoulders		Āmba, आंब ...	Mango-tree.
4	On the arms		Kaṭyār, कट्यार ...	Dagger.
5	Between the elbow and the wrist.		Phūl, फूल ..	Flower.
			Chaupāṭa, चौपट...	A piece of cloth on which the game of सोंगटी, Soṅgaṭī, is played with two or three dice.

No.	Parts of the body.	Design.	Name of Design.	Meaning of Design.
6	On the wrist ...		Javaurdāṇē, जवओरदाणे.	Barley grains.
			Chauk, चौक ...	A square (in marriages thread investitures, &c.) formed with wheat, rice, &c., spread on a cloth which covers a stool (*pāt*) prepared as a seat for the boy or girl.

Females.

No.	Parts of the body.	Design.	Name of Design.	Meaning of Design.
7	Between the eye-brows...		Chandrakōr, चंद्रकोर	The new moon.
			Aṅgārā, अंगारा ...	A talismanic mark to avert the influence of the evil eye.
			Chandrakōra aṅg-ārā, चंद्रकोर व अंगार.	The new moon, with the ornamental mark.
8	On the left side of the nose		Ṭipkā or Dāṇā, टिपका-दाणा.	Dot.
9	On the right cheek ...		Do. do.	Do.
10	On the lower lip		Do. do.	Do.
11	On the chin		Do. do.	Do.
12	Between the shoulder and the wrist.	1	Sīta kā hāta, सीताका हात.	The hand of Sītā.
		2	Nisarṇī, निसरणी ...	Ladder.
		3	Bāvalyā, बावल्या ..	The bâbûl tree (*Acacia arabica*).

No.	Parts of the body.	Design.	Name of Design.	Meaning of Design.
12	Between the shoulder and the wrist—(*contd.*).	4	Chāṇd, चांद ...	The moon.
		5	Sūraja, सूरज ...	The sun.
		6	Rāmnām, रामनाम...	The name of Rāma.
		7	Panayārav, पनयारव.	Women fetching water-pots.
		8	Pāñche, पांचे ...	Five square coloured pieces made of lac for girls to play with.
		9	Chakra, चक्र ..	A discus.
		10	Gadā, गदा ...	A mace.
		11	Chālanī, चाल्नी ..	A sieve.
		12	Putḷī, पुतळी ...	A pair of dolls.
		13	Sītā Mātā kī Rāndhaṇī. सीतामाताकी रांधनी.	Sītā's kitchen.
			Sītā Mātā kī Rāndhaṇī, सीतामाताकी रांधणी.	Sītā's kitchen.

No.	Parts of the body.	Design.	Name of Design.	Meaning of Design.
12	Between the shoulder and the wrist—(*contd.*).	14	Bāvalyā, वावल्या...	The bâbûl tree (*Acacia arabica*).
		15	Tulsī Kayārī, तुळसी कयारी.	Tulsī plant in a pot.
		16	Gōrbasnyā, गोरबसन्या.	The throne of Gaurī or Pārvatī.
		17	Rāmnāma ...	The name of Rāma.
		18	The Gavaḷaṇi, गवळणी	Milkmaids.
		19	Rāma Lakhsmaṇ kī Jōḍī, रामलक्ष्मणकी जोडी.	Rāma and his brother Lakshmaṇa together.
		20	Bēdō, बेडो ...	Water-pots.
		21	Palṭāna, पलटन ...	Infantry.
		22	Sātyā or Svāstika, सात्या.	Svastika.

No.	Parts of the body.	Design.	Name of Design.	Meaning of Design.
		23	Kanhayyā kā Mugut, कन्हयाका मुगुट	Kanhayya (Krishna's crown).
		24	Chhē dāṇē, छे दाणे.	Six dots.
		25	Tulsī Kayārā, तुलसी क्यारा	Bed of Tulsī plants.
		26	Mōra ...	A peacock.
12	Between the shoulder and the wrist—(*contd.*).	27	Chuḍīyā or Bāju-banda, चूडीया बाजुबंद.	An ornament on the arm or bangles.
		28	Hiraṇ kī Jōḍī, हिरणकी जोडी	A couple of deer.
		29	Chaupaṭ, चौपट ...	Cloth on which the game of Soṅgaṭi is played.
		30	Hāthī, हाथी ...	An elephant.
		31	Bāvaḍī, बावडी ...	A well with steps.

No	Parts of the body.	Design.	Name of Design.	Meaning of Design.
12	Between the shoulder and the wrist—(*contd.*).	32	Sītā Mātā kī Kaḍhai, सीतामाताकी कढई.	Sītā's frying-pan.
		33 लक्ष्मी नारायण करमरकर.	Lakshmī ... ... Nārāyaṇ ... ... Karmarkar ...	The name of the woman, her husband and his surname.
		34 महादेवराव. MAHADEO RAO	Mahādev Rāv ...	The name of husband in two characters. (A modern innovation is the use of English character.)
13	On the wrist	A	Jāva, जव ...	Barley grain.
			Pīyar kī Vāṭ, पीयर की वाट.	The way to a mother's house (*lit.*, the way of love). (This is always more pleasant than the one which leads to the mother-in-law's house! Hence its name)
		C	Sankha, शंख ...	A conch-shell.

No.	Parts of the body.	Design.	Name of Design.	Meaning of Design.
13	On the wrist—(*contd.*)...	D	Triśūla, त्रिशूल ...	Tridents.
			Gōrbasnyā, गोरबसन्या.	A throne of the goddess Gaurī or Pārvatī.
		E	Chālnī, चालनी ...	Another variety of sieve.
		F	Phūl, फूल ..	Another variety of flower.
		G	Kūī, कूई ...	A well.
14	On the fingers ..	A	Dāṇā, दाणा ..	A dot.
		B	Chāṅd, चांद ..	Moon.
		C	Java, जव ...	Barley.
		D	Lavaṅgē, लवंगे .	A clove.

No.	Parts of the body.	Design.	Name of Design.	Meaning of Design.
15	On the abdomen ...		Tarājvā, तराजवा ...	A balance, scale.
			Satyā, सात्या, or Svastika.	Svastika.
			Phūl	A flower.
16	On the legs ...		Jhāḍa, झाड ...	A tree.
			Phūl, फूल ...	A flower.
17	On the feet		Dāṇē, दाणे ...	Dots.

(To be continued.)

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS FROM A XVIITH CENTURY MS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART.

(*Continued from p. 206.*)

PAGODA.

Fol. 4. theire Chiefe God of all is in forme of a man Somethinge deformed, & is Set up in theire great **Pagods, or temples,** . . . . . wth many Others Set up in theire **Pagod** Courts.

Fol. 9. In this theire Cathedral **Pagod.**

Fol. 57. they have . . . . large ffabricks of Stone called **Pagods** . . . . . theire most holy and Esteemable **Pagod** Jno Geinaet.

Fol. 84. The Bengala's (vizt ye Jdolatrous people ot ye countrey) have very Strange ways of worshippinge their Gods (or rather Devils) they Set up in their **Pagods,** as alsoe in theire owne houses.

Fol. 87. Dureinge ye time of Sicknesse ye Brachmans, some of them are very diligent to sitt by them and pray, Seldom leavinge off Vntill ye Party be quite dead, Especially to put ye party in mind of ye **Pagod,** to leave to it accordinge to his abilitie.

See Yule, *s. v.* Pagoda: also *ante*, Vol. XXII. p. 27.

PAGODA.

Fol. 20. Noe man is admitted to marry Vnlesse he can purchase moneys to ye Value of 20 or 25 **pagods a coine** very Current here [Choromandel].

Fol. 31. much moneys 10 or 20 : thousand **Pagodes,** (each Value 9s).

Fol. 32. this very Commoditie Salt draweth into ye King's Exchequer two Millions of Old **Pagodos** yearly.

Fol. 51. ye Merchant giueinge 8 : 10 : 20 thousand **Pagodos** for a Small Spot of land [containing diamonds].

Fol. 53. Currant Coynes in this Kingdome [Golcondah]. ffort St Georg's, vizt **New Pagods here coyned** passe all yt Kingdome over att ye Rate of 00*lb* 08*s* 00*d*. Pullicatt **The Pagod Valueth** 00 08 06. Golcondah. **The Old Pagod** Valueth 00 12 00. Porto Novo & Trincombar. **The Pagod there** Coyned Valueth but 00 06 00.

See Yule, *s. v.* Pagoda. [The quotations in the text are valuable.]

PAINTINGS.

Fol. 31. Very Considerable quantities of these followinge Commodities are here [Pettipolee] wrought and Sold to fforaign Merchants vizt . . . . . . **Painted Callicos** of divers Sorts.

Fol. 49. This part of ye Countrey [Narsapore] affordeth plenty of . . . . **Paintings.**

Fol. 51. This Kingdome [Golcondah] . . . affordeth . . . . **paintings.**

Fol. 157. The Chiefe Commodities brought hither from Suratt: are . . . . . course **Paintings.**

[This useful word is not, though it should have been, in Yule. He quotes Fryer for 1673, *s. v.* palempore, thus: "**Calicuts white & painted.**" See also *s. v.* Pintado. It meant what are now known as "prints" and "printed calicoes." *N. and E.* p. 35, for 5th Oct. 1680: 'Advice received from Conjeveram that Lingapa had given leave for **Paintings** and Bantam goods to be brought into Town." P. 37, 27th Oct.: "Upon the discovery being made that

Pedda Yenkatadry's relatives, the Pedda Naigue, the **Chief Painter with other painters** . . . . had left the Town privately." P. 42, 23rd Dec.: "The Malabar **painters** Tasherift."]

PALANKEEN.

Fol. 13. his retinue were as followeth . . . . Six **Palanchinos.**

Fol. 20. the Bridegroom and bride are carried in a **Palanchino.**

Fol. 41. his Retinue of Attendants and Menial Servants are in great number, he keeps Severall **Palanchinoes.**

Fol. 43. A **Palanchino** is of y^e forme above described [drawing], beinge a longe Square fframe about 6 foot in length and 3 or 3½ foot broad, very neatly inlaid wth Ivory and Turtle Shell of Excellent Workman ship plated with Silver . . . . . . with a large Pamboo of about 15 or 16 foot longe, crooked in y^e middle for y^e conveniencie of sittinge Vpright, or may ly downe and Sleep in it.

Fol. 68. his lumber of travailinge Necessaries viz^t Tents, **Palanchinoes,** Servants Souldiery &c.

Fol. 80. and thus with many faire wheedles, and comeinge downe (in person) to y^e barre with Store of Elephants, **Palanchinoes** &c pretendinge to waite for y^e kissinge of y^e Commadore's hand.

Fol. 88. a Gentue in Hugly died and was brought downe to ye Riuer Side, his Widdow was brought downe in a **Palanchino** with very great attendance after their manner.

See Yule, *s. v.* Palankeen. [The quotations are good for the form of the word. *N. and E.* p. 25, for 28th June 1680, affords a valuable quotation here: "In consequence of a duty of Dustoory or Baratta having been exacted without authority by the Governour's **Pallenkeen Booys** from all the coolies that carry **Pallenkeens,** it is resolved to let this right to receive the said Dustoor for one year for the sum of 20 Pagodas." See *ante,* Vol. XXX. p. 398 f.]

PALEMPORES.

Fol. 37. Metchlipatam. Affordeth many very good and fine Commodities, viz^t all Sorts of fine Callicoes plaine and coloured, more Especially fine **Pallampores** for Quilts.

Fol 49. This part of y^e Countrey [Narsapore] affordeth plenty of______**Pallampores.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Palempore. [A chintz bed-spread.]

PALMITO.

Fol. 29. y^e Groves cons'stinge of . . . **Palmito** . . . y^e **Palmito** is noe more then a rough Sort of Wood . . . . they beare Some bunches of fruite very lucious, but noe way pleasant beinge noe better then wild dates, they afford liquor alsoe y^t drop from y^e top of it viz^t from y^e younge branches and is called **date Toddy.**

Fol. 69. [Cuttack] adorned with . . . . delicate Groves of . . . . **Palmito.**

Not in Yule, though he quotes *s. v.* Toddy: "1611. **Palmiti Wine,** which they call Toddy." [In the text the *palmito* is the date-palm in contradistinction to the *palmyra* or toddy-palm.]

PALMYRA.

Fol. 18. they write Vpon y^e leaves of **Palmero** trees & wth a Sharpe pointed jron (for the penne) an antient (yea I suppose of y^e greatest antiquitie) custome, whence I doe Suppose wee had that Vsual word a leafe of paper.

Fol. 23. when they are younge (yea in theire infancie) they have Small Ones [rings] made of **palmero leafe** thrust in [their ears].

Fol. 25. throwinge on much more combustible things, to wit . . . . dried palmero **leaves** or the like.

Fol. 29. yͤ Groves consistinge of . . . **Palmero** . . . . the **Palmero** tree affordeth that rare liquor formerly termed **Palme-Wine,** now vulgarly called Toddy.

Fol. 69. [Cuttack] adorned with . . . delicate Groves of . . . **Palmero.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Palmyra. [The quotations above are nearly all valuable.]

PALMYRA, POINT.

Fol. 59. **Point Palmeris** yͤ Entrance into yͤ Bay of Bengala . . . . . a very wild Open bay that Extendeth it selfe from Point Conjaguaree to **Palmeris.**

Fol. 61. the Sea or Gulph of Bengala : vizᵗ between **Point Palmeris** (the Entrance thereof).

See Yule, *s. v.* Palmyra, Point. [The quotations above are valuable.]

PARA.

Fol. 53. Measures [on Choromandel Coast] . . . The **Para** cont : (?) Markalls.

Not in Yule. [*N. and E.*, p. 23, for 3rd June, 1680, has a very valuable quotation here : " Eight small measures make one Tomb [= Mercall], Five Tombs make one **Parra,** eighty **Parras** make one Garce." It is a pity that the text has a blank just here.]

PARIAH.

Fol. 27. there are another Sort of inhabitants about this [Choromandel] Coast that are yͤ Offscum of all yͤ rest they are called **Parjars,** they are of noe Cast whatever.

See Yule, *s. v.* Pariah. [*N. and E.*, p. 34, for 21st Sept., 1680, has "every village has a Cancoply [clerk] and a Paryar [servant] who are imployed in this office which goes from Father to Son."]

PATAM.

Fol. 35. Metchlipatam : Soe called from yͤ Hindostan ore Moors Languadge word Metchli signifieinge fish and **patam or Patanam a towne.**

Not in Yule.

PATANI.

Fol. 145. Hee hath always been a great peace maker amonge yͤ Neighbouringe [to Queda] Kings Vizᵗ **Pattany** & **Johore.**

Fol. 152. **Pattanie,** a Kingdome that is near neighbour to this [Queda] lyinge on yͤ East Side of this great Neck of Land called yͤ Malay Coast.

Not in Yule.

PATNA.

Fol 64. yͤ Goverment of the 3 kingdoms (namely) Orixa : Bengala : & **Pattana :** was Established Vpon Emir Jemla.

Fol. 67. In yͤ yeare 1678 : the Emperour's Son . . . . . he sends him into yͤ Kingdome of **Pattana.**

Fol. 68. Many of the Grandees of these 3 Kingdomes mett their Prince at **Pattana** and the rest at Radja Mehal.

Fol. 97. **Pattana :** A Very large and potent Kingdome . . . . this is a Countrey of very great Trafficke & Commerce & is really yͤ great Gate yᵗ Openeth into Bengala and Orixa . . . . The Chiefe Citty called **Pattana :** a very large and Spacious one indeed and is Scituate neare to the Riuer of Ganges : many miles up.

Fol. 98. The English East India Company have a ffactory in **Pattana**, adjoyneinge to the Citty . . . . The English Chiefe (by name) Job : Chanock : hath lued here many years.

See Yule, *s. v.* Patna.

PATTELLO.

Fol. 68. he laded 60 **Patellas** with Silver and by credible report tenne wth Gold Moors, each **Patella** not carryinge lesse one with another . . . . then 25 or 30 tunns of Plate.

Fol. 98. great flatt bottomed Vessels, of an Exceedinge Strength wch are called **Patellas**, each of them will bringe downe 4: 5 : 6000 : Bengala Maunds . . . . . Many **Patellas** come downe yearly laden wth Wheat and Other graine and goe Vp laden with Salt and bees wax ye Kings onely commodities.

Fol. 101. **Patella:** The boats that come downe from Pattana wth Saltpeeter or Other goods built of an Exceedinge Strength and are Very flatt and burthensome.

See Yule, *s. v.* Pattello. [The quotations are valuable.]

PAWN.

Fol. 45. often chawinge Betelee Areca wch they call **Paune.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Pawn.

PECUL.

Fol. 171. they carried away above 100 **Picul** of fine Gold out of ye Treasury.

See Yule, *s. v.* Pecul. [The Malay *cwt.*] See also *ante*, Vol. XXVIII. 37 ff.]

PEGU.

Fol. 84. [Gong] made of fine Gans of **Pegu.**

Fol. 148. ye Kinge of Syam . . . haveinge a warre of greater consequence in hand namely wth ye Kinge of **Pegu.**

Fol. 157. Many Ships and Vessels doe . . . arrive in this Port [Achin] from . . . **Pegu.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Pegu.

PEON.

Fol. 41. his Retinue of Attendants and Menial Servants are in great number . . . . 2 or 3 hundred **Punes** . . . . **Punes** are noe Other then waiteinge men . . . . . they runne by his Palanchino or Elephant as **foot boys.**

Fol. 91. to Suppresse ye Leachery of him and his **Punes.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Peon. [The "boy" in "foot-boys" above is probably also an Anglo-Indianism: see Yule, *s. v.* Boy.]

PERAK.

Fol. 153. about 30 or 40 Prows they have yt belonge to Queda yt constantly trade to Bangaree : Ianselone : and **Pera,** some few to Achin.

Fol. 158. ffrom . . . . . . **Pera** &c : on ye Malay Coast little Save Tinne.

Not in Yule. [*Perāk* is a Malay State having about 100 miles of coast line on the west of the Malay Peninsula.]

PESHCUSH.

Fol. 71. She a most mannish woman of these ages couragiously sends him word she owed him nothinge, nor had she ever recd any **Piscash** from him whereby to make retalliation.

Fol. 72. Accordinge to his Expectation y^e English and Dutch Agents and their councels went out in State to waite vpon him carryinge considerable **Piscashes** with them to p̄sent him with.

Fol. 73. soe that they were forced to **Piscash** them accordinge to their owne demands.

Fol. 134. Two of y^e Grandees of his Councill must alsoe be **Piscashed** w^th 6 pieces of fine Callicoes or Chint each of them :

Fol. 146. y^e English Merchant presenteth him w^th a piscash not Valueinge lesse then 50 pound Sterlinge . . . . . When y^e Said Merchant cometh downe to Queda he **Piscasheth** y^e younge Kinge alsoe w^th almost soe much [in Value] as he did y^e Old one.

See Yule, *s. v.* Peshcush. [An obligatory gift to a high official.]

PETTAPOLY.

Fol. 31. y^e Next English ffactorie wee have is **Pettipolee** . . . . . it lyeth to the S Ward of Point Due in a Sandy bay called **Pettipolee bay,** y^e English and Dutch have Each of them a ffactory in y^e towne.

Fol. 31. Great Abundance of White Salt is made in y^e Vallies of **Pettipolee.**

Fol. 32. Anno Dom̄ : 1672 I stroke downe to **Pettipolee** in a journey I tooke Overland ffrom S^t Georg's to Metchlipatam.

Not in Yule.

PICAN.

Fol. 53. in Narsapore & y^e Villadges 20 or 30 miles off they have a Small Sort of moneys made of lead like Swan Shot and are called **Picans** many hundreds of them passe for One Rupee.

Not in Yule.

PINE, PINE APPLE.

Fol. 150. They have Severall Sorts of very good ffruit in the Countrey [Queda] . . . . **Pines,** of w^ch last they have in great abundance more then in any Other Countrey y^t Ever I was in y^e Figure of y^e **Pine Apple** as followeth [illustration].

Yule has no quotations for Pine-Apple, but see those *s. v.* Ananas.

PINJREE.

Fol. 43. With a Scarlet or broadcloth coveringe (called a **Pingaree**) Stretched out Square [over a Palanchino].

Not in Yule. [*Pinjrá, pinjrí*, is ordinary Hindustani for a cage.]

PINTADO.

Fol. 7. alsoe very ingenuous in workinge Cotton Cloth or Silks, **pantados.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Pintado. [The Portuguese form of "paintings" (*q. v.*) or prints.]

PIPLY.

Fol. 73. he wold Every yeare Send downe to y^e Merchants in . . . **Piplo.**

Fol. 77. The Nabob and Some Merchants here and in Ballasore & **Piplo.**

Fol. 100. These Vse for the most part between Hugly & **Pyplo** & Ballasore.

Not in Yule, though it certainly should be. [One of the earliest Factories in Bengal.]

PLANTAIN.

Fol. 38. Each of these huge Annimals [elephants], must have at y^e least 70 : **plantan trees** laid in for his provender . . . . . . they never let them drinke any water at Sea, **a Plantan tree** beinge a Very liquorish thing Naturally and will not dry up much in lesse then 2 months.

Fol. 134. doth often Send us . . . . **plantans** . . . . . all the fruite this countrey [Janselone] affordeth is Coconutt **Plantan** . . . . . but noe fruit soe plenty here as the **Plantan.**

Fol. 147. haveinge yͤ tame Elephants by them, and good Store of victuals, as **plantrees** [contemporary form of "plane-trees"], younge bamboos and yͤ like.

See Yule, *s. v.* Plantain [The last quotation is valuable.]

POLLICULL.

Fol. 49. The Dutch have a ffactorie 4 English miles above ours, & is called **Pollicull:** after yͤ name of a Villadge there unto adjoyneinge.

Not in Yule. [Near Madapollam or Narsapore (*q. v.*).]

POMMELO.

Fol. 175. This Countrey [Achin] affordeth Severall Excellent good fruites, Namely . . . . . **Pumple Mooses** &c: and yͤ trees beare fruite both green and ripe all yͤ yeare alonge.

See Yule, *s. v.* Pommelo: the largest variety of orange.

PONDICHERRY.

Fol. 142. yͤ Southermost parts of yͤ Choromandell Coast, Vizᵗ . . . **Pullicherrie.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Pondicherry. [The above is a most valuable quotation for the history of this name. *N. and E.* has, p. 20, for 23rd May, 1680, **Puddicherry**, and p. 25, for 28th June, **Puddicherree.**]

PONE.

Fol. 94. 4 burries make 1 **Pone** or 80: Cowries. 16 **Pone** make 1 Cawne or 1280: Cowries . . . . They seldome rise or fall more then 2 **Pone** in one Rupee.

Not in Yule. [It is for *pan*; see *ante*, Vol. XXVII. p. 170.]

POONDY.

Fol. 56. beinge a Very Secure Coast to harbour in namely in . . . . **Pondi.**

Not in Yule. [Near Vizagapatam: see *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 356.]

PORE.

Fol. 83. when he hath Strucken Seven: he then Striketh 1: vizᵗ One **Pore** . . . . and then Striketh 2 vizᵗ 2 **Pore**: vizᵗ midday or midnight, as 9 in yͤ morneinge Is one **Pore**, 12 att Noone is 2 **Pore**, 3 in yͤ afternoone 3 **Pore**, O Settinge 4 **Pore** and soe of yͤ night.

[For *pahrâ*, a watch.] See Yule, *s. v.* Puhur, Ghurry, and Gong.

PORGO.

Fol. 100. **A Purgoo:** These Vse for the most part between Hugly & Pyplo and Ballasore: with these boats they carry goods into yͤ Roads On board English & Dutch &c: Ships, they will liue a longe time in yͤ Sea: being brought to anchor by yͤ Sterne, as theire Vsual way is.

See Yule, *s. v.* Porgo: but see also *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 160.

PORTO NOVO.

Fol. 41. yͤ Kinge of Golcondah, Sole Lord and Kinge of all this Coast saveinge to yͤ Southward of **Porto Novo.**

Fol. 53. **Porto Novo** & Tricombar.

Fol. 142. yͤ Southermost parts of yͤ Choromandell Coast, Vizᵗ **Porto Novo.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Porto Novo; who doe not, however, trace the history of the place. [The following quotations from *N. and E.* are very valuable in this connection. P. 13, 20th March 1680:

"Intelligence received from **Porto Novo** that the **Dutch** have leave to settle a **Factory** there." P. 44, 6th January 1681: "Accordingly it is resolved to supply to the Soobidar of Sevagee's Country of Chengy for a Cowle to settle **Factories** at Cooraboor and Coonemerro and also at **Porto Novo,** if desired, the Company's Merchants engaging to deliver cloth there at the same rates as here."]

PORTUGUESE.

Fol. 82. A great Multitude of **Portugals** inhabit yͤ Kingdome of Bengala, Especially in Hugly and Some Other Creeks or Rivolets of yͤ Riuer thereof, many of them are filias de Lisboa (as they call them selvs) vizᵗ European's borne, but many more of them are filias de Indies . . . . . The **Portugals** are admitted to liue in any part of the Kingdome [of Benga'a], with freedome Enough, but not soe much as Some of their richest men, **ffidalgas,** as they call them vizᵗ Gentlemen doe Expect.

Fol. 83. The **Portugueeses** haveing collected a good Sum̄ of moneys to yͤ End they might build a very large & decent Church.

Not in Yule. [By Portugals and Portugueeses were meant Portuguese half-breeds and also Roman-Catholic converts, often pure Natives of the country. *N. and E.* p. 38, for 1st November 1680, has a valuable quotation here: "It is resolved to Entertain about 100 Topasses or **Black Portugez,** the better to guard the washers."]

PROW.

Fol. 131. Piratts . . . . have many cunninge places to hide themselves and theire men of **warre Prows** in.

Fol. 138. A great prow of about 40 tunns in burthen had gott in privately and traded for tinne . . . the Dutch . . . by order of theire Chiefe Merchant there Seized yͤ **Prow** . . . therefore that **Prow** and her goods were theire lawfull Prize . . . . . tooke yͤ **Prow** and her goods by Violence out of yͤ hands of yͤ Dutch.

Fol. 139. each of the 3 Sea Ports Shold build and fitt out to Sea 2 men of **warre Prows,** each to carry 10 gunns and Pattereros, & well manned and fitted with Small arms.

Fol. 144. they Sent away yͤ Other Seamen in a **Prow** bound for Achin.

Fol. 144. but they [the Portugueeses] did not longe remaine in Slavery before they tooke a fitt Opportunitie to make their Escape in a **Prow.**

Fol. 153. 5 or 6 great **Prows** yearly from Borneo, and about 30 or 40 **Prows** they have yᵗ belonge to Queda.

Fol. 157. with infinite Numbers of **Prows** from yͤ Malay Shore.

Fol. 161. there is Sent off from yͤ Custome-house a **Small flyinge Prow** . . . yͤ **Prow** goeth on Shore again.

See Yule, *s. v.* Prow, and *ante,* Vol. XXX. p. 160. [Yule's information requires much supplementing.]

PRYAMAN.

Fol. 159. There are Severall Radjas Vpon Sumatra . . . . Especially those of . . . **Pryaman.**

Not in Yule.

PULICAT.

Fol. 31. Some twenty or twenty two miles to yͤ Northward of ffort Sᵗ Georg's the Dut[c]h have a towne and Garrison called **Pullicatt.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Pulicat, and *ante,* Vol. XXX. p. 355.

PULO.

Fol. 149. **Pullo** in y^e Malay tongue Signifieth **Jsland.**

Not in Yule.

PULO GOMUS.

Fol. 157. [Achin Road] almost land locked w^th y^e head of Sumatra: Pullo Way: and **Pullo Gomus:** and 2 or 3 Small Jslands and rocks, y^e land is all Mountaneous and woody Save where y^e Citty Standeth: more Especially the 2 Jslands Way and **Gomus**, haveinge noe low land about them, nor are they inhabited more then w^th Some banished Cripples Sent from y^e Citty.

Not in Yule, but see his quotation *s. v.* Penang.

PULO SAMBELONG.

Fol. 131. The Saleeters are absolute Piratts, and often cruiseinge about Ianselone & **Pullo Sambelon** &c Jsles neare this Shore.

Not in Yule. [Off the South-West Coast of the Malay Peninsula.]

PULO WAY.

Fol. 157. [Achin Road] almost land locked w^th y^e head of Sumatra **Pullo Way**: and Pullo Gomus . . . . Especially the 2 **Jslands Way** and Gomus, haveinge noe low land about them, nor are they inhabited more then w^th Some banished Cripples Sent from y^e Citty.

Not in Yule.

PUTTA.

Fol. 132. They have noe Sort of Coyned monies here [Janselone] save what is made of tinne, w^ch is melted into Small lumps . . . . One Small lumpe or **Putta** valueth here 3^d Eng^sh One great **Putta** is $2\frac{1}{2}$ Small ones Val: $7\frac{1}{2}$^d penny En^sh w^ch is theire Currant moneys and noe Other . . . . when a Small parcell then for soe many Viece: or soe many great or Small **puttas**: 4 great **puttas** make a Viece 10 Small ones is a Viece.

Not in Yule.

QUALA.

Fol. 161. brought to Quala (viz^t) y^e barre att y^e Riuer's mouth by one of y^e Queen's [of Achin] Eunuchs.

Not in Yule: the estuary of a large river. See also Yule, *s. v.* Calay.

QUEDDA

Fol. 77. The Elephants of Ceylone are best Esteemed of here . . . then those of Tanassaree **Queda**: or Syam.

Fol. 143. **Queda**: A Kingdome (soe called) Vpon y^e Malay Coast, the Chiefe Roade & Riuer called of y^e Same from the Chiefe towne or Citty thereof. It is y^e largest and most Navigable Riuer in this Kingdome . . . . and Navigable att any time up to y^e towne of **Queda**: w^ch is not lesse then 60 English miles above y^e barre thereof.

Fol. 144. But many rogues lye Sculkinge about y^e Jslands of Queda and about y^e Riuer of **Old Queda** . . . . came boldly Vp to Queda and Sold the goods to Sarajah Cawn: a Chulyar & chiefe Shabandar of **Quedah**.

Fol. 145. This Kingdome hath liued Vnder a happy Goverment in peace many years with all Nations Save y^e Hollander, whoe have warre w^th **Queda** (through theire owne Seekinge).

Fol. 146. feasteth them very Nobly, (& Royally accordinge to y^e Custome of **Queda**).

Fol. 148. The Kinge of **Queda** is Tributary to him of Syam, although yͤ tribute he payeth be but inconsiderable in it Selfe, beinge noe more then annually a gold flowre, not Exceedinge 20 pieces of 8 in Value, yet he must Send or incurre his displeasure, yͤ like all yͤ Kings Vpon yͤ Malay Coast must doe.

Fol. 153. This River of **Queda** is a Very good Riuer and soe is that of **Old Queda** yᵗ lyeth to yͤ Southward of this.

See Yule, *s. v* Quedda. [The quotations are good.]

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J F. FLEET, I C S (RETD), PH D., C.I.E.

Kavîsvara's Kavirâjamârga.[1]

THERE is a Kanarese metrical work, entitled **Kavirâjamârga,** — or, by slightly free translation, "the Path of Poets Laureate," — which deals with *alaṁkâra* or the art of ornate poetical expression. It appears to have been first brought to notice in 1890,[2] in *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsanam*, Introd. pp. 7, 23, by Mr. Rice, who wrongly attributed the composition of it to the Râshṭrakûṭa king Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha I. It has been "edited" by Mr. K. B. Pathak, B.A., in the capacity of "Assistant to the Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore," as a volume of the Bibliotheca Carnatica, entitled **"Nṛipatuṅga's Kavirâjamârgga,"** published in 1898 at Bangalore under the "direction" of Mr. Rice. And, in the opening words of the editor's Introduction, — which, it may be remarked, has been also issued, without its last four or five paragraphs, as an article in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. pp. 22 to 39, — it is indicated as **the oldest Kanarese work that has as yet been discovered.** It may well be such; though it is not by any means the earliest specimen of the Kanarese language, as we have Kanarese records of the Western Chalukya kings, of the Râshtrakûṭa kings, and of the Western Gaṅga princes of Mysore, which are of earlier times. And it is also of interest in having a bearing upon the date of the Sanskṛit writer Daṇḍin, whose treatment of the same topic has been, partially at any rate, followed, whether by direct adaptation or by second-hand borrowing, in it. And it is, therefore, worth while **to consider carefully what the period and circumstances of the composition of this work really were.** The work is not dated. But it contains statements and allusions, by means of which the points in question can be determined.

As may be gathered even from the title given by him to his volume, **the editor of this so-called Nṛipatuṅga's Kavirâjamârga has followed Mr. Rice in assigning the composition of it to the Râshṭrakûṭa king Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha I.** He has primarily based

[1] It may be thought that this Note, which is practically a review of a book that was published in 1898, makes a rather late appearance. And so it does. But, for a long time after the book in question reached me, in 1899, I was unable to write about it, partly through being very much engaged in more important work, and partly because of the difficulty of obtaining in England some other Kanarese books which it was necessary to examine and quote. And now, for more than a year, the Note has lain among my papers, finished except for the final reading that was of course necessary before sending it out, but a constant pressure of affairs has prevented me from giving it that final reading. I do not, however, regret the delay; because recent receipt of Mr. R. Narasimhachar's edition of the *Kâvyâvalôkana* (see note 5 on page 197 above), — one of the other works which I particularly wanted to see, — has enabled me to make some very appropriate improvements, especially in connection with the fact that there were two Kanarese writers, and not simply one, named Nâgavarma. — J F. F.; November, 1903.

[2] The editor of the *Kavirâjamârga* has said, almost at the beginning of his Introduction, that the *Kavirâjamârga* "was first introduced to Oriental Scholars by Mr Rice in a paper contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society." And to this remark he has attached the footnote "For July 1883," without specifying any page. I have had occasion to read, more than once, Mr. Rice's article on "Early Kannada Authors" in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S, Vol. XV., 1883, pp. 295 to 314. With nothing to guide me beyond the vague and slovenly reference given by the editor of the *Kavirâjamârga*, I can only say that, in that article by Mr. Rice, I cannot find any mention of the work in question, or detect anything that can be recognised as an allusion to it.

that conclusion upon three expressions in the work itself, which he has quoted on page 2 of his Introduction. According to the text of the book, those expressions are, in chapter 3, verse 98, — Nṛipatuṅgadêva-matadinde, — "by the opinion of Nṛipatuṅgadêva;" in chapter 3, verse 11, — Atiśayadhavaḷa-dharâdhipa-matadindaṁ, — "by the opinion of the king Atiśayadhavaḷa;" and in chapter 3, verse 1, — akhila-dharâ-vallabhan . . . . Amôghavarshsha-nṛipêndraṁ, — "the great king Amôghavarsha, the favourite of the whole earth." The editor, — who, it may here be remarked once for all, has for the most part abstained from presenting translations of passages relied on by him or even indicating the meaning of them, and so has avoided facilitating an understanding of the matter by those who do not know Kanarese, — has not said anything about the context of these expressions, which he has thus detached from their surroundings. Nor has he attempted to shew how these three separate expressions are to be combined with each other. But, from the simple citation of them, he has proceeded to say: — "From these expressions it is manifest "that Nṛipatuṅga composed the Kavirâjamârga, that he had the titles of Amôghavarshsha and "Atiśayadhavaḷa, and that he was a paramount sovereign. And since he writes in Kannaḍa, it may "be further inferred that the Karṇâṭaka formed part of his dominions. Two verses" — (a footnote specifies chapter 1, verse 90, and chapter 3, verse 18), — "which praise Jina, reflect the religious "opinions of the author. These facts enable us to identify him with the Râshṭrakûṭa emperor "Nṛipatuṅga or Amôghavarshsha I." A more feeble way of asserting a result, without any attempt at explanation or argument, could hardly be conceived. But that is not all. Having started by enunciating that result, the editor has proceeded to tell us (Introd. p. 2) that there are "one or two "expressions," in the colophons and elsewhere in the work, which are "apt" to lead us into a belief opposed to it. He has then explained away, to his own satisfaction, in a manner which will be exhibited further on, the obstacle raised by the colophons. He has not attempted to explain away the obstacle presented by another passage (chapter 2, verse 53), mentioning the name of Atiśaya-dhavala but not of Nṛipatuṅga, which, he has admitted, "cannot be so satisfactorily explained," and "is calculated to give one the impression that the writer of the work was different from "Nṛipatuṅga." But, stamping it as a solitary instance, he has proceeded (Introd. p. 3) to set off against it four other passages (chapter 1, verses 24, 147, chapter 2, verse 27, and chapter 3, verse 1), in respect of which it is sufficient to say, here, that neither does any one of them, nor does the context of any one of them, mention the name of Nṛipatuṅga; they mention only the names Atiśayadhavala and Amôghavarsha. He has then cited two passages which do not mention either of the two names which are mentioned in those four passages. Of these two passages, one (chapter 3, verse 225) simply compares some person, who the editor says is Nṛipatuṅga, and whom we may take to be Nṛipatuṅga though his name is not mentioned in it, to "a flight of steps leading to the sacred waters of "Sarasvatî" And the other (chapter 3, verse 230) says, according to the editor's rendering of it, that "knowledge contained in Nṛipa-tuṅga-dêva-mârgga or Kavirâja-mârgga is a ship which safely "carries a high-souled person across the ocean of Kannaḍa poetry." We need not lay any stress upon the fact that the original of this passage does not contain anything answering to the words "or "Kavirâja-mârgga" and "Kannaḍa," which are gratuitous insertions by the editor. The editor has then proceeded to tell us that "these facts" — (namely, the six passages thus presented by him) — "prove that Nṛipatuṅga composed the present work." He has then cited two verses, which, he has said, tell us that "Nṛipatuṅga-dêva-mârgga means the path indicated by the great Nṛipatuṅga." Of these, one is verse 105 of chapter 2, from which he has quoted the words, — mahâ-Nṛipatuṅga-dêvan=âdaradoḷe pêḷda mârgga, — which would mean literally "the path very kindly (or encouragingly) declared by the great Nṛipatuṅgadêva;" the other is verse 106 of chapter 3, which does not mention the name of Nṛipatuṅga, and from which he has quoted the words, — Atiśayadhavaḷ-ôpadêśa-mârgga, — which mean literally "the path of the teaching of Atiśayadhavaḷa." And he has arrived at the conclusion (Introd. p. 3) that the title of the work, *Kavirâjamârga*, is thus "easily "explained" as meaning "the path indicated by the king of poets who is no other than Nṛipatuṅga "himself."

Having thus followed the editor through a series of mere assertions which do not present anything in the way of discriminative reasoning, **we may now proceed to deal with the matter in a methodical manner.** As, unfortunately, so often happens in correcting a wrong assertion, the misleading result propounded by the editor in respect of the author of the work cannot be replaced by the correct result by an equally brief process. But the longer inquiry has this advantage, that it leads us ultimately to some interesting points which the editor has overlooked altogether, — the name of the real author of the work, the name of the earlier authority whom he followed, and the way in which he proceeded in composing his work.

In trying to discover the person by whom any particular ancient work has been composed, we most naturally look, in the first place, to any colophon which that work may have. And we, therefore, turn first to **the colophons of the Kavirâjamârga,** of which there are three, one at the end of each of its three *parichchhêdas* or chapters.

The colophon of the first chapter runs:[3] — Gadya ‖ Idu parama-śrî-Nṛipatuṅgadêv-ânumatam=appa Kavirâjamârggadoḷ dôshâdôsh-ânuvarṇṇana-nirṇṇayaṁ prathama-parichchhêdaṁ.

The **colophon of the second chapter** runs: — Idu śrî-Nṛipatuṅgadêv-ânumatam=appa Kavirâjamârggadoḷ śabdâlaṁkâra-varṇṇanâ-nirṇṇayaṁ dvitîya-parichchhêdaṁ saṁpûrṇṇaṁ.

And the **colophon of the third chapter** runs: — Idu parama-Sarasvatîtîrtthâvatâra-Nṛipatuṅgadêv-ânumatam=appa Kavirâjamârggadoḷ=artthâlaṁkâraṁ tṛitîya-parichchhêdaṁ ‖ Kavirâjamârgg-âlaṁkâraṁ samâptaṁ ‖

For the information of Sanskṛitists who may not know Kanarese, it is to be explained that the word *Kavirâjamârggadoḷ* is the locative singular, and that *appa* is a form of the relative present participle of *âgu*, 'to become,' and has the effect of placing the word which precedes it in apposition with that locative[4] The exactly corresponding Sanskṛit expression, for **the colophon of the first chapter,** would be *parama . . . . ânumatê Kavirâjamârggê.* And **the literal translation** of that colophon is: — "Ornate prose. This is the first chapter, (*entitled*) the description of those things which are faults and those which are not faults, in **the Kavirâjamârga which is approved of (or concurred in) by the most glorious Nṛipatuṅgadêva."** The colophons of the second and third chapters, which deal with embellishment of sound and embellishment of sense, have exactly the same purport in respect of the point under consideration.

It seems almost absurd, to have to point out that, if there had been an intention to indicate actual composition of the work by the Nṛipatuṅga who is thus mentioned in the colophons, there would have been used, instead of *anumata*, 'assented to, concurred in,' some such word as *rachita* or *virachita*, 'composed,' or *kṛita*, 'made.' Nothing could be plainer than the fact that the colophons distinctly shew that **the Kavirâjamârga was not composed by Nṛipatuṅga,** and that **it was composed by some other person who represented himself as simply putting forward views concurred in by Nṛipatuṅga.** The editor, however, while admitting (Introd. p. 2) that the colophons are some of "one or two expressions occurring in the present work, which are apt to

[3] I have felt some doubt as to the best way of presenting those passages of the original which I quote. The editor's transliterated text does certainly not represent the original exactly as it stands. And there is no guarantee that his Kanarese text does so. I have taken the latter as my guide. But I have replaced the *anusvâras* by the proper nasals, wherever the use of the latter is more correct. And I have followed a frequent custom of Native books, in omitting to shew *saṁdhi* between a word ending with *r*, *l*, or *ḷ*, and a following word commencing with a consonant.

[4] We may compare in this detail, and contrast in the use of *virachita* instead of *anumata*, the latter part of the colophon of, for instance, the first canto of the *Pampa-Râmâyana*, a work to which we have to refer for other purposes further on: — Idu parama-Jina-samaya-kumudinî-śarachchandra-Bâlachandramunîndra-charaṇa-nakha-kiraṇa-chandrikâ-chakôraṁ Bhâratîkarṇṇapûraṁ śrîmad-Abhinava-Pampa-virachitam=appa Râmachandracharita-purâṇadoḷ pîṭhikâ-prakaraṇaṁ pratham-âśvâsaṁ.

"lead one into the belief that Nṛipatuṅga may not have been the real author of the work," has had the assurance to follow up that admission by the assertion that "the word 'anumatam' is obviously "intended to express the author's approval" — (that is, according to his representation of the matter, the approval of Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha I.) — "of those views of his predecessors, which "are summarised in the present work." That assertion is nothing but a gratuitous misrepresentation of the meaning of the colophons, which do not contain any allusion of any kind to views of predecessors. And there is not anything in the body of the work, which could justify any such tampering with the plain meaning of the colophons.

The next most natural step is to turn to **the opening verses of the work.** The first two verses run as follows: —

Srî taḷt=uradoḷ kaustubha-
  jâta-dyuti baḷasi kâṇḍapaṭad=ant-ire saṁ- |
prîtiyin=âvanan=agalaḷ
  Nîtinirantaran=udâran=â **Nṛipatuṅgaṁ** || 1, 1.
Kṛitakṛityamallan=aprati-
  hata-vikraman=osedu **Vîranârâyaṇan**=a- |
pp=**Atiśayadhavaḷaṁ** namag=îg=
  atarkkitôpasthita-pratâp-ôdayamaṁ || 1, 2.

Translation: — (Verse 1) "Let Fortune, — clinging to (*his*) breast, with the lustre, born from the *kaustubha*-jewel, lying round (*her*) like a screen surrounding a tent, — not abandon with (*her*) affection him (literally, whom?); (*namely*) the noble **Nîtinirantara** ("he who never ceases to display statesmanship"), that (*famous*, or *well-known*) **Nṛipatuṅga!**" — (Verse 2) "Let **Atiśaya-dhâvaḷa**, — who is **Kṛitakṛityamalla** ("the wrestler, or the most excellent, of those who have done their duty"), and who, possessing prowess which has not been checked (*just as the god Vishṇu-Nârâyaṇa* had *three* strides which were not obstructed), has pleasingly become **Vîranârâyaṇa**, — give to us a development of power that comes quite unexpectedly!"

In respect of **the next two verses,** it is sufficient to state that, in them, the author has given utterance, in expanded terms, to the prayers: — "Let the goddess Sarasvatî lovingly take up her abode in my thoughts!" and: — "Let those supreme great poets, from whose jaws compositions, properly adorned by the most excellent embellishments, have made their appearance, be our aid in this work!"

The real nature of **the first and second verses** is quite unmistakable. In the first of them, **the author** of the work **prays that good fortune may never desert** a person, **Nṛipatuṅga,** whom the expressions employed by him mark as a person of exalted rank. In the second, **he asks Atiśayadhavala,** — whom, in this stage of the inquiry, we might, or might not, be inclined to identify with the Nṛipatuṅga who is mentioned in the preceding verse, — **to inspire him** with a power, in dealing with the subject lying before him, which he himself, unaided, could not hope to display. And the true nature of the second verse, at any rate, was rightly understood by Mr. Rice, when he said: — "Commencing with reverence to Atiśaya-dhavaḷa, *i. e.* his father "Gôvinda or Prabhûta-varsha, 'to whose court only learned and skilful poets were admitted.' "Nṛipatuṅga goes on to mention," &c.[5] That exposition of the verse, indeed, involved the mistakes of taking Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha I. to be the author of the work, and of taking Atiśaya-dhavala to be his father Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvinda III., though it had been made known from the Sirûr inscription, published seven years before that sentence was issued, that Atiśayadhavala was Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha I.[6] But Mr. Rice was so far correct, in that he properly understood this verse as containing a prayer or request addressed by the author of the work to Atiśayadhavala. On the other hand, the editor of the *Kavirâjamârga* could not, and did not, ignore the fact that

[5] *Karnâṭakaśabdânuśâsanam*, Introd. p. 23.
[6] See Vol. XII. above, p. 215. For a revised edition of this record, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 202.

Atiśayadhavala was Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha I. But, in order to uphold the assertion that Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha I. was the author of the work, he was obliged to misrepresent the real nature of these two verses. And he has asserted (Introd. p. 3) that "Kannaḍa authors sometimes "transfer their own titles to the god whose aid they invoke in their works;" and, for some reason or other omitting at this point the appellation Atiśayadhavala, he has followed up this assertion by the amazing statement that "it is therefore not surprising to find that the god who is praised in "the opening verses of the Kavirâjamârga is called Nṛipatuṅga, Nîtinirantara, Kṛitakṛitya-malla "and Vîra-Nârâyaṇa." This statement, which simply means that Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha I., as the (alleged) author of the work, invented a god, and invested him with four of his own appellations, merely in order to invoke him in the opening verses of his work, cannot be characterised, mildly, as anything but a most indecorous attempt by the editor to abuse the confidence of his readers.

In support of his **general assertion that Kanarese authors sometimes transferred their own titles to gods whose aid they invoked in their works,** the editor has put forward **only one alleged specific case.** He has said (Introd. p. 3): — "Abhinava-Pampa may be cited as an "instance in point." And for this he has given, in a footnote, the hopelessly vague reference "Pampa-Râmâyaṇa, edited by Mr. Rice." It would be a large order, to peruse the whole of the **Pampa-Râmâyaṇa** on the strength of such an assertion and reference. And it is, really, unnecessary to attempt the task; because, whatever might have been done by Abhinava-Pampa or any other writers, it would not upset the plain meaning of the references to the author's patron, and not to any god, as Nîtinirantara, Nṛipatuṅga, Atiśayadhavala, Kṛitakṛityamalla, and Vîranârâyaṇa, in the first two verses of the *Kavirâjamârga*. But this much may be said, as the result of an examination of those parts of the *Pampa-Râmâyaṇa* or *Râmachandracharitapurâṇa*, according to the revised edition, published as a volume of the Bibliotheca Carnatica at Bangalore in 1892,[7] in which we might hope to find anything tending to support or excuse the assertion made by the editor of the *Kavirâjamârga*. The author of the *Pampa-Râmâyaṇa* has not invoked any god at all in the introductory stanzas of his work, namely, verses 1 to 41 of the first *âśvâsa* or canto. Nor has he invoked any god in the colophons, of which there are sixteen, one to each canto; his only allusion to a god there (see, for instance, note 4 on page 260 above) is in his description of his preceptor, Bâlachandra, as "the autumn moon of the group of water-lilies that was the doctrine of the supreme Jina." He has presented his own personal name, Nâgachandra, in the two concluding stanzas of the work, verses 97, 98 of canto 16: but he has not there alluded to any god named after himself; in those two verses, he has simply sounded his own praises, asserting[8] that he was the only real poet upon whom Sarasvatî had conferred the boon of being able to do justice to the story of Râma, and that no poets, past or contemporaneous, had dealt with it so ably.[9] In each of the sixteen colophons, he has described the work as "composed (*virachita*) by Bhâratîkarṇapûra, the famous

[7] The title-page marks this volume as edited by Mr. Rice. But on page 13 of the Introduction we are told that his Senior Pandit, Mr. Baradagunṭe Srinivas Ayyangar, corrected this revised edition throughout, and "may "be considered its editor." — I had to obtain this book, in order to investigate the assertion made in connection with it. And it took a long time to procure a copy. Eventually, a copy reached me in June, 1902.

[8] See, more fully, the abstract translation of these two verses on page 96 of the Introducton to the *Pampa-Râmâyaṇa*. In the text given there in a footnote, the word *Jaina-katheyaṁ*, in the last line of verse 97 (= 98), does not agree with the Kanarese text of the work itself, which presents *Râma-katheyaṁ*.

[9] These two verses illustrate a habit which various Kanarese authors had, of singing their own praises on every possible occasion, and sometimes in very high-flying language. The following other samples of these "not unfrequent but strange verses," as Dr. Kittel has termed them, may be brought together here.

In the third of the concluding verses of his *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, Kêśirâja has declared that, recognising the abundance of charms in it, all learned people will do honour to his work as a tasteful ornament to Śrî and a second lute to Sarasvatî.

In verse 10 of the first canto of his *Pampa-Bhârata* or *Vikramârjunavijaya*, the original Pampa has proclaimed himself pre-eminent in poetry just as his patron Guṇârṇava-Arikêsarin II. was pre-eminent in virtue; and, in verse 59 of the last canto, he has asserted that his *Bhârata* and *Âdipurâṇa* had thrust down and trampled on all previous poems.

And, in his *Chhandômbudhi* or *Chhandômburâśi*, the earlier Nâgavarma has "gone one better still:" in the first verse, speaking of himself as Kavirâjahamsa, he has announced that his extensive command of the choice of words

Abhinava-Pampa;"[10] and he has thus shewn that he had the secondary appellations of Abhinava-Pampa, by which he seems to have been best known, and of Bhâratîkarṇapûra. He has introduced the appellation Abhinava-Pampa in the first verse of each canto after the first. He has introduced the appellation Bhâratîkarṇapûra in the last verse of each of cantos 2, 3, 7 and 8. And he has similarly introduced an appellation Kavitâmanôhara in the last verse of each of cantos 1, 10, and 12 to 15, and an appellation Sâhityavidyâdhara in the last verse of each of cantos 4 to 6, 9, and 11; whereby he has established for himself the further appellations Kavitâmanôhara and Sâhitya-vidyâdhara. In all these passages, however, the author has distinctly alluded to himself, and not to any god named after himself. The real nature of these allusions by the poet to himself, was properly recognised by the editor of the *Pampa-Râmâyaṇa*, who, on page 19 of his Introduction to the work, has, in his analysis of the poem, summarised verse 1 of canto 2 as "invocation praising himself;" to which he has attached the footnote: — "It is a peculiarity of the poem that the concluding and "opening stanza of each *âśvâsa*, in continuing the action described in the narrative, introduces the "author's name in place of the hero's." But, as a sample of what the poet actually did, we will examine the passages which first introduce the appellations Kavitâmanôhara and Sâhityavidyâdhara. Verses 122 to 130 of canto 4 take the narrative to the point at which Janaka, mounted on the magic horse, — actually, on a Vidyâdhara (see the prose after verse 102) who had assumed the guise of a horse for the purpose, — arrived at the town of Rathanûpurachakravâla, and found, in a grove near it, a very charming temple of Jina; then comes a prose sentence, which says: — "Having seen this most excellent temple of Jina, and having circumambulated it;" then comes verse 131, which says, in expanded terms, that Sâhityavidyâdhara entered the Jain temple in order to sing a hymn of praise to the Jina; then verse 1 of canto 5 says, similarly in expanded terms that Abhinava-Pampa entered the temple of Jina; and then the action is carried on by a prose sentence, which says: — "Thus having entered, and having adorned the central hall with the rays of light from the water-lilies that were his feet, and having faced the lord of the three worlds, bringing his hands together like a water-lily closing a bud;" and so there is introduced the prayer, beginning in verse 2, addressed by Janaka to the god. Here, the name Sâhityavidyâdhara plainly denotes, from one point of view, Janaka, as having in company with him (*sâhitya*) the Vidyâdhara in the guise of the horse, and, from the other point of view, Abhinava-Pampa, as being a very demigod or master of learning (*vidyâdhara*) in literary composition (*sâhitya*). And thus the author here brought himself distinctly into the action of the narrative, by identifying himself, through the appellation Sâhityavidyâdhara, with the hero of this part of it. Again, verse 138 of canto 1 brings an earlier part of the narrative to the point at which, — two sons, Vijayabâhu and Puraṁdara, having been born to Surêndramanyu, son of Vijayaratha, — the latter, Vijayaratha, having thus "three eyes," had made to bow down to himself all the three worlds, the desires of which, directed towards himself, were multiplied to a three-fold extent; and verse 139 recites that, having given to the Earth the gratification of all her desires, — with the goddess Speech displaying herself as the flamingo on the water-lily that was his mouth, and with his Fame reaching so far and wide as

for what is to be expressed by them, and of the use of qualificative expressions with what is to be qualified by them and of the employment of metaphors, had thrown into the shade even Kâlidâsa; in verse 3, he has spoken of himself, again as Kavirâjahaṁsa, as "the only man on earth" who knew how to speak (compose) with elegance and sweetness; and in verse 249, given to illustrate a certain metre, he has mentioned himself as Nâgavarma, and has described himself as matching the gods Brahman, Indra, and Vishṇu in his possession of surpassingly excellent speech and other attributes, and as not having any match (apart from them).

For some Sanskṛit verses of the same class, attributed to Samantabhadra and Akalaṅka, reference may be made to Dr. Hultzsch's translation of the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph of Mallishêṇa; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 199, verse 8, p. 200 f., verses 21 to 23.

We find a tendency towards this southern habit of bombastic self-praise in even the Aihoḷe inscription of A. D. 634-35; Ravikîrti, the composer of that record, has therein described himself as having "by his poetic skill "attained to the fame of Kâlidâsa and of Bhâravi;" see *Ep. Ind* Vol. VI. p. 12, verse 37.

The habit contrasts remarkably with the modesty of the illustrious poet Kâlidâsa himself, who, in the second verse of his *Raghuvaṁśa*, has intimated that he felt at least considerable doubt whether he could do justice to the great topic that he then had in hand, the history of the Solar Race.

[10] See, for instance, page 230 above, note 4.

to become ornaments over the tusks of the guardian elephants of the distant regions,[11] and with the title Jagajjanakaṇṭhabhûshaṇa, "ornament of the throats of mankind," having become his own title, descriptive of his attributes, — Vijayaratha shone out as Kavitâmanôhara; verse 1 of canto 2 says that Abhinava-Pampa became famous, having caused Fortune to abound excessively in liberality, and Speech in the display of gentleness, and Fame in promoting the welfare of the Jain scriptures; and the action is then taken up again by a prose sentence, which says: — "When that same king Vijayaratha was, on a certain day, holding a public darbâr; at that time;" and so there is introduced verse 2, which proceeds to narrate that there came in hurriedly a doorkeeper, and so on. Here, from one point of view, the appellation Kavitâmanôhara certainly means "he who charms the mind with his poetry," and denotes the poet; while, from another point of view, it must in some way or another have such a meaning that it denotes also Vijayaratha.[12] And thus, at this point again, though not in so dramatic a fashion, the author has certainly again introduced himself into the action of the narrative, by identifying himself with the hero of this part of it through the appellation Kavitâmanôhara.

In these two passages of the *Pampa-Râmâyaṇa*, and in all the similar ones, the author of that work has distinctly referred to himself, and not to any god named after himself. In not one of them is there to be found, nor can I detect anywhere else, the slightest shadow of a basis in fact for the assertion, made by the editor of the *Kavirâjamârga*, that Abhinava-Pampa, in his *Pampa-Râmâyaṇa*, transferred his own titles to a god whose aid he invoked. And there is not the slightest shadow of a basis in fact for the editor's assertion, or suggestion, that, in **the first two verses of the Kavirâjamârga**, Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha I., as the (alleged) author of the work, praised a god mentioned, after himself, by the names of Nṛipatuṅga, Nîtinirantara, Kṛitakṛityamalla, Vîranârâyaṇa, (and Atiśayadhavala). Those two verses **embody requests made by the author of the work.** The first of them **prays for the welfare** of a person, mentioned as **Nṛipatuṅga** and Nîtinirantara, whom he has marked as a person of high rank and has most distinctly indicated as **his patron.** In the second of them **he has asked a person,** whom he has mentioned as **Atiśayadhavala,** Vîranârâyaṇa, and Kṛitakṛityamalla, **to inspire him with ability** to perform the task lying before him. And, even apart from the colophons, the first of these two verses is sufficient to prove that **the author of the work was not Nṛipatuṅga.**

[11] The original says, — tanna kîrtti diggaja-radanakke kîrttimukhav=âge, — "with his own fame becoming a *kîrtimukha* to the tusk(s) of the region-elephant(s)." In dictionaries, I can find the word *kîrtimukha* in only Molesworth and Candy's Marâṭhî Dictionary, where it is given as meaning 'an ornamental head of a *rôkshasa* carved over the doors of temples dedicated to Śiva, Gaṇapati, &c.' But such decorations are not confined to the doors of temples. And the purport of the text seems to be that Vijayaratha's fame became ornaments on the lintels of the doors of the stalls of the elephants, where the elephants were standing with their heads and tusks projecting out through the doors.

In Burgess and Cousens' *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat* (Archæological Survey of Western India, Vol. IX.), 1903, p. 25 f., it seems to be indicated that the *kîrtimukha* is rather to be found in the lower courses of buildings and on the thresholds of doors; and an instance of the ornament on the threshold of a shrine may in fact be seen in *Archæol. Surv. West. India*, Vol II Plate 61, the illustration on the right hand, where it seems to be rather curiously combined with part of the Buddhist *triratna*-symbol. But Fergusson and Burgess' *Cave Temples of India*, 1880, p. 506 f., describes it as a grinning face in the centre of a *tôrana*, and so tends to agree with the Marâṭhî Dictionary which places it on the tops of doors.

Burgess and Cousens have referred (*loc. cit.*) to the *Padmapurâna*, as purporting to account for the architectural *kîrtimukha* by reciting that Kîrtimukha was the name given to a certain demon, created by Śiva, who at the god's command devoured himself, leaving only his head.

[12] It may be said that the various attributes, — the power of satisfying all the desires of the Earth, and the possession of Speech and Fame, — belong both to poets and to kings: and that thus, as a poet is certainly to be styled Kavitâmanôhara, a king may be spoken of by that same appellation And, underlying the whole comparison, there seems to be the idea, used in the verse *Rachitâ sitapata-guruṇâ*, &c., given on page 199 above, that a necklace is an ornament *on* the throat, and poetry is an ornament *in* the throat. But it would seem that we ought to find two distinct meanings for *kavitâ* here, as for *sâhitya* in the other case. And I am inclined to think that, in the case of the king, Kavitâmanôhara may have been intended to mean "he who charms the mind by his state of being Ka, = Kaṇṭhabhûshaṇa (in the title Jagajjanakaṇṭhabhûshaṇa; see above), and Vi, = Vijayaratha; compare, in the *Kirâtârjunîya*, 1, 24, *tavâbhidhânât*, which means from one point of view "at (the mention of) thy name," and from another "at (the mention of the spell with) the names Ta, = Târkshya, and Va, = Vâsuki."

We look next to see what other notices there may be, in the body of the work, of the personal appellations presented in the two opening verses, and what may be the purport of any such notices.

There are the following other allusions to **Nripatuṅga.** In chapter 1, verses 44, 146, chapter 2, verses 2, 43, 98, 105, and chapter 3, verses 98, 107, 207, 230, we have references to the method (*krama*), the path or style (*mârga*), and the opinion (*mata*) of **Nripatuṅga**, and statements that such and such things are, or are to be declared or settled, in accordance with that method, &c. Three of these passages have been cited by the editor in his Introduction. Two of these, — verses 98 and 203 of chapter 3, — have been sufficiently noticed on page 259 above. The third is verse 105 of chapter 2, in which we have the words, — niratiśay-ânubhâva-bhavan=appa mahâ-Nripatuṅgadêvan=âdaroḷe pêḷda mârgga-gatiyiṁ, — "according to the course of style very kindly (or encouragingly) declared by the great **Nripatuṅgadêva**, who stands out with an authority which is unsurpassed." The others, likewise, are all complimentary to Nripatuṅga. Miscellaneous references to Nripatuṅga are as follows. In verse 42 of chapter 2, the text of which is given for another purpose on page 272 below, it is said that: — "**Nripatuṅgadêva**, who displays excessively pure fame, (*and*) to whom the entire mass of (*his*) enemies has bowed down, has further always borne with grace the possession of a widely spread glory (or good fortune)." And, in verses 219 and 224 of chapter 3, mention is made, by the word *sabhâsada*, of "members of the assembly or court of **Nripatuṅga.**"

There are complimentary allusions to **Nîtinirantara** in verse 147 of chapter 1 and verse 99 of chapter 2. And verse 148 of chapter 1 expressly cites, — Nîtinirantara-krama, — "the method of **Nîtinirantara.**"

There are the following other allusions to **Atiśayadhavala.** In chapter 1, verse 24, chapter 2, verses 2, 53, 151, and chapter 3, verses 11, 106, we have references to the method (*krama*), the path or style (*mârga*), the opinion (*mata*), and the teaching (*upadêśa*), of **Atiśayadhavala,** and statements that such and such things are, or are to be declared or settled, in accordance with that method, &c. Four of these passages have been cited by the editor in his introduction. Two of these, — verses 11 and 106 of chapter 3, — have been sufficiently noticed on page 259 above. The third is in verse 24 of chapter 1, from which we, like the editor, need quote here only the words, — Atiśayadhavaḷ-ôkta-kramade, — "according to the method declared by **Atiśayadhavaḷa.**" And the fourth is in verse 53 of chapter 2, where we have the statement, — Atiśayadhavaḷ-ôkti-kramadin=aripuveṁ, — "I will make known (a certain matter) according to the method of expression of **Atiśayadhavaḷa.**" Other allusions to Atiśayadhavala are as follows. In verse 5 of chapter 1, mention is made, by the word *sabhâsada*, of "members of the assembly or court of **Atiśayadhavaḷa**;" and they are referred to as people who would shew reverence to anyone displaying good intimacy with the usages of the best poets. In verse 147 of chapter 1, mention is made of, — Atiśayadhavaḷ-ôrvvip-ôdit-âḷaṁkriti, — "the embellishments declared by (or sprung from) **king Atiśayadhavaḷa**;" with which expression we have to compare the point that Atiśayadhavala is spoken of as **a king** (*dharâdhipa*) in also verse 11 of chapter 3 (see page 259 above). And, in verse 27 of chapter 2, we have the expression, — endan=Atiśayadhavaḷaṁ, — "**Atiśayadhavaḷa** has said (such and such a thing)."

There are the following other allusions to **Kritakrityamalla,** presenting this name, with the ending *vallabha*,[13] as **Kritakrityamallavallabha,** "the Vallabha who is the wrestler, or the most excellent, of those who have done their duty." Verse 61 of chapter 1 specifies four things as faults in literary composition, — Kritakrityamallavallabha-matadiṁ, — "according to the opinion of **Kritakrityamallavallabha.**" And verse 28 of chapter 2, the text of which is given for another purpose on page 272 below, introduces the subject of *prâsa* or alliteration, and says: — "According to the views of **Kritakrityamallavallabha,** the expansion of it (that is, the treatment of this topic) is in this manner (*as follows*)." As will be seen when we come to consider this verse in detail,

[13] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 189 f.

it was probably from the original of it that there was taken the idea of the appellation Kṛitakṛitya-malla.

And there is another allusion to **Vîranârâyaṇa** in verse 180 of chapter 3, where the *sabhâṅgana* or 'yard of the assembly or court' of **Vîranârâyaṇa** is likened to the sky, studded with stars, because there were scattered about in it so many pearls from the broken strings of pearls of the enemies who there bowed down before him.

In tracing out the above allusions, we find references of much the same kind to two other names. One is **Naralôkachandra**: in verse 23 of chapter 1, we are introduced to the two things which constitute the substance of poetry, — Naralôkachandra-matadiṁ, — "according to the opinion of **Naralôkachandra**;" and, in verse 180 of chapter 3, the *mandira* or 'stable' of **Naralôkachandra** is described as being always in a state of mire from the streams of rut flowing from the captured elephants of hostile kings. And the other is **Nityamallavallabha**; verse 11 of chapter 2 introduces a certain topic, — Nityamallavallabha-matadiṁ, — "according to the opinion of **Nityamalla-vallabha**."

And we find mention made of one other name, **Amôghavarsha,** which is perhaps of more importance than any of the others, except Atiśayadhavala. Verse 1 of chapter 3, the title of which is specified in its colophon as *arthâlaṁkâra*, runs: — Śrî-vidit-ârtthâlaṁkâr-âvaḷiyaṁ vividha-bhêda-vibhav-âspadamaṁ bhâvisi besasidan=akhiḷa-dharâ-vallabhan=int=Amôghavarshsha-nṛipên-draṁ: — "Having thought over the famous and well known series of embellishments of sense, which is a receptacle of the display of various kinds of distinctions, **the great king Amôghavarsha,** the favourite of the whole world, commanded (*the treatment of it*) thus (*as follows*)."[14] And verse 217 of the same chapter runs: — Intu mikka varṇṇanegaḷ saṁtatam=ond=âgi pêḻda kâvyaṁ dhareyoḷ saṁtati keḍade nilkum=â-kalpântaṁ-baram=Amôghavarshsha-yaśaṁ-bol: — "The poetry thus declared, always accompanied by descriptions of surpassing excellence, shall endure in the world to the very end of the æon, without any break of continuity, like the fame of **Amôghavarsha.**"

In respect of **these passages in the body of the work**, there are the following observations to be made. The references to the method, style, opinions, and teaching of the persons or person whose names are mentioned, would, according to western practice, suffice to shew that the work was composed by someone else. They might, however, if there were nothing to the contrary, be otherwise interpreted in accordance with a custom, prevalent among some Hindû authors, of introducing their own names in the third person, not only in introductory passages reciting their pedigrees and in colophons, but also in other parts of their works.[15] And with a particular amount of plausibility might such an interpretation be placed on the expression "Atiśayadhavala has said (such and such a thing)," in verse 27 of chapter 2. But it would be difficult, to say the least, to reconcile with such an interpretation the statement, in verse 53 of chapter 2: — "I will make known (a certain matter)

[14] *Bhâvisu* is from the Sanskṛit *bhâva*, with the Kanarese verbal affix *isu*. It is given in the Rev. Dr. Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary as meaning (1) to occur, to appear; (2) to conceive, imagine, fancy, suppose; to think, consider; to observe, to know; to have in mind, think of, meditate on; to treat with respect. *Besasu* is formed in the same way from *besa*, which is treated as a *tadbhava*-corruption of *vidha*, like *besana* = *vidhâna*. *Besasu* is explained as meaning — to order, command, tell; to declare, communicate; to request; to grant. In the commentary on *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, sûtra 3, *besasu* is explained by *nirûpisu*, 'to order, command, tell; to make known, to tell; to define;' the *pêḻ-endu besase* of the sûtra is explained by *hêḷ-endu nirûpise*, "on ordering (*me*) to relate."

[15] There is a rather curious instance of this, if the text is authentic, in the *Chhandômbudhi* of the earlier Nâgavarma, who, by the way, in addition to mentioning himself as Nâgavarma in verses 27, 121, 173, 198, 229, 243, and 249, happens to have used the expression *Nâgavarmmana matadiṁ*, "according to the opinion of Nâgavarman," in verse 229, and perhaps *Nâgavarmmana matamgaliṁ* in verse 246. By his opening and concluding verses, Nâgavarma has shewn that he had also the appellation Kavirâjahaṁsa. And verse 194 claims that the Mallikâmâle metre (otherwise known as Mattakôkila, see Dr. Kittel's Introd. p. 22) was invented by Kavirâjahaṁsa, that is by Nâgavarma. But, whereas the Nâgavarma in question flourished about the close of the tenth century A. D. (see note 4 on page 197 above), that metre is found in an epigraphic record (*Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 17, *Bhadrabâhu-sa-Chandragupta, &c.*) which was engraved very closely about A. D. 800. It is to be presumed that the explanation may be that, like apparently various other verses in the *Chhandômbudhi*, this verse 194 is an interpolation.

according to the method of expression of Atiśayadhavala." This statement is the one in respect of which the editor, who recognised the identity of Atiśayadhavala with Nṛipatuṅga, has said (Introd. p. 2) that it "cannot be so satisfactorily explained" as the colophons, which admittedly "are apt to "lead one into the belief that Nṛipatuṅga may not have been the real author of the work," can, according to him, be explained away. And he has said that this passage "is calculated to give one "the impression that the writer of the work was different from Nṛipatuṅga." In reality, of course, it contains an unmistakable intimation that the author of the work was not Atiśayadhavala, but was someone else who was endorsing and presenting views attributed by him to Atiśayadhavala. However, all the various allusions to the method, style, opinions, and teaching of Nṛipatuṅga, Atiśayadhavala, &c., have, of course, to be interpreted in accordance with any specific information that we can find elsewhere. And, in the colophons, we have the plainest possible intimation that the author of the work was at any rate not Nṛipatuṅga. And the colophons explain, in the clearest manner, the real nature of the various references in the body of the work to the method, style, opinions, and teaching of Nṛipatuṅga, Atiśayadhavala, &c.

Not in any of the above-mentioned passages is there any statement that **Nṛipatuṅga, Atiśayadhavala,** and **Amôghavarsha** were one and the same person. The similar nature of the complimentary allusions made by the author of the work in connection with the three names, may be suggestive that those allusions all refer to one individual. But it is not conclusive on that point. We note, however, that **Nṛipatuṅga is indicated as a king,** by the mention of *sabhâsadar* or 'members of his assembly or court.' We also note that, in addition to being indicated as a king in that same way, **Atiśayadhavala is expressly marked as a king,** by the words *urvipa* and *dharâdhipa*. And we note that **Amôghavarsha is expressly marked as a king** by the epithets *akhiladharâvallabha* and *nṛipêndra*. Now, like various other secondary names, the appellations Nṛipatuṅga and Amôghavarsha were by no means confined to one person. We know, from the epigraphic records, that they both belonged to Kakka II., the last Râshṭrakûṭa king of Mâlkhêḍ. He had also the appellation Vîranârâyaṇa. And, if we were guided by simply these three indications, we might select him as the patron of the author of the *Kavirâjamârga*. **The name, however, which determines the individualisation of the author's patron, is Atiśayadhavala.** This appellation has been established in connection with only **the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha I.**; and it is established by, among published records, the Sirûr and Nîlgund inscriptions of A. D. 866, without which the identity of the author's patron could not have been determined.[16] These two records of the time of this king himself establish for him the appellations **Nṛipatuṅga, Amôghavarsha,** and **Atiśayadhavala,** and also Lakshmîvallabha. Later records allot to him the appellation **Vîranârâyaṇa.**[17] He had a long and famous reign. And his kingdom included that part of Western India to which belonged the language, Kanarese, in a suitably archaic form of which the *Kavirâjamârga* was written. And thus, though the work does not include a date, and though there is not anything in it specifying the dynasty or family to which the author's patron belonged, we do not hesitate to decide, on the basis of the allusions to Atiśayadhavala, that **the patron of the author of the Kavirâjamârga was the Râshṭrakûṭa king Nṛipatuṅga-Atiśayadhavala-Amôghavarsha I., and that the work was composed in the period A. D. 814-15 to 877-78.** The work shews that Amôghavarsha I. actually had, during his life, the appellation Vîranârâyaṇa, which at present has been found connected with him in only records of later times. And it tends to establish for him the other formal appellations of certainly Nîtinirantara and Kṛitakṛityamalla, and most probably Naralôkachandra and Nityamallavallabha. None of these last four appellations, however, has as yet been found in epigraphic records. And it is practically certain that one of them, Kṛitakṛityamalla, was simply an invention of the author, made in the manner indicated on page 273 below. As such, perhaps it may have been confined, and the others like it, to this particular work.

16 For the Sirûr record, see Vol. XII. above, p. 218, and the revised version in *Ep. Ind* Vol. VII. p. 202. For the Nilgund record, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 102.

17 On this and the preceding point, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI p. 174 ff.

So far, we have made it clear that **Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha I. was not the author of the Kavirâjamârga,** but was **the patron of the author of it.** Unless, however, we are to assume that simply an empty compliment was paid to him by a mere parasite, **he did play a part of some kind in the composition of it.** The author has done more than simply refer to his views as authoritative on various details. In chapter 1, after the two opening verses which have been explained on page 261 above, and after the prayers in verses 3 and 4 that the goddess Sarasvatî and the great (earlier) poets would help him, and after the reference in verse 5 to the courtiers of Atiśaya-dhavala-(Amôghavarsha I.) as people who would pay honour to anyone well versed in the usages of the best poets, the author has proceeded to indicate the *alaṁkâra* of *kâvya*, or the embellishment of poetical composition, as his topic. After some remarks of a general kind, he has in verse 22 explained that *kâvya* includes the arrangement of discriminative words or sounds, and embellishment by means of the display of various meanings. Then in verse 23 he has said that, "according to the opinion of Naralôkachandra-(Amôghavarsha I.)," the substance of *kâvya* is two-fold, namely, the *śarîra* or bodily form in which it becomes manifest (meaning, as we learn from the Sanskṛit original, the *padâvali*, or 'series of words, the text'), and the *paramâlaṁkâra* or choice embellishments with which it is adorned, just as a man has a body and the fine ornaments which decorate it.[18] In verse 24 he has said that, "according to the method declared by Atiśayadhavala-(Amôghavarsha I.)," the *śarîra* takes two shapes, namely, *gadya* or 'ornate or rhythmic prose,' and *padya* or 'verse.'[19] He has followed this up by some special remarks about *gadya* in verses 25 to 29, and about *padya* in verses 30 to 35, mentioning certain authors and works in each division, both in Sanskṛit (Saṁskṛita) and in Kanarese (Kannaḍa). He has then introduced in verses 36 to 42 a short disquisition on the various languages, which he has named Saṁskṛita and Sakkada, Pâgada (Prâkṛit), and Kannada, mentioning also Paḷa-Gannaḍa (Ancient Kanarese) in subsequent verses. And it is thus that, starting with the references to Amôghavarsha I. as Naralôkachandra and Atiśayadhavala, he has led up to the special subject of this chapter, the exposition of those things which are faults and those which are not faults, which commences with the statement, in verse 43, that ever so small a fault will spoil the whole of a poetical work, "just as a speck of dirt, which has found a place on it, will spoil a flirting rolling eye." In chapter 2, after a statement in verse 1 that the characteristics which adorn the *śarîra* are the *niratiśayâlaṁkâras* (= *paramâlaṁkâras*), known to the ancient poets, the author has recited in verse 2 that, "in the reckoning of the manner of the method of investigation of the handsome and glorious Nṛipatuṅga-(Amôghavarsha I.)," the *paramâlaṁkara* has two divisions, namely, *śabda* or 'sound,' and *artha* or 'sense.' And it is thus that he has introduced his treatment, commencing in verse 3, of the special subject of this chapter, which is *śabdâlaṁkâra* or the embellishment of sound. In chapter 3, the subject of which is *arthâlaṁkâra* or the embellishment of sense (by poetical figures, &c.), the author has started the topic by saying at the very outset, in verse 1, that "the great king Amôghavarsha thought over the famous and well known series of embellishments of sense, and commanded (*the treatment of it*)" in the manner which the author then followed. This last statement perhaps indicates a closer connection of Amôghavarsha I. with this chapter, than with the rest of the work. And it might, with but a slight stretching of the meaning of words, be interpreted as implying that Amôghavarsha I. actually dictated this chapter. But it is clear that, whether as a mere compliment or not, the author has sought to represent his patron, not simply as an ordinary patron, or as a mere authority whose views were being cited as a guide, but as **the inspirer of the whole work.** And it was, no doubt, a recognition of that intention, coupled with a noticing of the prominent place given in the colophons to the name Nṛipatuṅga which is mentioned so conspicuously in the opening verse in addition to being introduced in various other passages, that led Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka, in the seventeenth century, to speak of the work as *Nṛipatuṅgagrantha*, **"the book of Nṛipatuṅga,"** in the passage, in the *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsana*, which has been given on page 198 above and will be referred to again on page 278 below.

[18] Sanskṛit scholars will recognise the ultimate source of all this matter. It is not within the scope of my Note to go into that.

[19] He has omitted the third shape, *miśra*, the dramas, &c., as if it did not exist in Kanarese.

We may pass over pages 4 to 10 of the editor's Introduction to his so-called Nṛipatuṅga's *Kavirâjamârga*, where he claims to have "placed before the reader all the information concerning "Nṛipatuṅga, which recent research has made accessible to us." The matter there set out has no connection with the subject of the present Note; and all that is necessary about it, has been said by me elsewhere, in some brief remarks in the *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 197, note 6.[20] We pass on to points which the editor has missed altogether; namely, the name of **the real author** of the work, **the particular earlier authority which he used as the basis** as the basis of his work, and **the way in which he proceeded in composing his work.**

The **author** of this *Kavirâjamârga* has mentioned and indicated a fairly large number of **writers earlier than himself.** In verse 26 of chapter 1, he has referred to the *Harshacharita* and *Kâdambarî* (of Bâṇa) as being the very heart or core (*hṛidaya*) of good, pure, and even Sanskṛit (*sad-amala-sama-Saṁskṛita*), in the division of *gadya* or ornate or rhythmic prose. In verse 29, he has mentioned Vimala, Udaya, — (or, possibly, Vimalôdaya), — Nâgârjuna, Jayabandhu, Durvinîta. and "others" (not specified by name), as having "in this order (*î kramadoḷ*)" attained fame in *gadya*; meaning, apparently, Kanarese *gadya.* In verse 31, he has mentioned Guṇasûri, Nârâyaṇa, Bhâravi, Kâlidâsa, Mâgha, and "others" (not specified by name), as having written *mahâkâvyas* or great classical poems, in the department of *padya* or verse. And, in verse 33, — under apparently the same department of *padya*, but of Kanarese *padya*, — he has referred to the *âdya-kâvya* or **earlier poetry of "the supreme Śrîvijaya,** Kaviśvara, — or **Śrîvijaya, the Kavîsvara** or lord of poets, — Paṇḍitachandra,[21] Lôkapâla, and others (not specified by name)," and has stated that the aim of it was always the contrivance of an unsurpassed expansion of the topic.

The important point is the reference to *parama-Śrîvijaya*, **"the supreme Śrîvijaya."** The editor has not omitted to notice this mention of Śrîvijaya (Introd. p. 11). And he has told us that "Śrîvijaya is named by Kêśirâja and Maṅgarasa and is mentioned in an inscription at Śravaṇa-"Beḷgoḷa."[22] But in a footnote, in drawing attention to the occurrence of the name Śrîvijaya in also verse 149 of chapter 1, verse 153 of chapter 2, and verse 236 of chapter 3, of the *Kavirâjamârga*, he has said that the name "may also be a title of Nṛipatuṅga;" that is, according to his representation, of Amôghavarsha I. as the author of the work. And he has said that "this view is "correct if Durgasiṁha means the Kavirâjamârga when he speaks of Śrîvijayara Kavimârgaṁ." These last two words indicate a work known as **"the Kavimârga of Śrîvijaya."** And, for Durgasiṁha's mention of such a work, the editor has referred us to "Pañchatantra in Karṇâṭaka-kâvyamañjari, Nov. 1896." This latter work is not accessible to me; and I am, therefore, not able to say what Durgasiṁha may have said about Śrîvijaya's *Kavimârga.*

In citing this mention by Durgasiṁha of the *Kavirâjamârga* of Śrîvijaya, the editor seems to have had the real facts regarding the *Kavirâjamârga* within reach. But either he was unable to

[20] It must, however, be noted that Mr. R. Narasimhachar has pointed out (*Kâvyâvalôkanam*, Introd. p. 50, note 2) that Mr. K. B. Pathak, in finding in verse 620 of the *Kâvyâvalôkana* a reference to "Dantiga, the Mêru of the Raṭṭas or Râshṭrakûṭas" (*Kavirâjamârga*, Introd. p. 4, and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 25), made the mistake of taking as a nominative the copulative dative *dantigaṁ* of *danti*, 'an elephant;' and, now that we have the whole verse for reference, we can see that that is certainly the case. Accordingly, the latter part of my note 6 in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 218 has to be cancelled.

This verse 620 of the *Kâvyâvalôkana*, we now find, presents another instance of the name Raṭṭa being written with the Drâviḍian *ṛ*, Raṭta, on which point see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 219.

[21] But this may be yet another appellation of Śrîvijaya; or it may qualify Lôkapâla.

[22] The editor, however, has not told us what Kêśirâja and Maṅgarasa said, in naming Śrîvijaya. — Regarding Kêśirâja, see page 277 below. — Maṅgarasa has been placed by Mr. Rice about A. D. 1240; see *Karnâṭa-kasabdânuśâsanam*, Introd. p. 37.

The Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa inscription has been edited, and very fully dealt with, by Dr. Hultzsch. And reference may be made to his translation of verses 45, 46, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 204, for the allusion in it to Śrîvijaya. But it is not at all certain that that Śrîvijaya, whom the record marks as a pontiff and mentions between Vâdirâja and Kamalabhadra, is the one who is spoken of in the *Kavirâjamârga*. However, Dr. Hultzsch has remarked (*loc. cit.* p. 185) that the account given in the inscription "is not a connected and complete account, and cannot "even be proved to be in strictly chronological order."

follow up the clue, or else he had not sufficient independence to present the results to which it leads. We will do what he ought to have done, namely, exhibit fully **the other three passages of the Kavirâjamârga, in which mention is made of Śrîvijaya.**

Verse 149 of chapter 1, the last verse of that chapter, runs: —

Sakaḷ-âlâpa-kaḷâ-kaḷâpa-kathita-vyâvṛittiyol kûḍi chi-
trakaraṁ-bol para-bhâga-bhâva-viḷasad-varṇṇa-kram-âvṛittiyaṁ |
prakaṭaṁ-mâḍ-ire pêlda chitra-kṛitiyaṁ vyâvarṇṇisuttuṁ kavi-
prakaraṁ **Śrîvijaya**-prabhûtaman=idaṁ kai-koḷvud=î mâḷkeyiṁ || 1, 149.

Translation: — "Receiving with praise (*this*) vividly descriptive work (literally, picture-work) which (*I have*) declared in such a way, combining a selection of the sayings of the whole art of speech, as to display the use of the series of the letters of the alphabet which gleam by (*their*) nature of superior merit, just as the painter of a picture displays the use of the series of colours which gleam by (*their*) nature of superior merit, the multitude of poets will accept **this product of Śrîvijaya in this (new) guise** (literally, by this doing, performance, or manner)."

The last verse, 153, of chapter 2 runs: —

Bhâvisi śabda-tattva-samaya-sthitiyaṁ kurit=ond=aśêsha-bhâ-
shâ-vishay-ôktiyam bagedu nôḍi purâṇa-kaviprabhu-prayô- |
g-âvilasad-guṇ-ôdayaman=âyd=avariṁ samed=ondu kâvyadiṁ
Śrîvijaya-prabhûta-mudamaṁ tanag=âgisidoṁ **Kaviśvaraṁ** || 2, 153.

Translation: — "Having thought over the established condition of the conventional settlement of the essential nature of sounds, (*and*) having given attention to (*that*) one (*thing*)[23] expression which is the object of all language, (*and*) having considered and seen the development of the good qualities which shine[24] in the usage of ancient great poets, (*and*) having culled from them, (*and*) having carried out (*the result*) by (*this*) one poetical composition, **Kaviśvara** has created for himself **a joy which took its source from Śrîvijaya.**"[25]

And the concluding verse of the whole work, verse 236 of chapter 3, runs: —

Niravady-ânvayan=udgham=uddhata-ma[hâ-kshî]râbdhi-ḍiṇḍîra-pâ-
ṇḍuram=âkrânta-si(su)śaila-sâgara-dhar-âśâchakravâḷ-âmbaraṁ |
parama-**Śrîvijaya**-prabhûti-ja-yaśa[ṁ] strî-bâla-vṛiddh-âhitaṁ
paramânandita-lôkam=oppe nele-goḷg=â-chandra-târaṁ-baraṁ || 3, 236.

Translation: — "Let the fame which was born from the source that was **the supreme Śrîvijaya,** — which is unlimited (*and*) imperishable (?);[26] which is the model (*of what all fame ought to be*), which is white like the bones of the cuttle-fish of the agitated great ocean of milk; (*and*) which has pervaded the beautiful mountains, the seas, the earth, the whole horizon, and the sky, — firmly endure, with the approbation of the supremely happy (*whole*) world, comprising women and children and old men, as long as the moon and stars shall last!"

By these three verses, the author of the work has most distinctly acknowledged that **this Kavirâjamârga was based on an earlier work by an author named Śrîvijaya.** In all three

[23] The exact force of the word *ondu* here is not clear; however, it does not affect the real point of the verse.

[24] The word *âvilasat* seems to have been used here for the ordinary word *vilasat* for the sake of the metre.

[25] We might render the text as meaning "Kaviśvara made to belong to himself the great joy of Śrîvijaya (that is, the great joy which Śrîvijaya felt in his own work)." I have preferred to present a translation which assigns to *prabhûta* a meaning which agrees exactly with the meaning that that word plainly has in verse 149 of chapter 1, and also with the meaning that is to be attached to *prabhûti* in verse 236 of chapter 3.

[26] There seems to be something wrong with the published text, which presents a nominative or genitive singular masculine of a compound ending with *anvaya*, instead of a nom. sing. neuter in apposition with *yaśam*. It is difficult to recognise anything appropriate in a description of the fame as *niravady-ânvaya*, "of unblamable lineage," which would result from obtaining the nom. sing. neuter by simply altering the *n* into *m*. And it hardly seems permissible to take the genitive *niravady-ânvayana*, and understand something like "of (me who am of) unblamable lineage." I suspect that a better manuscript would shew *niravadhy-avyayam*, which I have selected for my translation.

of them, he has very plainly expressed his appreciation of the merits of **Srîvijaya**. And, in the first of them, he has explicitly stated that his own work was simply **the work of Srîvijaya in a new guise.** It can hardly be doubted that the **Srîvijaya** thus referred to is "**the supreme Srîvijaya**" who is mentioned as an earlier poet in verse 33 of chapter 1 (see page 269 above), and that the work thus dealt with was **the Kavimârga of Srîvijaya,** which, according to the editor, is mentioned by the writer Durgasiṁha (see page 269 above), who appears to have been a contemporary of the Western Châlukya king Perma-Jagadêkamalla II. (A. D. 1138-39 to 1149).

For the rest, in verse 153 of chapter 2, **the author of this Kavirâjamârga** has distinctly introduced himself to us by the appellation of **Kavîśvara.** This appellation, which simply means 'lord of poets,' was, of course, not his personal name but only **a secondary designation.** It was plainly adopted **in imitation of the earlier Kavîśvara** who is mentioned in verse 33 of chapter 1. And it seems very probable that it was a secondary appellation of **Srîvijaya** himself, whose work was thus presented in a new guise in the *Kavirâjamârga.* The text of the verse mentioned above, — parama-Srîvijaya-Kavîśvara-Paṇḍitachandra-Lôkapâl-âdigalâ, — fully permits of our understanding Kavîśvara as a secondary name of Srîvijaya, instead of as the name of a separate individual. And, whereas Kêśirâja has in verse 5 of the preface to his *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa* mentioned **Srîvijaya** (see page 277 below), but not any Kavîśvara, in the list of authors whose good style it was his aim to follow, in sûtra 169 he has spoken of a certain usage as being, — Kavîśvara-matadiṁ, — "according to the opinion of **Kavîśvara.**"

We come now to the subject of **certain passages in the Kavirâjamârga, which are alleged to have been introduced as quotations in other works.** The examination of them is interesting, because they shew **the way in which Kavîśvara proceeded in presenting the work of Srîvijaya in its new guise**; namely, not by quoting it wholesale, but **by making certain alterations,** of which some were trivial, but others are decidedly important and instructive.

The editor has said (Introd. p. 1) that "most of the verses, in which Nṛipatuṅga speaks of "prâsa, are quoted in **the Chhandômbudhi.**"[27] He has specified (*ibid.* note 2) verses 28 to 43 of chapter 2, and verses 232, 233 — (by mistake for 231, 232) — of chapter 3, of the *Kavirâjamârga.* He has made it clear that by the *Chhandômbudhi* he means the work on Kanarese prosody, entitled **Chhandômbudhi** and **Chhandômburâśi** in its colophons, of **the earlier Nâgavarma,** in respect of whom Mr. R. Narasimhachar has shewn that he flourished at the close of the tenth century A. D.[28] And he has referred us to pages 17 to 21 of the Rev. Dr. Kittel's edition of that work. This was published at Mangalore, in 1875. And, examining the work in that edition, we find that verses 50 to 65 of it answer, more or less closely, to verses 28, 29, 31 to 33, and 35 to 43, of chapter 2, and verses 231 and 232 of chapter 3, of the *Kavirâjamârga*; verses 30 and 34 of chapter 2 of the *Kavirâjamârga* are not found there.

Now, it is to be remarked that it is not certain that verses 50 to 65 of the *Chhandômbudhi* belong to the real version of that work at all. They occur in the treatment of *prâsa* or alliteration, which commences with verse 41 and ends with verse 66. Dr. Kittel arrived at the conclusion that "Nâgavarma did not include the subject of alliterations in his prosody."[29] And it is, therefore, doubtful, whether we are dealing with **Nâgavarma himself,** or with **someone who made**

[27] To this he has attached the remark: — "That these verses cannot have been composed by Nâgavarmâ and "that they must have been borrowed from an older author is pretty clear to any one who remembers the fact that "the author of the Chhandômbudhi addresses his verses to his wife." How that conclusion is to be deduced from the stated fact, which is a fact, has not been made evident. But the editor probably had in view the point that, whereas in verse 22 of the *Chhandômbudhi* the author of that work has represented himself as expounding the subject of prosody to his wife, verse 65, — an illustrative stanza, commencing *arasaroḷ-elé niṁ,* which will be referred to again further on, and which stands in a very similar form as verse 232 of chapter 3 of the *Kavirâjamârga,* ends with the word *magalê,* "O daughter!"

[28] See note 5 on page 197 above.

[29] See his *Nâgavarma's Canarese Prosody,* Introd. p. 6.

interpolations in his work. However, the question simply is, whether certain verses which we find in the *Chhandômbudhi*, whether they are original or interpolated, were taken into that work from the *Kavirâjamârga.*

We need not examine verses 29, 31 to 33, and 35 to 41, of chapter 2 of the *Kavirâjamârga.* Two of them, namely, *Kavirâjamârga*, chapter 2, verses 32, 35, and *Chhandômbudhi*, verses 53, 55, stand in precisely the same form in the two works, which, however, does not prove that it was from the *Kavirâjamârga* that they were taken into the *Chhandômbudhi*, whether originally or by interpolation: and, while in the others there are differences, greater or less as the case may be, in the actual readings given in the two works, but without affecting the general meaning of the verses, that fact would not necessarily prove that they were not taken into the *Chhandômbudhi* from the *Kavirâjamârga.* Nor need we examine verses 231, 232 of chapter 3 of the *Kavirâjamârga,* which stand as verses 64, 65 in the *Chhandômbudhi.* Here, again, there are certain minor discrepancies, which, however, in this case also, would not necessarily prove that the verses were not taken into the *Chhandômbudhi* from the *Kavirâjamârga.* But, whereas in one direction Dr. Kittel has rendered it at any rate doubtful whether verses 64, 65 belong to the real version of the *Chhandômbudhi,*[30] in another direction Mr. R. Narasimhachar has told us that the corresponding verses, which stand as verses 231 and 232 of chapter 3, and the three verses which stand next after them, do not belong to the *Kavirâjamârga* at all.[31] And neither these two, nor the other verses in respect of which I have said that it is not necessary to examine them, are of any importance, or in any way helpful; because the originals of them did not happen to offer the facilities for adaptation of which Kavîśvara availed himself in forming the three verses which are important and instructive. The **important verses** are the following ones, which I present side by side for the purpose of easy comparison, marking by thick type those portions of them to which particular attention is to be directed: —

Kâvirâjamârga of Kavîśvara.	**Chhandômbudhi of Nâgavarma.**
Nuta-śabdâlaṁkâradoḷ=	Nuta-śabdâlaṁkâradoḷ=
atiśayam=î Kannaḍakke satataṁ prâsaṁ |	atiśayam=adu Kannaḍakke satataṁ prâsaṁ |
Kṛitakṛityamallavallabha-	**kṛita-kṛityam=appud=ellara**
matadind=**adaṟa prapañcham=î teṟan= akkuṁ** || 2, 28.	matadind=**adu tappe kâvyam=êṁ śôbhipudê** || p. 17, v. 50.
Ativiśada-yaśô-vṛittaṁ	Ativiśada-yaśô-vṛittaṁ
nata-sakaḷ-ârâtijana-vitânaṁ mattaṁ |	nata-sakal-ârâtijana-vitânaṁ mattaṁ |
vitata-śrî-saṁpattaṁ	vitata-śrî-saṁpattaṁ
satataṁ[32] **Nṛipatuṅgadêvan=oḷaviṁ pottaṁ** || 2, 42	**Śatamakha-sadṛiś-ânubhâva-vibhavaṁ bettaṁ**[33] || p. 20, v. 62.

[30] See the preceding paragraph.

[31] See his *Kâvyâvalôkanam*, Introd. p. 13, note 2. And it is at any rate obvious — (and it ought to have been so even to the editor of the *Kavirâjamârga*) — that, if they do belong to the *Kavirâjamârga*, they do not stand in their right place, which would be somewhere in chapter 2. Mr. Narasimhachar has also told us (*ibid.*) that verse 233 is a quotation from the *Lîlâvati* of Nêmichandra, of the twelfth century A. D. And Dr. Kittel has expressed the opinion that verse 65 of the *Chhandômbudhi*, = *Kavirâjamârga*, verse 232 of chapter 3, was taken from verse 20 of chapter 2 of the *Kavijihvâbandhana* (see his *Nâgavarma's Canarese Prosody*, p. 21, note 4, and Introd. p. 6) of Îśvarakavi (see *id.* p. 61), whom he has referred to the beginning of the sixteenth century A. D. (*ibid.*), and who, as he had the title Abhinava-Kêśirâja (see Mr. Rice's *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsanam*, Introd. p. 41), was at any rate later than the original Kêśirâja (about A. D. 1225; see page 197 above).

The editor of the *Kavirâjamârga* has said, in respect of verse 65 of the *Chhandômbudhi*, that "this verse which "begins with the words 'arasaroḷ ela' is therefore not a later interpolation in the Chhandômbudhi" (see his Introd. p. 1, note 5); namely, because the *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsana* cites it and appeals to Nṛipatuṅga as a standard authority on *alaṁkâra* on these points (see page 278 below). But there is nothing in that; the *Karnâṭakaśabdânuśâsana* mentions Nripatuṅga, not in connection with the stanza in question, but in a quite separate passage.

[32] It would appear, from a footnote, that one of the three manuscripts used in preparing the text of the *Kavirâjamârga*, presents the reading — Śatamakha-sadṛiś-ânubhâva-padamam vettam.

[33] We require *pettaṁ*, to govern *saṁpattam*; not *bettaṁ* in composition with the word ending in *vibhavaṁ.*

Kâvirâjamârga of Kaviśvara.

Prâs-ânuprâs-ânta-
prâsaṁgaḷ mûṟum=atiśayaṁgaḷ prâs-â- |
bhâsaṁgaḷ=uḻida mûṟuṁ
bhâsura-**Nṛipatuṅgadêva-vidita-**
kramadiṁ || 2, 43

Chhandômbudhi of Nâgavarma.

Prâs-ânuprâs-ânta-
prâsaṁgaḷ mûr=iv=atiśayaṁgaḷ mattaṁ |
prâs-âbhasaṁ mâɪuṁ[34]
bhâsura-**kaṁj-âyat-âkshi kêḷ=adan=**
oreveṁ || p. 21. v. 63

Now, we see at once that **the editor's statement**, that the above verses of the *Kavirâjamârga* were quoted in the *Chhandômbudhi*, **is at any rate not literally accurate.** At the best, these three verses were taken from the *Kavirâjamârga* into the *Chhandômbudhi* with alterations. We learn more, however, about the matter, when we examine the details of the discrepancies.

The **first of these three verses** recites in its first two *pâdas*, in both versions, that, in the matter of embellishment of sound, in Kanarese the most important detail is the alliteration. The second two *pâdas* say, in the *Kavirâjamârga*: — "According to the views of **Kṛitakṛityamallavallabha** ("the Vallabha who is the wrestler, or the most excellent, of those who have done their duty"), **the expansion of it** (that is, the treatment of this topic) **is in this manner** (*as follows*)." In the *Chhandômbudhi*, the same two *pâdas* say: — "According to the views **of all people, it** (namely, the alliteration) **realises the object that is to be attained; when it is faulty, how shall poetry appear to any advantage at all?"**

Now, we know that this verse, as given in the *Kavirâjamârga*, was certainly not adapted from the *Chhandômbudhi*. Kaviśvara wrote his *Kavirâjamârga* in the period A. D. 814-15 to 877-78. Whereas, the Nâgavarma who wrote the *Chhandômbudhi* flourished in the period A. D. 975 to 1000.[35] And any interpolator of Nâgavarma was, naturally, not earlier than Nâgavarma himself. If there was any interchange of the verse between the *Kavirâjamârga* and the *Chhandômbudhi*, it was, of course, taken from the *Kavirâjamârga* into the *Chhandômbudhi*. But, if that was done, there is **not any acceptable reason why Nâgavarma or his interpolator should vary the text, so as to suppress the name of the authority cited by Kaviśvara.** On the other hand, if the verse came into both works from another source, it is easy to see how **Kaviśvara** may have ingeniously **altered a portion of an original text,** without in any way interfering with the chief part of it, the dictum pronounced in it, **so as to introduce an appellation of his patron** as the authority on the topic to which the verse refers. And it may be incidentally remarked that it seems very likely that it was **this particular verse,** in its original form, which **suggested the idea of the appellation Kṛitakṛityamalla for Amôghavarsha I.,** established by adaptation of the original verse.

The **second of these three verses** does not pronounce or lead up to any rule. It is simply a stanza put forward to illustrate final alliteration. As it stands in the *Kavirâjamârga*, the meaning of it is: — "**Nṛipatuṅgadêva,** who displays excessively pure fame, (*and*) to whom the entire mass of (*his*) enemies has bowed down, **has** further **always borne with grace the burden** of the possession of a widely spread glory (or good fortune)." As it stands in the *Chhandômbudhi*, it does not specify any individual by name; and it means: — He who displays excessively pure fame, (*and*) to whom the entire mass of (*his*) enemies has bowed down, (*and*) further **who possesses a development of authority similar to that of Śatamakha** (Indra), **has obtained** the possession of a widely spread glory (or good fortune)." Here, if **Nâgavarma or his interpolator** took the verse from Kaviśvara, he **spoilt a very apt illustration,** by substituting something altogether indeterminate in the place of words which introduced an apposite and well-known name. On the other hand, here, again, it is easy to see how very simply **Kaviśvara may have adapted a verse,** not composed by himself, by altering the last line of it, without in any way spoiling the applicability of it, **so as to introduce the name of his patron.**

[34] This appears to be a conjecture, in the place of *mûṟuṁ* or *môdaṁ*.

[35] See note 5 on page 197 above.

The **last of these three verses** introduces, as explained by Dr. Kittel in his edition of the *Chhandômbudhi*, "the four kinds of alliteration of the *third* class, occurring along with the ten simple "alliterations (prâsa), and the successive (anuprâsa) and final one (antaprâsa)." As it stands in the *Kavirâjamârga*, the last *pâda* asserts that the matter introduced in the verse is "**according to the well known method of** the splendid **Nṛipatuṅga.**" As it stands in the *Chhandômbudhi*, the same *pâda* is an address to some lady, and means : — "**Listen, O thou who hast** splendid **long eyes resembling a water-lily ! ; I will declare it.**" Here, again, there is **not any acceptable reason why, if Nâgavarma or his interpolator took the verse from Kavîśvara, he should have altered the text, so as to suppress the name of Nṛipatuṅga.** And, on the other hand, here, again, it is easy to see in how simple a manner **Kavîśvara may have adapted** still another verse, not composed by himself, **so as to name his patron** as the authority for the matter stated in it.

Taking **these three verses** together, we can see most plainly that Nâgavarma or his interpolator did not either quote or adapt them from Kavîśvara; but **Kavîśvara on the one side, and Nâgavarma or his interpolator on the other side, used standard verses which they took independently from some third writer.** A simple comparison of the texts given on page 272 f. above is sufficient to shew that the assertion, that the versions of these verses standing in the *Chhandômbudhi* are quotations from the *Kavirâjamârga*, is absolutely opposed to fact. And it is altogether incredible that Nâgavarma or his interpolator, adapting verses from the *Kavirâjamârga*, should gratuitously, and in the most objectless manner, spoil them by striking out references to an authority made by appellations of which one at least, presented in two of the verses, was a well known and famous one, and by substituting words which add neither force nor beauty to the verses. There was a difference in treatment; namely, that **Kavîśvara adapted** the original verses of the third writer, whereas **Nâgavarma or his interpolator quoted** them, and probably quoted them with absolute exactness. And those were the two different methods by which the verses standing in the *Kavirâjamârga* and the *Chhandômbudhi* were obtained ; namely, respectively by adaptation and by quotation.

There remains the point as to **the source of these verses.** From what Kavîśvara, the author of the *Kavirâjamârga*, has told us, it was certainly from the *Kavimârga* of **Śrîvijaya** that he adapted his verses. The earlier Nâgavarma or his interpolator may have taken the corresponding verses into the *Chhandômbudhi* directly from that same work, the *Kavimârga* of Śrîvijaya, or indirectly by obtaining them from some other writer who had taken them from that work. On this latter point, we can only submit the following remarks for further consideration. In his introductory verse 22, Nâgavarma has told us that his *Chhandômbudhi* or *Chhandômburâśi* was based to a great extent on a work by Piṅgala, which he seems to mention by the name of *Maṅgalachchhandu.* It seems to be uncertain whether he refers to the Sanskṛit Piṅgala, or to the so-called Prâkṛit Piṅgala, or perhaps to both of them.[36] But there cannot have been obtained from either of those writers any of the Kanarese characteristics, of which the *prâsa* or alliteration, exhibited in the *Chhandômbudhi* whether originally or by interpolation, is emphatically one. On the other hand, the *Chhandômbudhi* does not present any mention of the name of Śrîvijaya. But verse 252 exhibits an Aupachchhandasika metre which it describes as, — Kavîśvar-ôktaṁ, — "declared by **Kavîśvara.**" There is no reason for thinking that this use of the name Kavîśvara is a reference by Nâgavarman to himself ; his own *biruda* was not Kavîśvara but Kavirâjahaṁsa. And it certainly does not carry any reference to the Kavîśvara who wrote the *Kavirâjamârga*, which does not deal with metres. But it may easily denote **Śrîvijaya** ; for we have seen, on page 269 above, that it is quite possible that he had the appellation Kavîśvara.

The editor has further said (Introd. p. 1) that "the Kavirâjamârga is also alluded to in the "**Kâvyâvalôkana.**" This work is the **Kâvyâvalôkana of the second Nâgavarma,** who, as has

[36] See Dr. Kittel's *Nâgavarma's Canarese Prosody*, Introd. p. 7.

been shewn by Mr. R. Narasimhachar in his recently published edition of it, flourished about A. D. 1150.[37] The editor of the *Kavirâjamârga* has not specified any particular passage in the *Kâvyâvalôkana* for this asserted allusion to the *Kavirâjamârga*. And, as a matter of fact, it would seem that his authority for his assertion is nothing but an assertion made by Mr. Rice that the *Kavirâjamârga* "is cited as a standard authority by Nâgavarmma in his *Kâvyâvalôkana*."[38] There can, however, be no doubt that the intended reference is to verse 521 of the *Kâvyâvalôkana*, which does present the expression *kavi-râja-mârggadoḷ*. But, as Mr. R. Narasimhachar has told us on p. 16 of his Introduction to the *Kâvyâvalôkana*, the context clearly shews that the expression does not denote any particular work, but simply refers to "the path of excellent poets." Beyond that, Mr. R. Narasimhachar has said (*loc. cit.* p. 17 f.) that there are many striking coincidences in the *Kavirâjamârga* and the *Kâvyâvalôkana*; in respect of which, he considers, it may be presumed that verses in the *Kâvyâvalôkana* were suggested by verses in the *Kavirâjamârga*, or the explanation may be "the identity of the source from which both the works have derived their ideas." But he has also told us (*loc. cit.* p. 16) that, in the *Kâvyâvalôkana*, "strange as it may appear, Nâgavarma "makes no allusion to the earlier work *Kavirâjamârga*, nor does he quote a single verse from it."

The editor has further said (Introd. p. 1) that "**Kêśirâja** quotes three verses from the "Kavirâjamârga;" and he has specified those verses (*ibid.* note 4) as 32 and 58 of chapter 1, and 7 of chapter 2. His reference to the other work is to the Kanarese grammar entitled **Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa of Kêśirâja,** who has been placed by Mr. Rice about A. D. 1225.[39] And he has referred us to the Rev. Dr. Kittel's edition of the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, which was published at Mangalore in 1872. Here, the facts are as follows: —

In verse 32 of chapter 1 of the *Kavirâjamârga*, **Kavîśvara** has mentioned, in the department of Kanarese *padya*, two classes of poetical composition named *chhattâṇa* and *bedaṇḍe*. His verse runs: —

Nuḍig-ellaṁ sallada Kan-
  naḍadoḷ chattaṇâmuṁ bedaṇḍeyum=end=î- |
gaḍina negaḷteya kabbadoḷ=
  oḍambaḍaṁ mâḍidar=ppurâtana-kavigaḷ || 1, 32.

As an illustration to sûtra 98, of his *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, which teaches the use of the suffix *ar* to form, for instance, the verbal form *mâḍidar*, **Kêśirâja** has presented a stanza (see Dr. Kittel's edition, p. 121) which stands in exactly that same form, syllable for syllable, except in the use of *j* instead of *ch*, in *jattâṇamuṁ* instead of *chattâṇamuṁ*.

In verse 57 of chapter 1 of the *Kavirâjamârga*, **Kavîśvara** has recited that a mixture of Sanskṛit and Kanarese in compounds destroys the flavour, "just like mixing drops of buttermilk with boiling milk." In illustration of that, he has given verse 58, which runs: —

Arasu-kumâranan=âyata-
  tara-kade-gaṇṇinde nôḍi keḷadi-samêtaṁ |
parigata-nageyind=irddeṁ
  guru-nâṇ-bharadindam=eṛagi mukha-tâvareyaṁ || 1, 58.

And, to shew how that verse ought to have been framed in proper language, he has followed it up by verse 59, to the same purport, which commences with *narapati-tanayanan*, where it presents a suitable Sanskṛit word for the word *arasu*, and which further puts forward a correct Kanarese expression instead of the hybrid compound *keḷadi-samêtaṁ*, and appropriate Sanskṛit words, in the other compounds, instead of the Kanarese *kaḍe-gaṇṇinde, nageyinde, nâṇ*, and *tâvareyaṁ*.

Under sûtra 80 of his *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, which defines the term *sama-Saṁskṛita* as meaning pure Sanskṛit crude nouns which are used in Kanarese without any alteration, **Kêśirâja** has said that

[37] See note 5 on page 197 above.

[38] *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsanam*, Introd. p. 24.

[39] *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsanam*, Introd. p. 36.

such words must not (as a rule) be used in composition with pure Kanarese words; and, as an instance of violation of that rule, he has used that same verse *arasu-kumâranan, &c.*, with, however (see Dr. Kittel's edition, p. 98), the differences of *gaḍe* for *kaḍe*, *irdaṁ* for *irddeṁ*, and *nâṇ-âbharadin* for *nâṇ-bharadindam.*

In opening the topic of *śabdâlaṁkâra* or embellishment of sound by rhymes, &c., **Kavîśvara** has said, in verse 4 of chapter 2 of his *Kavirâjamârga*, that soft and flexible words should be used, exactly according to their appropriateness, in order to avoid any such effect as "mixing together rice in its husk and curds;" in verse 5, that, even though the meaning may not be spoilt, the use of unsuitable words would be like "stringing together pearls and pepper-corns;[40] and, in verse 6, that the use of ponderous words, pressing upon light ones that precede them, would have the same unhappy effect as "placing a heavy burden on the head of a child." And, as an instance of bad style (*dûshya*), exhibiting faults such as those against which he has warned his readers, he has given verse 7, which runs: —

Barisi kshitipatiyaṁ sa-
  yt-irisi priya-kuśala-vârtteyaṁ besa-goṇḍu ।
sthiram-irddu prabhu nuḍiye
  prarûḍha-mudan=âdan=âtan=embudu dûshyaṁ ॥ 2, 7.

And, to shew how the meaning of that verse ought to have been expressed in good style (*mârga*), he has followed it up by verse 8, which commences *kshitipatiyaṁ barisi*, and runs to practically the same purport as verse 7, except that it introduces an epithet *jagan-nuta*, which is not represented in verse 7.

Sûtra 59 of the *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, as explained by Dr. Kittel (see his edition, p. 71, and now also his *Kannaḍa Grammar*, p. 198, § 241, and a remark at the bottom of p. 197), teaches that it is a mistake to treat as *śithila* or slack, that is as not lengthening a preceding short vowel, a double consonant the second component of which is *r*, and also that in writing out verses it is bad to leave no space between the different words unless they come under the rules of *saṁdhi.* And, in illustration of the *sûtra*, **Kêśirâja** has presented a stanza which runs (see Dr. Kittel's edition, p. 71):[41] —

Barisi pradhânaraṁ ku-
  ḻirisi priya-kuśala-vârtteyaṁ neṟe kêḻdu ।
sthiram-irddu prabhu nuḍiye
  prarûḍha-mudan=âdan=âtan=embud=amârggaṁ ॥

Of **these three verses** thus presented in the *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, the first, *nuḍig-eḻḻaṁ, &c.*, might certainly be taken as a quotation from the *Kavirâjamârga*; the only difference between the two versions is in a quite unimportant detail. And the second of them, *arasu-kumâranan*, &c., might well pass for a quotation, from that same work, with three various readings, in details of no special

[40] This simile is presented in the words *muttum=melasuṁ-gôd=ante.* It is presented, in the same words, in another verse which was first brought to notice by Mr. Rice, who, however, chiefly through confusing *gôda*, = *kôda*, the past relative participle of *kô* (3), 'to string upon a thread,' with *gôdi*, 'wheat,' failed to understand it; see *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1883, p. 296, and *Karnâṭakabhâshâbhûshana*, Introd. p. 9. That verse is to be found in Dr. Kittel's *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, p. 78, where it is given in illustration of sûtra 65, which teaches the changes of *k* to *g*, &c., in forming compounds. But the text there, using another variant of *meṇasu*, gives *meḻasaṁ*, by mistake for *melasuṁ*, which is probably the chief reason why even Dr. Kittel did not recognise the meaning of the simile; see *id.* Introd. p. 17 f. That same text also presents, before *muttum*, the unintelligible reading *jân=eḍe*. The correct reading in that point, — namely, *jâṇ=gide* (or *jâṇ=gede*), 'on knowledge being destroyed or impaired,' — has been supplied by Dr. Kittel in his Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, under *jâṇ*; where, however, with still another variant of *meṇasu*, *moḻasaṁ* is presented, instead of *molasuṁ*. That verse means: — "The poetry of (*those*) wretched poets, who, taking an Old-Kanarese word, and, taking and joining to it a Sanskṛit (*word*), ignorantly express themselves just in the same fashion as if they were stringing together pearls and pepper-coins, — how can it please the hearts of learned people?"

[41] In transcribing Dr. Kittel's text of the verse, I have added the consonants which ought to have been given by repetition after a preceding *r*; that detail has been disregarded in Dr. Kittel's book, throughout.

importance, which could easily be accounted for. But the third verse, *barisi pradhânaraṁ kuḷḷirisi, &c.*, can hardly be accepted as a quotation of the verse *barisi kshitipatiyaṁ sayt-irisi, &c.* The differences go beyond anything in the way of any ordinary various readings. They alter the sense in certain well marked features. The verse in the *Kavirâjamârga* speaks of a "king" being "summoned (literally, caused to come)" and "made to feel at ease;" whereas, the verse in the *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa* speaks, much more appropriately, of "ministers" being "summoned" and "caused, or allowed, to sit down." It might be said that Kêśirâja, not satisfied with having in this verse already three instances of the combination *pr* after a short vowel, introduced a fourth by adapting the verse of the *Kavirâjamârga* by substituting *pradhânaraṁ* for *kshitipatiyaṁ*. But, even so, there was no necessity of any kind for him to substitute *kuḷḷirisi*, 'having caused to sit down,' for *sayt-irisi*, 'having caused to feel at ease,' *neṟe kêḷdu*, 'having made full inquires,' for *besa-goṇḍu*, 'having demanded or questioned,' and *amârggaṁ*, 'bad style,' for *dûshyaṁ*, 'to be censured.' And, more to the point still, if he so introduced an additional and quite superfluous instance of the combination *pr* after a short vowel, he gratuitously destroyed another instance of bad style, objected to by him, which was to be found in connection with the combination *ksh* after a short vowel. The explanation is to be found in the following facts. It appears that Kêśirâja has not anywhere mentioned the name of any Kaviśvara, or any work called *Kavirâjamârga*. He has mentioned Nṛipatuṅga; but only in the illustrative stanza quoted on page 197 above, which does not attribute to him any literary attainments or any connection with literature, and does not tend in any way to connect him with the *Kavirâjamârga*. On the other hand, in verse 5 of the introduction to his *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa* he has expressly mentioned Śrîvijaya among the writers whose good style was to be kept in view in his own work.[42] It can hardly be doubted that Kêśirâja took the verse *barisi pradhânaraṁ, &c.*, not from the *Kavirâjamârga*, but from Śrîvijaya.[43] We naturally decide that it was from Śrîvijaya that he took also the verses *nuḍig-ellaṁ, &c.*, and *arasu-kumâranan, &c*, and that these verses, again, were taken by Kaviśvara into his *Kavirâjamârga* from Śrîvijaya's work. And it is tolerably certain that Kaviśvara's verse *barisi kshitipatiyaṁ, &c.*, was another case of adaptation, which was probably made because Kaviśvara found it easier to compose his next verse with an alliteration of the *t* of *kshitipatiyaṁ*, than with an alliteration of the *dh* of *pradhânaraṁ*.

The editor has further said (Introd. p. 1, note 5) that Îśvarakavi, — a writer referred both by Dr. Kittel[44] and by Mr. R. Narasimhachar[45] to the sixteenth century A. D. — has quoted "from Nṛipatuṅga" verse 232 of chapter 3 of the *Kavirâjamârga*, which is a stanza, commencing *arasaroḷ=ela nîṁ*, in illustration of the double *prâsa* or alliteration of the second and third syllables of each *pâda* of a verse. He has, in fact, said that "both Nâgavarmâ and Îśvarakavi quote it from "Nṛipatuṅga." And, as has been indicated on page 272 above, in verse 65 of the *Chhandômbudhi* we have that same stanza, with certain unimportant differences in detail. As to what form the verse may present in Îśvarakavi's work, I am not able to say anything. But the selection of the verse as an instance of quotation of the *Kavirâjamârga* by Nâgavarma and Îśvarakavi, is peculiarly unfortunate. As has already been remarked on page 272 above (see also note 31), Dr. Kittel has rendered it at any rate doubtful whether verse 65 in the *Chhandômbudhi* belongs to the real version of that work,

[42] He has, perhaps, even mentioned Śrîvijaya's *Kavimârga*; namely, in sûtra 193 (Dr. Kittel's edition, p. 231), where he has said that he has to the best of his ability elucidated the subject of compounds as they occur in *kavimârga*. The commentary, however, explains this word as meaning *kavigaḷa mârgadalli*, 'in the style or usage of poets.' And so we may have here only an use of *kavi-mârga*, analogous to the mention of *kavi-râja-mârga* in the *Kâvyâvalôkana*, regarding which see page 275 above.

[43] The same stanza *barisi pradhânaraṁ, &c.*, has been given in precisely that same form by Bhaṭṭâlakaṅka in the course of his commentary on sûtra 67 of his *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsana*; see Mr Rice's edition of that work, in which, while the transliterated text (p. 60) presents *barasi*, the Kanarese text (p 53) shews *barisi*. Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka has introduced the stanza as "used as an example (*udâhṛita*) by him (Kêśava);" meaning "by Kêśirâja," as is shewn by his immediately preceding quotation of sûtra 59 of the *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa*. And thus, while not helping us by attributing the stanza to Śrîvijaya, — whom, so far as the *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsana* goes, he seems not to have known at all, — he has at any rate plainly implied that he knew that it was not composed by Kêśirâja.

[44] *Nâgavarma's Canarese Prosody*, Introd. p. 61.

[45] *Kâvyâvalôkanam*, Introd. pp. 19, 38.

and has expressed the opinion that it was taken into it from the *Kavijihvâbandhana* of Îśvarakavi; and, in another direction, Mr. R. Narasimhachar has told us that the verses which stand as 231 to 235 in chapter 3 of the *Kavirâjamârga*, do not belong to that work at all. So far, therefore, from it being the case that Îśvarakavi quoted the said verse 232 from the *Kavirâjamârga*, it is tolerably obvious that **the verse was introduced into the Kavirâjamârga, by interpolation, from the work of Îśvarakavi.**

Finally, the editor has asserted (Introd. p. 1) that "the **Śabdânuśâsana** cites one verse" from the *Kavirâjamârga*, "and appeals to Nṛipatuṅga as a standard authority on Alaṅkâra." We will take first the latter assertion, which is more or less correct. As has been already stated on page 198 above, in his own commentary on sûtra 288 of his **Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsana**, which he finished in A. D. 1604,[46] in referring to a certain point of difference between the northern and the southern poets, **Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka** has said that "a clever disquisition on the different usages of the varying styles of the south and the north, is to be seen in the book of Nṛipatuṅga." And there can be no doubt that his allusion is to verses 49 to 108 of chapter 2 of the *Kavirâjamârga*, written by **Kavîśvara** under the patronage of Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha I., which does there present a disquisition on the differing styles of the northern and the southern poets. As regards the asserted instance of citation, however, the facts are as follows. The verse in question has been specified by the editor (Introd. p. 1, note 5) as the verse *arasaroḷ=ela nîṁ, &c.*, which stands as verse 232 of chapter 3 of the *Kavirâjamârga* in illustration of the double *prâsa* or alliteration of the second and third syllables of each *pâda* of a verse. And below sûtra 202 of his *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsana*, in illustration of his statement that *arasi*, 'a queen,' and other words classed with it, are irregular feminines, Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka has presented that same verse, except that, with an unimportant difference, with him it begins *arasaroḷ=elagê*, instead of *arasaroḷ=ela nîṁ*.[47] If we knew no better, this, taken in connection with Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka's reference to *Nṛipatuṅgagrantha*, "the book of Nṛipatuṅga," might certainly be taken as a quotation from the *Kavirâjamârga*. But, as has been said on page 272 above, Mr. R. Narasimhachar has told us that the verses which stand as verses 231 to 235 in chapter 3 of the *Kavirâjamârga*, do not belong to that work at all. It was, therefore, not from the specified verse 232 of the *Kavirâjamârga* that Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka took his illustration of the use of the word *arasi*, 'a queen;' unless, of course, the interpolation of the five verses in question into the *Kavirâjamârga* had already been accomplished before A. D. 1604: and the probability is that Bhaṭṭâkalaṅka obtained the verse **from Îśvarakavi.**

The conclusions at which we arrive in respect of the composition of the Kavirâjamârga are plain and simple. The work was **written during the period A. D. 814-15 to 877-78.** And **the author** of it was a person who has made himself known to us by the name of **Kavîśvara**, — a secondary appellation which he must have adopted in imitation of an earlier Kavîśvara who has been mentioned by him. But he wrote his work **under the patronage of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Nṛipatuṅga-Amôghavarsha I.** And he has credited his patron with inspiring so much of it, and has otherwise introduced his patron's names and quoted his views so often and so prominently, that the work came to be known, in later times, as *Nṛipatuṅgagrantha*, "**the book of Nṛipatuṅga.**" Kavîśvara **based his work on the Kavimârga of a writer named Śrîvijaya**, who was very probably the earlier Kavîśvara himself, in imitation of whom the author adopted the appellation by which he has made himself known to us.[48] **Kavîśvara** has distinctly told

[46] See note 9 on page 197 above.

[47] See Mr Rice's *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsanam*, transliterated text, p. 122, as specified by the editor of the *Kavirâjamârga*. The Kanarese text (p. 112) presents *arasaroḷ=ela nî*; but that has been indicated in the table of corrections as a mistake for *arasaroḷ=elagê*.

[48] Mr. R. Narasimhachar has expressed the opinion that "in spite of the arguments adduced by Mr. Pathak "on p. 3 of his Introduction, there is room for supposing that Śrîvijaya may have written the work in the name of "his royal patron" (*Kâvyâvalôkanam*, Introd. p. 18, note 2). But, if he had gone fully into the matter, he would certainly have arrived at the conclusions reached by me; the specification (see page 269 above) of the writings of Śrîvijaya as *âdya-kâvya*, 'early poetry,' that is, earlier than the time of the writer of this *Kavirâjamârga*, is sufficient to shew that Śrîvijaya was not the author of this *Kavirâjamârga*.

us that his own work was **the work of Śrîvijaya in a new guise.** We can see how, in certain places, he fashioned that new guise, by adapting verses of Śrîvijaya with the introduction of certain alterations to suit the patronage under which he wrote. And, if Śrîvijaya's *Kavimârga* is ever recovered, we shall probably find that practically the whole of Kavîśvara's *Kavirâjamârga* is simply an adaptation of it, and that it was Śrîvijaya, and not either Kavîśvara or Amôghavarsha I., who made the translations from the Sanskṛit writer Daṇḍin which underlie so much of the *Kavirâjamârga.*[49]

The **conclusions to be formed regarding the nature of the edition of Kavîśvara's Kavirâjamârga under the name of Nṛipatuṅga's Kavirâjamârga** are neither so simple to arrive at, nor so pleasant to express. The book possesses, indeed, one good feature, in presenting, in addition to the text in Kanarese characters which is of course requisite for Native students, the transliterated text which makes it so much easier for others to investigate its contents without an unprofitable waste of time; and it would be a material enhancement of the value of all the publications of the series in which this book has found a place, if every one of them, without exception, were cast on the same lines in that respect. Also, it gives us, we presume, a reliable version of the text, as far as it could be settled by the manuscripts which were available. Beyond that, however, it does not place before us anything that can be taken as a topic of commendation. The editor has given us but few, if substantially any, of the explanatory and illustrative notes which are an essential part of an up-to-date edition of any ancient work, and particularly of such a work as the one under notice. He has not given us any index, either to the text or even to his own Introduction. He has not furnished any such general account of the scheme of the work and the arrangement of its contents, as would have been of use to anyone wishing to explore any particular part of it. He has not even taken the trouble to mark or arrange the text in such a way as to distinguish between the principal parts of it and those which are simply of the nature of examples. And his aim seems to have been simply to spend a short time on the compilation of the text, which is a brief one, and in the settlement of which only three manuscripts had to be consulted, and then to devote a long time to the elaboration of a treatise, published by way of an Introduction, which advertises him as anxious to try his hand at anything rather than the proper work of an editor. We can hardly attribute to him inability to understand the meaning of the work. Still, it must be remarked that in another essay, in composing which he ought to have been more than usually careful to be correct,[50] he has shewn himself unable to recognise the real import of a very simple Kanarese verse, which does not say that Śrutakîrti-Traividya composed a *Râghavapâṇḍavîya* which was to be read both forwards and backwards and would give sense when read in either direction, but does say that he performed the feat of reciting both forwards and backwards an ordinary work of that name (composed by someone else). And thus it is, perhaps, in some similar failure that we may find the reason for which he has dealt in so misleading a manner with the question as to who was the author of the *Kavirâjamârga.* But, whatever may be the explanation of that detail, his results are anything but

[49] On this matter see *Kavirâjamârga,* Introd. pp. 18-20. — In connection with the question of the age of Daṇḍin, the editor (Introd. p. 20, and note 1) has cited the riddle *nâsikya-madhyâ paritah,* &c., given by Daṇḍin in his *Kâvyâdarśa,* 3, 114; and, rejecting the solution Kâñchî and Chôḍarâja given by the commentator Vijayânanda, has adopted the solution Kâñchî and the kings whose name was Puṇḍraka which is given by the editor of the *Kâvyâdarśa* (Bibliotheca Indica edition, p. 399). But he has not attempted to shew what connection, if any, the Puṇḍrakas ever had with Kâñchî.

By way of an answer to the riddle, an eight-letter word is required, to denote the kings of Kâñchî, if that is the city intended. And the nominative plural *Pallavâh* would answer the requirement better than the base *Puṇḍraka,* in addition to connecting with Kâñchî a line of kings who really did rule that city in the time to which Daṇḍin is sometimes referred, the 6th century A. D. But it may be remarked that, if the riddle is *bahirlâpin,* and not *antarlâpin,* — that is to say, if for the city we are not restricted to Kâñchî by the words *kâchit-purî* in the verse, — then an equally good answer is Veṅgî and *Chalukyâh.* No doubt, other answers also could be found with a little thought. And it would be possible that *nâsikya-madhyâ* has a double meaning, and indicates secondarily some town in the Nâsik country.

[50] Namely, in his article published in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XXI. pp. 1 to 3, to which he gave the solemn title "On the Jaina Poem Râghavapâṇḍavîya: a Reply to Prof. Max Muller."

creditable to him in this particular matter, or calculated to inspire confidence in him in other directions. He has misled us in respect of the identity of the author of the *Kavirâjamârga.* And, whereas he has on several occasions taken the position of being competent to write with authority on questions of ancient Indian literature, in the settlement of which a great deal depends upon the extent to which authors have quoted one another, now, by his assertions of quotation of the *Kavirâjamârga* in other works, and especially in connection with the three verses exhibited side by side on page 272 f. above, he has shewn that he is not able to distinguish between, on the one side, a case in which one author does really quote from another, with or without any slight alteration, and, on the other side, a case in which two authors obtain a passage, or the basis of a passage, independently from a third writer. In the last paragraph but one of his Introduction, the editor has somewhat naively indicated that there might be "a more satisfactory edition of the Kavirâjamârga." Whatever else may be uncertain, there is no room for any doubt about that.

TATTOOING IN CENTRAL INDIA.

BY CAPTAIN C. E. LUARD, M.A.,

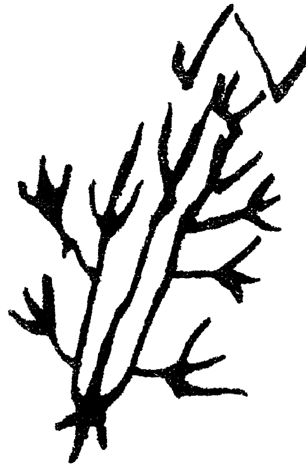
Superintendent of Ethnography in Central India.

(*Continued from p. 249.*)

7. Tattoo Marks from Maksūdangaṛh State.

(*Collected by Babu Kedar Nath.*)

1. A Sītāphal tree, Custard apple (*Anona squamosa*) — marked on the legs of a female.



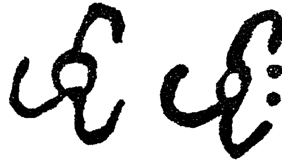
2. Kitchen of Sītājī — marked on the fore-arm.



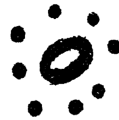
3. Sahēlīs (young girls) dancing together — marked on the leg.



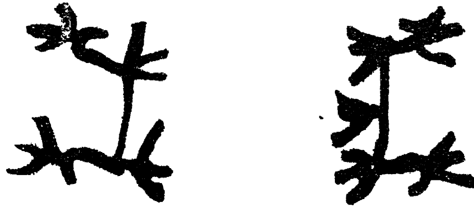
4. Scorpions — marked on the wrist...



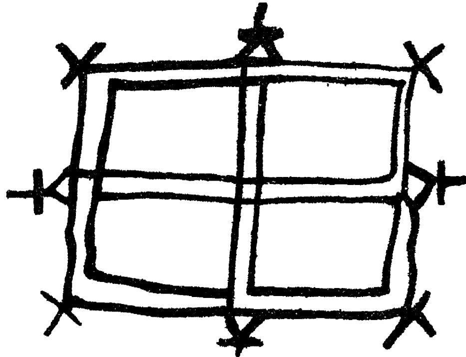
5. A sieve — on the back of the hand.



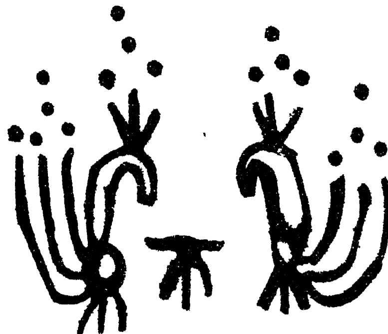
6. Barā (armlets) — on the arm ...



7. Chauk—on the leg ... ...



8. Peacocks—on the chest ... ...



9. Papīhā (*Falco nisus*), a bird — marked on the back of the hand below the thumb.



10. Pīṛhī (a four-legged stool to sit on) — on the fore-arm.



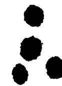
11. The lower part of the Aṛī (churn) — on the fore-arm.



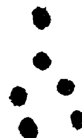
12. Deer — on the fore-arm... ...

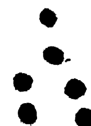


13. Bunḍī — on the right side of the nose.



14. Bunḍī — on each temple ...





15. Bunḍī — on the chin ... ...



16. Suvā-kī-pāntī (row of parrots) — on the leg.



17. Mukaṭ (crown) — on the arm.



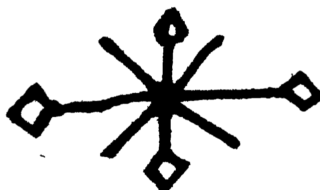
18. Gujarī (milkmaid) — on the leg ...



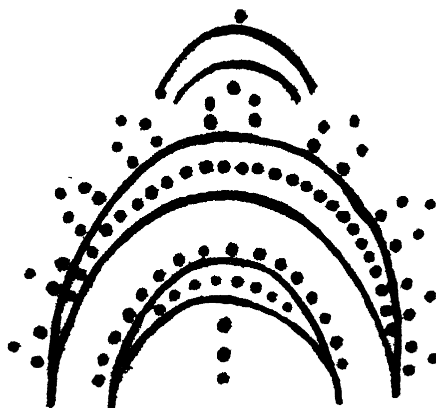
19. On the temples ... ...



20. Sālīyā — on the back of the hand.



21. Dillī Darwāzā — on the fore-arm.



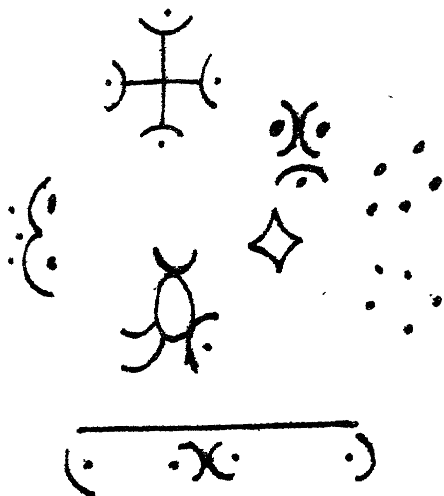
8. Tattoo Marks on Mālavī Women.

(Collected at Indore.)



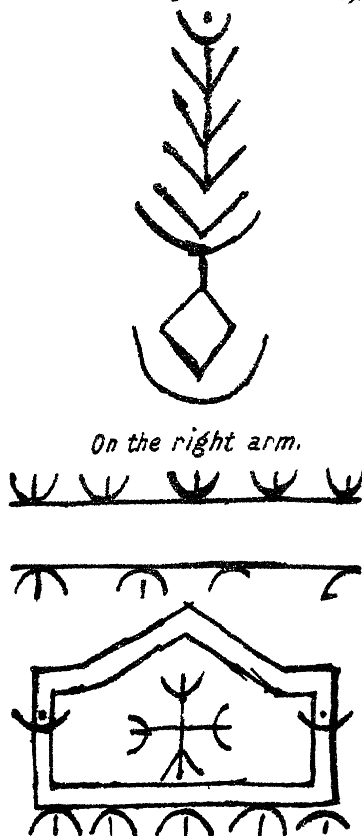
On the nose (left side).

On the back of hand.



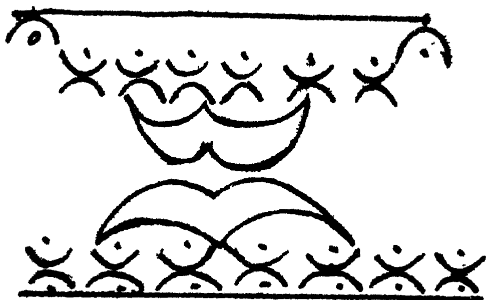
On the right hand (contd.).

On the right arm.

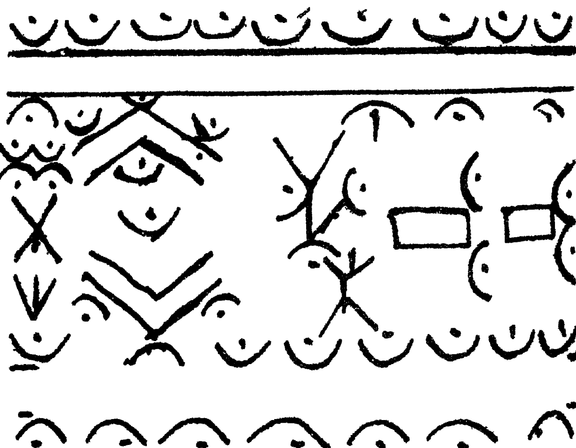




On the right hand.

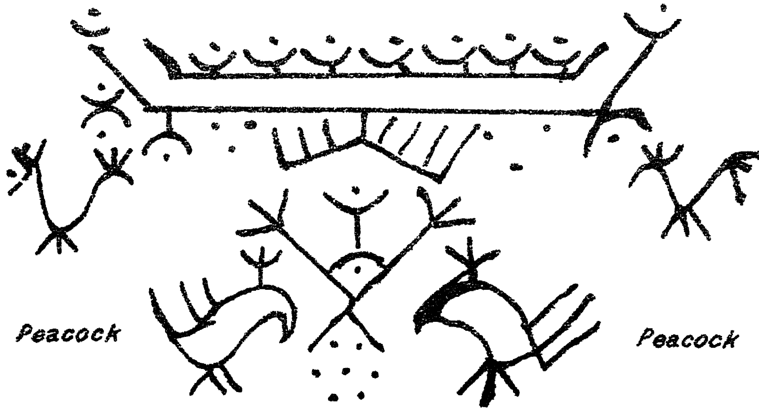


On the left hand.



N.B.—Designs were sent without any explanation, but it is easy to trace most of them from examples already given.

On the breast.



9. Tattoo Marks on Sūdra Women from the Dakhan.

(Collected at Indore.)

Forehead  बीजोरा *Bijora*

Nose (left side) 

On the Left cheek 

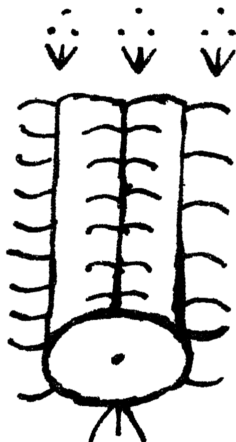
Between eye & ear  सोगे *Soga*

On the chin 

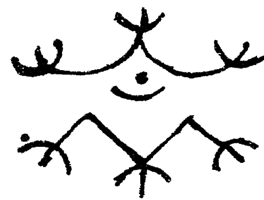
On the right.

Forearm

Side



सुरूचें झाड

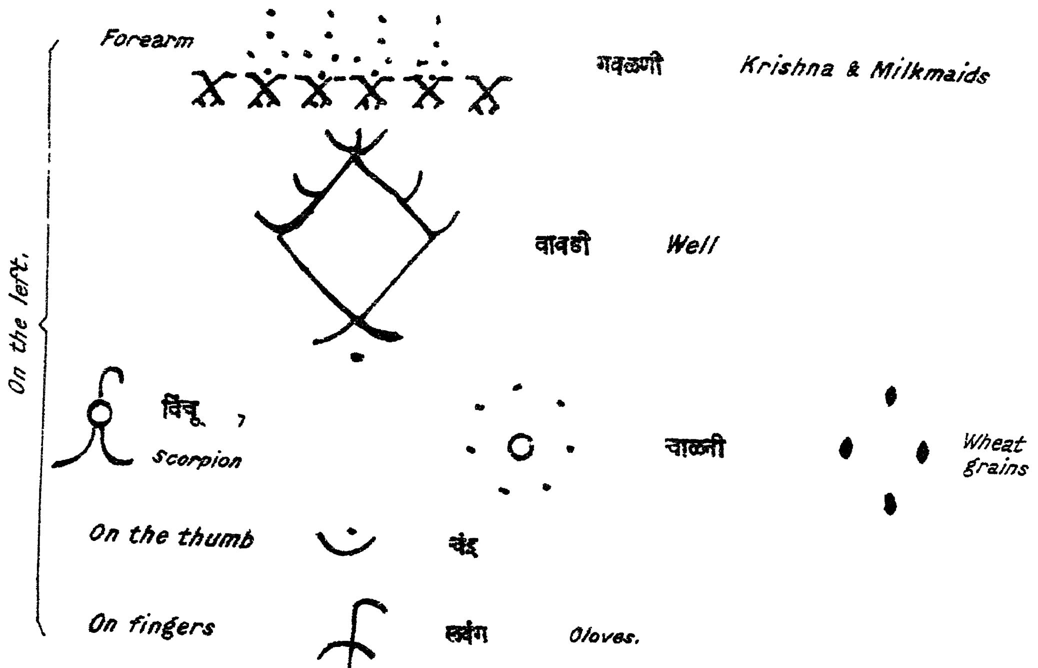


Sita's apron

सीतेचा पदर

On the wrist  चंद्र *Moon*

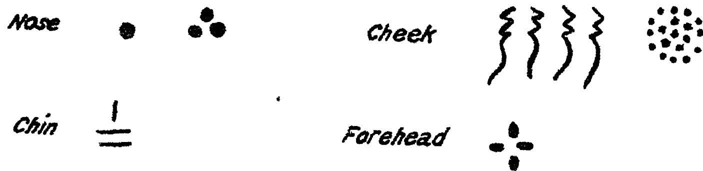
On fingers  माशा *Flies*



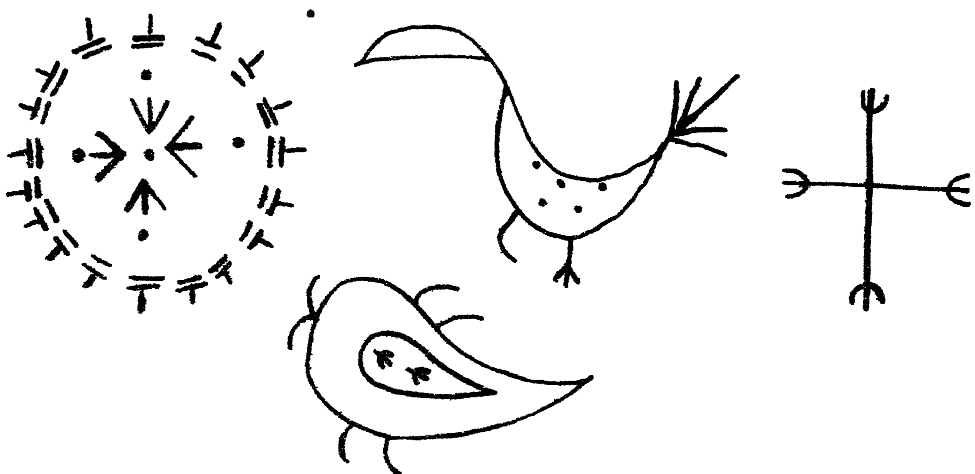
10. Tattoo Marks from Bhopal State.

(Sent without comment.)

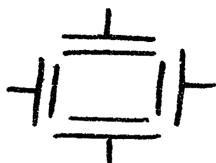
Marks on Face:

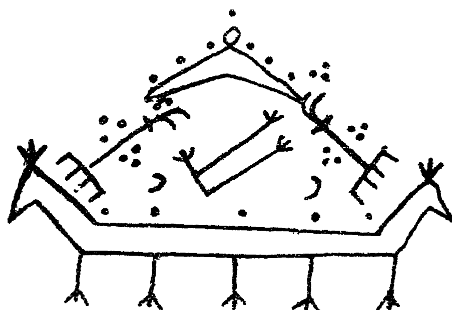


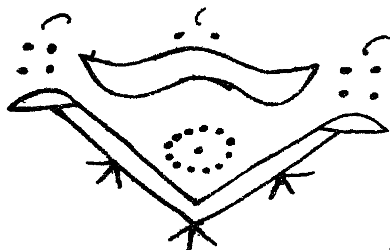
Marks on Chest:

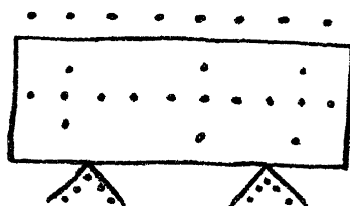


Marks on arms:

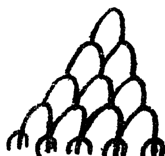




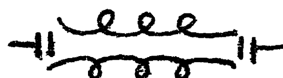




Wrist

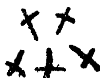


Back of the forearm:



Mark on hands:





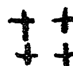




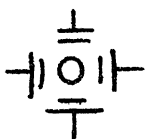


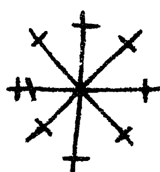
Fingers:



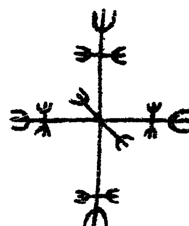


On the calves of the legs:—

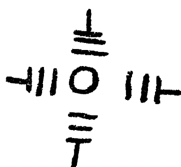


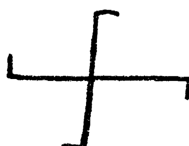


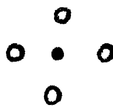


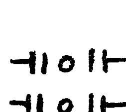


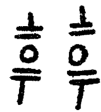
Back of the chest:—

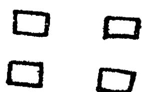


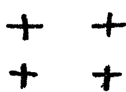


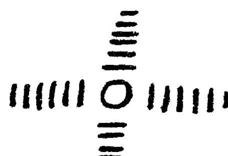


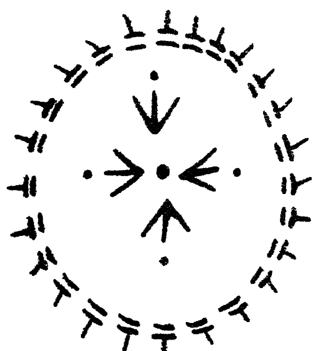


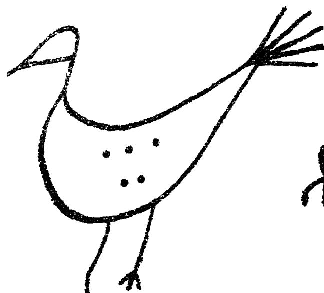






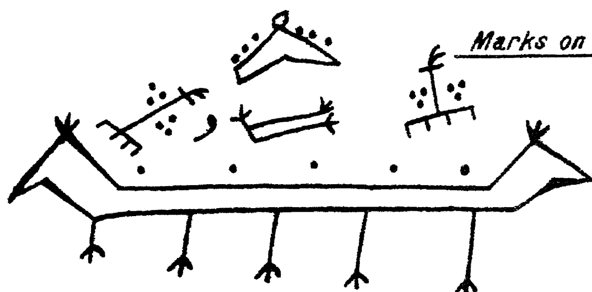


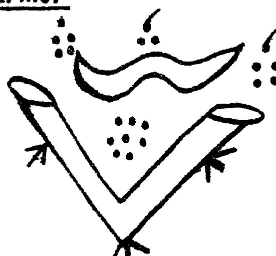

Chalni (sieve).

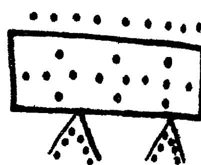

Peacock.


Scorpion.

Marks on arms.


Thakurji ki Charan.


Kag Lahar.


Gharonchi.

Marks on hands.

Wrist :—


Butphool.


Maeki ka rasta


Chalni


Laung

Back of forearm.

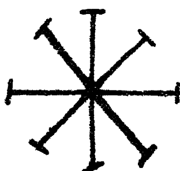

Jhir.

Finger.

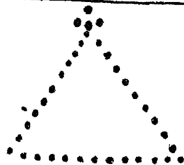

Symbol of ring worn on fingers.

Marks on calves of the legs.

Jabrin



or



Yarkand


Bedi

II. Tattoo Marks from the Narsinghgarh State.

(Collected by Lālā Raushan Lāl.)

Worn by Chamār caste :—

No. 1.



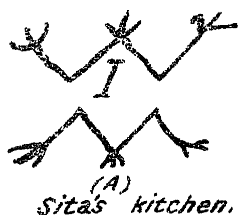

Ram.


Lakshman.

No. 2.

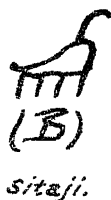

Armlet (Bara).

No. 3.



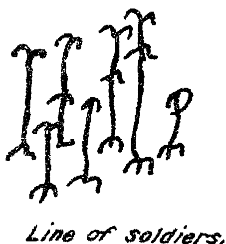
(A)
Sita's kitchen.

No. 4.



(B)
Sitaji.

No. 5.



Line of soldiers.

No. 6.



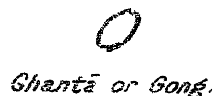
Ranighollan ornament for the feet.

No. 7.



Conch-shell.

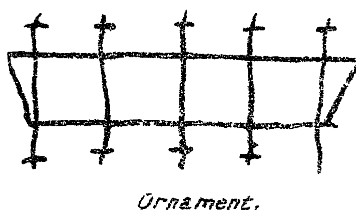
No. 8.



Ghantā or Gong.

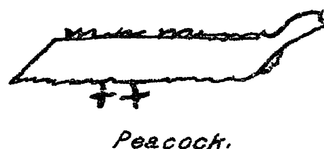
Worn by Ghorī caste:—

No. 1.



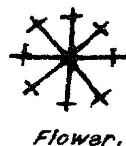
Ornament.

No. 2.



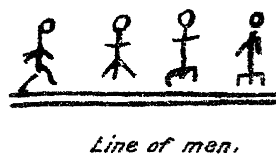
Peacock.

No. 3.



Flower.

No. 4.



Line of men.

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 216.)

Goa : s. v. 290, i, s. v. Adam's Apple, 3, ii, s. v. Budgrook, 92, i, 3 times, s. v. Cańara, 117, ii, 3 times and footnote, s. v. Concan, 189, ii, twice, s. v. Curry, 217, ii, s. v. Goa Plum, 290, ii, s. v. Goa Powder, 290, ii, s. v. Griffin, 303, i and ii, s. v. Jamboo, 342, i, s. v. Mango, 423, ii, see 424, i, footnote, s. v. Mort-de-chien, 451, ii, 452, i, s. v. Myrobalan, 466, i, s. v. Neelám, 476, i, twice, s. v. Padre, 496, ii, see 560, ii, footnote, s. v. Reinol, 576, ii, s. v. Salsette (b), 594, ii, 3 times, s. v. Sapeku, 600, i, see 627, ii, footnote, s. v. Sindābūr, 635, i, s. v. Stink-wood, 652, i, s. v. Tanga, 682, ii, twice, s. v. Teak, 693, i, s. v. Vedas, 734, i, s. v. Wootz, 742, i, s. v. Xerafine, 743, i, s. v. Bargany, 761, i, s. v. Canarin, 771, ii, twice, s. v. Cranny, 785, ii, s. v. Creole, 786, i, s. v. Palankeen, 836, i, twice, s. v. Pardao, 837, i and ii, 838, ii, twice, see 839, i, footnote, 3 times, and ii and footnote, 3 times, 840, i, twice, s. v. Sabaio, 851, ii, s. v. Sanguicer, 853, ii; ann. 1345 : s. v. Anchediva, 20, i; ann. 1391 : s. v. 290, i; ann. 1504-5 : s. v. Pardao, 840, ii; ann. 1509 : s. v. Monsoon, 824, ii; ann. 1510 : s. v. Coir, 180, ii, s. v. Peon, 528, i, s. v. Salsette (b), 595, i, twice, s. v. Idalcan, 808, i, twice, s. v. Pardao, 840, ii, s. v. Sabaio, 852, i, twice; ann. 1513 : s. v. Winter, 867, i, twice; ann. 1514 : s. v. Malabar, 412, ii; ann. 1516 : s. v. Pagoda, 500, ii, s. v. Tanadar, 681, ii, s. v. Sabaio, 852, i, twice, s. v. Sanguicer, 853, ii; ann. 1518 : s. v. Gallevat (c), 276, ii, (d), 277, i; ann. 1519 : s. v. Tanadar, 681, ii; ann. 1520 : s. v. 290, i; ann. 1524 : s. v. Bankshall (a), 46, ii; ann. 1531 : s. v. Bombay, 766, ii; ann. 1535 : s. v. Cańara, 117, ii, 118, i; ann. 1539 : s. v. Buggalow, 94, ii, ann. 1543 : s. v. Mort-de-chien, 449, i; ann. 1545 : s. v. Arakan, 25, i, s. v. Cosmin, 201, i; ann. 1546 : s. v. Avadavat, 759, i; ann. 1548 : s. v. Areca, 25, ii; ann. 1552 : s. v. Cotia, 205, ii, s. v. Cummerbund, 216, ii; ann. 1553 : s. v. Jogee, 352, i; ann. 1554 : s. v. Boy (b), 83, ii, s. v. Brinjaul, 87, i, s. v. Ganton, 278, i, s. v. Linguist, 395, i, s. v. Sindābūr, 635, ii, 5 times; ann. 1563 : s. v. Maldives, 418, ii, s. v. Muster, 462, ii, s. v. Saffron, 589, ii, s. v. Idalcan, 808, i, twice; ann. 1564 : s. v. Bazaar, 56, ii, s. v. Oart, 484, ii; ann. 1566 : s. v. Pagoda (c), 501, ii; ann. 1567 : s. v. Caste, 131, ii, s. v. China, 152, i, s. v. Winter, 740, ii; ann. 1574 : s. v. Pundit, 560, ii; ann. 1578 : s. v. Pial, 533, ii; ann. 1584 : s. v. Winter, 740, ii, s. v. Bargany, 761, ii, s. v. Pardao, 841, i (5 times) and ii, s. v. Sanguicer, 853, ii; ann. 1585 : s. v. Betel, 68, i, s. v. Shroff, 630, i; ann. 1598 : s. v. Neelám, 475, ii, s. v. Salsette (b), 595, ii, s. v. Xerafine, 743, ii, twice, s. v. Pardao, 841, ii, twice; ann. 1599 : s. v. Serang, 615, i; ann. 1602 : s. v. Pagoda (c), 502, i, twice; ann. 1606 : s. v. Palankeen, 836, ii; ann. 1610 : s. v. Salsette (a), 595, i, 3 times, s. v. Winter, 740, ii; ann. 1611 : s. v. Budgrook, 92, ii; ann. 1613 : s. v. Beri-beri, 66, ii, s. v. Sind, 634, ii; ann. 1614 : s. v. Sanguicel, 853, ii; ann. 1615 : s. v. Carrack, 127, ii, s. v. Lac, 381, ii, s. v. Nabób (a), 467, ii; ann. 1616 : s. v. Calicut, 113, ii; ann. 1622 : s. v. Mango, 424, i; ann. 1623 : s. v. Cańara, 118, ii, s. v. Ghaut (c), 282, ii, s. v. Andor, 758, i; ann. 1648 : s. v. 290, i: ann. 1650 : s. v. Paulist, 521, ii; ann. 1653 ; s. v. Mustees, 828, i, s. v. Xerafine, 867, ii; ann. 1665 : s. v. Mugg, 455, ii; ann. 1666 : s. v. Hoogly, 322, i; ann. 1672 : s. v. Cańara, 118, ii, s. v. Jancada, 810, ii; ann. 1673 : s. v. Mango, 424, i, s. v. Oart, 484, ii, s. v. Paulist, 521, ii, s. v. Reas, 575, i, s. v. Rottle, 582, ii; ann. 1675 : s. v. Venetian, 736, ii, s. v. Xerafine, 743, ii; ann. 1676 : s. v. Mangelin, 423, i, twice; ann. 1684 : s. v. Kedgeree, 364, ii; ann. 1688 : s. v. Brahmin, 85, i; ann. 1689 : s. v. Punch, 559, ii; ann. 1692 : s. v. Padre, 497, i; ann. 1694 : s. v. Punch, 559, ii; ann. 1712 : s. v. Cornac, 198, i; ann. 1727 : s. v. Achár, 3, i, s. v. Jamboo, 342, ii, s. v. Mango, 424, i, s. v. St. John's Island (b), 591, ii, s. v. Xerafine, 743, ii; ann. 1732 : s. v. Concan, 189, ii; ann. 1750-60 : s. v. Tanga, 683, i, twice; ann. 1760 : s. v.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON THE KURUKSHETRA.

THE famous battle-field of **Kurukshêtra**, where the Kauravas and Pândavas fought for eighteen days, is situated on the south side of Thânesar, 30 miles south of Ambâla in the Panjâb, and an account of its antiquities will be found in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. XIV. p. 86. The following note by L. Raghunath Das, Superintendent of Ethnography to the Jînd State, relates to that part of the Kurukshêtra which lies in that State and forms the southern border of the sacred territory, lying west of Pânîpat and including Safîdôn and Jînd, the two ancient towns, which are the most important places in the south, as Thânêsar and Pehôâ are in the north, of the Kurukshêtra. The details of the various temples, shrines, and places of pilgrimage in this tract do not lend countenance to Cunningham's suspicion that both Kaithal and Jînd have been included in the holy circuit in recent times to gratify the Sikh Râjâs of those places. The archæological remains of the southern Kurukshêtra do not appear to have ever been examined by an expert, though the whole territory would probably repay systematic exploration.

H. A. ROSE.

July 20th, 1903.

(1) At Baraud in the Safîdôn *'ilâqa*, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north-east of the town of Safîdôṅ, is a temple of **Mahâdêva**, which is said to date from the Satya-Yuga. It is visited by the people on the *śiva-râtris*, and as there are no *pujâris*, the villagers here perform worship themselves.

(2) At Safîdôṅ itself there are three ancient *tîrthas* and temples, supposed to have been built towards the close of the Dvâpara Yuga, namely, Nâgêśvara Mahâdêva, Nâga-damanî Dêvî (or Bhawan Dêvî) and Nâgakshetra. The legend goes that at the end of the Dvâpara Yuga Râjâ Parîkshit was bitten by a serpent, Takshaka. To avenge him, his son Râjâ Janamêjaya established the images of Nâgêśvara Mahâdêva and Nâga-damanî Dêvî (the goddess who slaughters serpents) in the temples and invoked them. He then made a *hawan vêdî*, or place of sacred fire, and held a holocaust of the snakes with their *śaktis* (powers).

(i) **Nâgêśvara Mahâdêva.** — This temple, which lies on a tank, contains an idol of Nâgêśvara Mahâdêva, and fairs are held here on the 13th and 14th of Sâwan and Phâgun in the dark half of the month. The worshipper here is believed to obtain Nâga-lôka.

(ii) **The Bhawan Dêvîjî or Temple of the Goddess** — This temple contains an idol of Nâga-damanî Dêvî. Fairs are held on the 7th and 9th of Asauj and Chet *sudi*. The temple was rebuilt by Râjâ Raghbîr Singh of Jînd in Saṁvat 1943.

(iii) **The Nâgakshêtra Tîrtha.** — The tank here was rebuilt by Râjâ Raghbîr Singh in the same year. The *tîrtha* of Nâgakshêtra is the place where the snakes were slaughtered and hence is called Sarpa-daman. Bathing in it is believed to set one free from the fear of Nâgas (snakes).

(iv) **Srî-Kṛishṇa.** — This temple was also erected by Râjâ Raghbîr Singh in the same year. Its fair is held on the 8th of Bhâdôn *badî*.

The administration of the above temples is in the hands of the State authorities, three Gaur Brâhmaṇs of the Kauśika *gôtra* being nominated as *pujâris* and paid by the State.

(3) Mahâdêva. — There is also a temple of Mahâdêva at Pâjû Kalân in the Safîdôṅ *'ilâqa*, 3 miles north-west of Safîdôn. It is on the Pârâśara tank, so called because Pârâśara Ṛishi performed penances here. It also dates from the Satya-Yuga, and its fairs are held on the 13th and 14th of Sâwan and Phâgun *badî*. People also bathe here on every Sunday in Sâwan. It is in charge of a Shâmî Bairâgî of the Râmânandî Order, who must remain celibate.

(4) The Singhî-Rikh Tank at Sanghânâ, 4 miles west of Safîdôn, owes its name to Singhî-Rikh, the Ṛishi who worshipped there. Bathing in it on a *parab* or fête-day is meritorious.

(5) There is also a **temple of Mahâdêva** at Hât, 6 miles south-west of Safîdôn in the same *'ilâqa* on the Pancha Nada.[1] It has been in existence since the Satya-Yuga, and to bathe in its tank is equivalent in spiritual efficacy to performing 5 *yajnas*. There are fairs here on the same dates as at Pâjû Kalâṅ, but no regular *pujâris* are appointed, though occasionally a Shâmî (Bairâgî), a Brahmachârî, a Gosâîn or a Sâdhu may halt here in his wanderings. Two

[1] Pancha Nada, the place where 5 *tîrthas* were connected with 5 channels by Hât Kaish Mahâdêva (Bâwan Purân).

miles from Hât is the Aranbak Yaksha, one of the four *yakshas* or monsters, who guarded the four corners of the battle-field.

(6) **The Sûraj Kund Tank at Kâlwâ,** 9½ miles south-west of Safîdôn in the same *'ilâqa*, is believed to owe its origin to Sûraj Narain, and bathing in it at any time, but more specially on a Sunday, is held to avert the *sûraj-grah* or evil influence of the Sun-god.

The old temple of Sûraj Bhagavân at Sûraj Kund, the ruins of which are still to be found, having been demolished, a new temple of Kṛishṇa and Râdhikâ was built by a Bairâgî of Brij, whose *chêlâs* hold it in succession from him.

(7) **At Jâmnî,** 12 miles west of Safîdôn, are a temple and tank of **Jamadagni,** father of Paraśurâma. People bathe in the tank on Sundays and the *pûrṇamâsî* or 15th of every month. The temple is in the charge of a Shâmî of the Râmânandî Order and has a *muâfî* of 80 *bîghâs* of land attached to it.

(8) **At Âsân,** which is at a distance of 14 miles in the south-west of Safîdôṅ, is an ancient tank, called **Aśvini-Kumâra** after the god in whose honour a Ṛishi did penance there. The legend in the *Vâmana Purâṇa* goes that an ugly Ṛishi, being laughed at in the assembly of the sages, did penance and invoked the god Aśvini-Kumâra, who appeared before him, and bestowed on him beauty, saying, "be beautiful after bathing in this tank." Hence bathing in it on Tuesday is believed to enhance one's beauty.

(9) **At Barâh Kalâṅ,** which is 17 miles south-west of Safîdôn, are the tank and temple of Barâhjî Bhagwân, commemorating Vishṇu's *varâha* or boar incarnation.

The fair is held on the 11th and 12th of Bhâdôn *sudi*. Bathing in the tank and worshipping the god Barâh are believed to secure the highest place in heaven.

(ii) The **Chandra-kûpa** or **Moon-well Tîrtha,** built in honour of the Moon (Sômâ Dêva), is an ancient cave in which water collects in the rainy season, and in this water the Moon is supposed to have bathed His evil influence is averted by bathing here on the 11th and 12th of Bhâdôṅ *sudi* or on a Monday.

(iii) **The Sapta-Ṛishi Kund** or Tank of the Seven Ṛishis. The legend in the *Tilak Gyân Granth* is that the seven Ṛishis, Ranbukâ, &c., came here after visiting the *tîrthas* or tanks of Kurukshêtra, and made their *kutî* (resting-place) and *hawan-kund* here. After a time they went to Pindârak (Pindâra). It is of spiritual benefit to bathe in it on the days mentioned above or on any sacred day.

(iv) **A Sûraj Kund,** bathing in which is as meritorious as performing worship at an eclipse of the sun. The bathing day is Sunday.

(v) **A Chandra Kund,** to bathe in which is equal to worshipping at an eclipse of the moon. The bathing day is Monday.

(10) **At Pindâra,** which is 20 miles south-west of Safîdôṅ, is another **Sôma Tîrtha,** with a temple of Sômêśvara Mahâdêva, sacred to the moon and the planet Śukra (Venus). This tank is visited by many thousands of people, often from distant places, at a *sômâwati amâwas* or a Monday which falls on the day before a new moon, and a fair is also held on the 13th and 14th *ḅadi* both in Phâgun and Sâwan.

At a *sômâwati amâwas* pilgrims offer *piṇḍas,* balls of rice-flour, for the benefit of deceased ancestors, which is as efficacious as a pilgrimage to Gayâ. Alms offered on such an occasion are also equal in merit to the performance of a *Râjasûya Yajña.*

(11) The temple of **Jayantî Dêvî** or Goddess of Victory at Jînd, which owes its name to this temple, and which is 22 miles south-west of Safîdôṅ, was built by **Yudhishthira** and his brothers, the **Pâṇḍavas,** before their fight with the Kauravas. A tank called the Sûraj Kund lies in front of the temple and is now filled with canal water. On the tank of Sômanâtha, in the town of Jînd, are the temples of Mahâdêva, called the Sômêśvara Śivâlaya and Mansâ Dêvî. The tank derives its name from the Moon-god, Sôma, and by bathing in it one can reach the moon. On another tank, called the Jawâlmâl Iśwara, is another Śivâlaya of Mahâdêva bearing the same name as the tank. Bathing here is believed to free the soul from the door (bonds) of transmigration.

The Asaṅkhya Tîrtha is an ancient tank, so called because countless (*asankhya*) *ṛishis* are

said to have worshipped there. To bathe in it on a sacred day (*parab*) is equivalent to a pilgrimage to Badrî Nâth. Washing in the Aśani Dhârâ Tîrtha, also an extremely ancient tank, cleanses from sin if performed on a Thursday

In Saṁvat 1903 Râjâ Sarûp Singh built the Râj Râjêśvarî or Lord of the State Temple at Jînd. The fair is held on the 1st to the 9th of Chait and Asauj *sudi*.

(12) **At Barâh-ban**[2] is a temple to **Grâhî Dêvî**, who was a *yâkshanî*, of Grâhâ Rishi. A fair is held on the 7th and 8th of Chait and Asauj *sudi*. It is believed to avert sins.

This village also contains a very old tank called the Kirt Sauch or place of hand-washing, so called because Narasimha, the lion incarnation of Vishnu, killed the *daitya* or demon Hiranyâksha at this spot and washed his hands and feet in it. It is beneficial to bathe in it on a *parab*, and to do so is equivalent to performing a *pundrîk yajna*.

Here, too, is an ancient tank called the **Puṇpuṇyâ**, so called because Narasiṁha washed his hands in it a second time after killing Hiraṇyâksha. Bathing in it is as efficacious as bathing in the Kirt Sauch, while it also makes the bather more prudent.

(13) **At Ikas**, which is 25 miles off Safîdôṅ in the south-west direction, is the Haṁsa, or Swaṇ tank, also called the Dhûndû or 'seeking,' because here Kṛishna, after escaping from the Gôpîs, concealed himself in the guise of a Swan (Haṁsa is a symbol for soul), while they sought him in the same shape. It is customary to bathe in it on a Sunday in Sâwan, or on any *parab*. Bathing in it is believed to equal in merit a gift (*punya*) of 1,000 cows.

(14) **Râm Rai**, which is at a distance of 28 miles in the south-west direction, is also a village of peculiar sanctity.

It contains:—

(i) A temple to Paraśurâma, adjoining which are the Râm Hṛid,[3] Sûraj Kund and San Hitha. The Râm Hṛid or Temple of Paraśu Râma marks the spots where that hero destroyed the Kshatriyas. The legend in the *Mahâbhârata* goes that Parasurâma killed Sahasra Bâhû (thousand-armed) with all his sons and *sêna*, 'army,' and filled five Kunds with blood, bathed himself in them and offered *til-anjalî* to his deceased father, Jamadagni, saying, 'It is the blood of those who killed you and took away your *kâmadhênu* cow.' Then Paraśurâma took up his axe, and began slaughtering Kshatriyas, while the San Hitha is midway between it and Sûraj Kund.

People bathe in these tanks on the 15th *sudi* of Kârtik and Baisâkh, after which they worship in the temple which contains images of Paraśurâma and his parents Jamadagni and Rambûkâ, feed Brâhmans and give alms to the poor. Also at the eclipse of the sun they bathe in the San Hitha tank and at the eclipse of the moon in the Râm Hṛid, by doing so they believe that they will reach Svarga (paradise).

(ii) The temple of **Kapila Yaksha** is in the south-west of Râm Râi. The Yaksha was a door-keeper of the Kurukshêtra. The temple is worshipped on the same days, and is in the charge of a Kanphatâ Jôgî.

(iii) The temple of **Anôkhâlî Mêkhalâ Dêvî**, who was the *yakshanî* of Kapila Yaksha, is in the charge of a Gauṛ Brâhmaṇ. A fair is held on the same days.

(15) **At Pôhkar Khêrî**, which is 29 miles south-west of Safîdôn, in the south-west of the village is a tank of Pushkarjî, with a temple of Mahâdêva. The name Pôhkar is from Pushkara, meaning "great purifier." It is related that Paraśurâma collected all the *śaktis* (powers) of gods and influences of all the Tîrthas.

Here Brahmâ, Vishṇu and Mahêśa worshipped, and there is a special worship of Mahâdêva on the 13th and 14th *badi* of Phâgun and Sâwan, while bathing here on 15th *sudi* of Kârtik or Baisâkh (each a *sûraj-parab*, or day sacred to the sun) is equivalent to performing an *aśvamêdha* or horse-sacrifice.

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[2] Barâh-ban is 24 miles south-west of Safîdôn.

[3] Râm Hṛid is a place where Paraśurâma was pleased to the heart, Râm standing for Paraśurâma, and *hṛid* meaning heart.

NOTICE.

THE remainder of the English version of DR. BÜHLER'S INDIAN PALEOGRAPHY, — about 24 pages, — will be issued with the Index, &c., of the current Volume.

TATTOOING IN CENTRAL INDIA.

BY CAPTAIN C. E. LUARD, M.A.,

Superintendent of Ethnography in Central India.

(Concluded from p. 289.)

III.

THE JUNGLE SECTION.

1. Tattoo Marks from the Jobat State.

(Collected by Rai Bahadur Vamon Rao Bapuji of Jobat.)

A. — Female Marks.

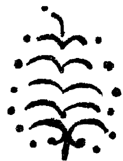
(1) Worn on calves:—



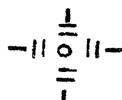
मोर
Peacock



बखिया
Stitches



आमका झाड़
Mango-tree



बावडी
Baori (well)

(2) Worn on the wrists:—



पपइया
Papaya



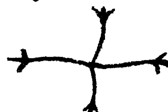
हाथका पंजा
A claw



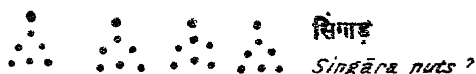
सीतामाताकी रांधनी
Sītā's kitchen



मौड सिरपर बांधनेका शादीके वक्त
The "Mauḍa"—a high hat worn by the bridegroom at a wedding.



चौक
"Chauk"



सिंगाड़
Singāra nuts ?



सीतामाताकी रांधनी
Sītā's kitchen



चौक
"Chauk"

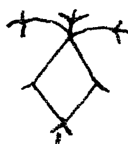
(3) Worn on the hands:—



पवलियाफूल
Flower of avalyā tree (Phyllanthus emblica).



बखिया
Stitches.



फूल
Flower



सीतामाता की रांजन water vessel.
Sītā's granary

(4) Worn on the fingers:—



मकवी



मकवी



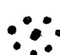
मकवी

(5) Worn on the thumbs:—



लौंग
Cloves

(6) Worn on the chin:—



दाने
Grain



दाना
Grain

Women's Marks — (contd.)

(7) Worn on the cheeks:—



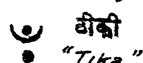
दाने
Grain

(8) Worn at the corners of the eyes:—



नैने
Eyes

(9) Worn between the eyebrows:—



टीकी
"Tika"

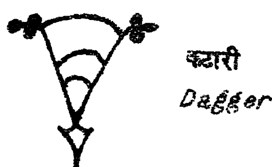
(10) Worn on the toes.—



दाने
Grain.

B Male Marks

(1) Worn on the wrists:—

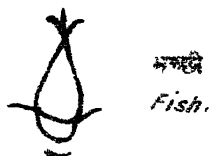


कटारी
Dagger

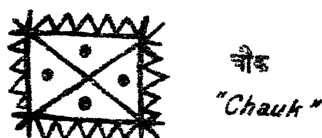


आमका झाड़
Mango-tree

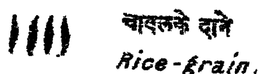
(2) Worn on the hands:—



मछली
Fish.



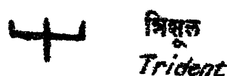
चौक
"Chauk"



चावलके दाने
Rice-grain.



बखिया
Stitches.



त्रिशूल
Trident

(3) Worn on the fingers:—



मकड़ी

(4) Worn on the arms:—



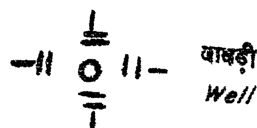
मोर
Peacock.

(5) Worn on the chest:—



घोड़ा
Horse

अमजी आदमी का नाम
Man's name.



बावड़ी
Well

(6) Worn on the corners of the eyes:—



नैने
Eyes.

2. Tattoo Marks from Barwānī State.

(*Collected by Mr. K. M. Phatak of Barwani.*)

(a) Khandesh Bhīls.

(*Plate VII.*)

Signs.	Caste.	Part of the body.	Male or female.	Name of the sign.	Meaning.
	Khāndēsh Bhīls ...	On shoulder ...	Male ...	Chauk, चौक ..	Square.
	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Isī, इशी ...	

(b) Mālī Bhīls.

(*Plate VIII.*)

Signs.	Caste.	Part of the body.	Male or female.	Name of the sign.	Meaning.
	Mālī Bhīl ...	On the shoulder..	Male ...	Katiyār, कटियार ...	Dagger.
	Do. ...	Near the eye ..	Do. ..	Triśūl, त्रिशूल ...	Trident.
	Do. ...	On cheek ...	Do. ...	Kallâ, कल्ला ...	Bangle.
	Do. ...	On forehead ...	Do. ...	Kamâṇ, कमाण ...	Bow.

(c) Charans.

(*Plate IX.*)

Signs.	Caste.	Part of the body.	Male or female.	Name of the sign.	Meaning.
	Charan ...	On forehead ...	Male ...	Mālā, माला... ..	Rosary.
	Do. ...	On wrist ...	Do. ..	Katiyār, कटियार ...	Dagger.
	Do. ...	On forehead ..	Do. ...	Hār, हार	Wreath.

(d) Ningwāls.

(*Plate X.*)

Signs.	Caste.	Part of the body.	Male or female.	Name of the sign.	Meaning.
	Ningwāl ..	On forehead or arms	Male ..	Ām kā Jhād, आमका झाड	Mango-tree.
	Do. ..	Between wrist and elbow.	Do. ..	Dānk, डांक... ..	A sort of drum.
	Do. ...	Do. ..	Do. ..	Kūwā, कूवा	Well.

(e) Soliā Bhīls.

(*Plate XI.*)

Signs.	Caste.	Part of the body.	Male or female.	Name of the sign.	Meaning.
	Soliā Bhīl ..	On forehead ..	Male ...	Hār, हार	Garland.
	Do. ...	Near the eye ..	Do. ...	Kamāṇ, कमाण ..	Bow.
	Do. ...	On the chest ..	Do. ..	Ghōdā, घोडा ...	Horse.
	Do. ..	Near the eye ..	Do. ...	Khaṭā, खता ...	A mark placed for beautifying the face.

(f) Bhilālās.

(*Plate XII.*)

Signs.	Caste.	Part of the body.	Male or female.	Name of the sign.	Meaning.
	Bhilālā ...	On forehead or between wrist and elbow.	Female ...	Ām ka Jhāḍ, आमका झाड़	Mango-tree.
	Do. ...	Near the eye ...	Do. ..	Chirliyā, चिरलिया ...	Feathers.
	Do. ..	On the chin or on the chest.	Do. ...	Phūl, फूल	Flower.
	Do. ..	On any part of the body and by any caste.	Do. ...	Ṭipkā, टिपका ...	Spots.

(f) **Bhilālās**—(*contd.*).

Signs.	Caste.	Part of the body.	Male or female.	Name of the sign.	Meaning.
	Bhilālā ..	On the front portion of the leg near the ankle.	Female ...	Kaṭār, कटार ..	Dagger.
	Do. ..	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mauḍ, मौड़	Coronet worn by the bridegroom.

(g) **Kachis.**

(Plates XIII. and XIV.)

Signs.	Caste.	Part of the body.	Male or female.	Name of the sign.	Meaning.
	Kāchi ..	On either side of the portion between elbow and wrist.	Female ...	Sītā kī Rānḍnī, सीताकी रांदनी.	Boiler of Sītā.
	Do. ...	Do. ..	Do. ...	Sītā kā hāth, सीताका हाथ.	Sītā's hand.
	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ..	Rām and Lachhman, राम व लछमन.	Rāma and Lachhman.
	Do. ...	On thumb ...	Do. ...	Bichchū, बिच्छू ...	Scorpion.
	Do. ...	On fingers	Do. ...	Java, जव	Barley.
	Do. ...	On the back of the leg.	Do. ..	Ām kā Jhāḍ, आमका झाड़.	Mango-tree.

(h) **Taḍvī Bhilālās.**

(Plate XV.)

Sign.	Caste.	Part of the body.	Male or female.	Name of the sign.	Meaning.
	Taḍvī	Near the eye ...	Female ...	Chirliyā, चिरलिया ...	Feathers.
	Do.	Between wrist and elbow.	Do. ...	Katiyār, कटियार ...	Dagger.

(h) Taḍvī Bhilālās—(*contd.*).

Signs.	Caste.	Part of the body	Male or female.	Name of the sign.	Meaning.
	Taḍvī	Between wrist and elbow.	Female	Chōṅmaḷ, चोंमळ	A cloth wound round the head for carrying weights.
	Do.	Near the eye	Do.	Chirliyā, चिरलिया	Feathers.
	Do.	Between wrist and elbow.	Do.	Chauk Bakhiyādār, चौकबखियादार.	Square in the form of stitches.
	Do.	Do.	Do.	Chauk, चौक	Square.
	Do.	On the leg near the ankle.	Do.	Mauḍ, मौड	A coronet for the bridegroom.
	Do.	Near the eye	Do.	Chirliyā, चिरलिया	Feathers.
	Do.	On the back of the palm.	Do.	Chauk, चौक	Square.
	Do.	Near the eye	Do.	Chirliyā, चिरलिया	Feathers.
	Do.	Between wrist and elbow.	Do.	Bakhiyā, बखिया	Stitch.
	Do.	Do.	Do.	Chauk, चौक	Square.
	Do.	On the back of the leg.	Do.	Chauk, चौक	Do.
	Do.	Between wrist and elbow.	Do.	Chōṅmaḷ, चोंमळ	A cloth wound round the head for carrying weights.
	Do.	On forehead	Do.	Jhāḍ, झाड़	Tree.

(i) Chohān Bhīls.

(Plate XVI.)

Signs.	Caste.	Part of the body.	Male or female.	Name of the sign.	Meaning.
	Chohān Bhīl ...	On arms or chest ...	Male ...	Ādmī, आदमी ..	Man.
	Do. ..	On forehead ..	Do. ...	Āmkā Jhād, आमका-झाड़.	Mango-tree.
	Do. ..	Near the eye ...	Do. ..	Khatā, खता ..	A line or mark for beautifying the face.

(j) Meghwāls.

(Plates XVII., XVIII., and XIX.)

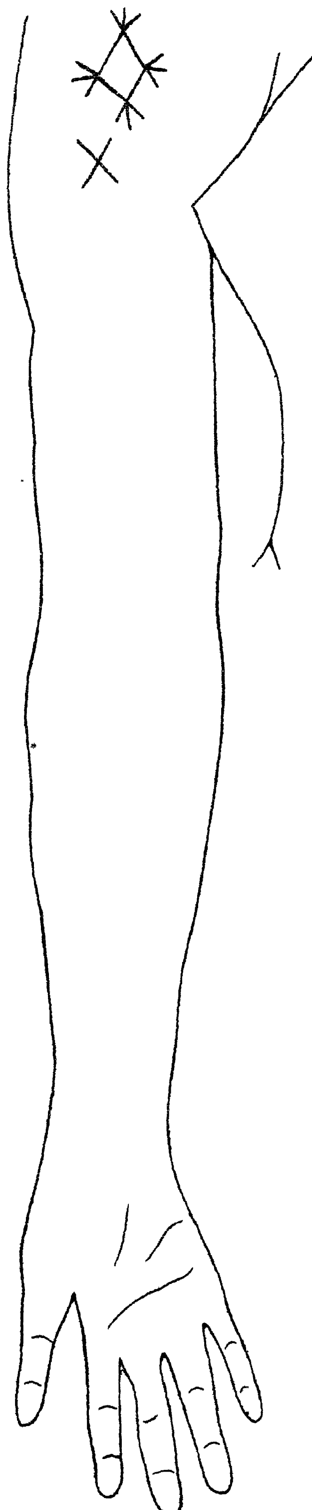
Signs.	Caste.	Part of the body.	Male or female.	Name of the sign.	Meaning.
	Meghwāl ...	On the back of hand between wrist and elbow.	Female ..	Kaṭārī, कटारी ...	Dagger.
	Do. ..	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dānā, दाना	Beads.
	Do. ...	On wrist or elbow ...	Do. ...	Mahaḍō or Mōḍūḍū, मोडुडू.	A seat for Mahādev.
	Do. ...	Between wrist and elbow.	Do. ...	Mōḍūḍū, मोडुडू ...	Do.
	Do. ...	Do. ..	Do. ...	Mōḍ, मोड	Wheel.
	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mākhī, माखी ...	Fly.
	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Phūl, फूल	Flower.

(j) **Meghwāls**—(*contd.*).

Signs.	Caste.	Part of the body.	Male or female.	Name of the sign.	Meaning.
	Meghwāl ...	On the back of the palm.	Female ...	Choṅbal, चौंबल ...	A cloth wound round the head for lifting weights.
	Do. ...	On the back of the thumb.	Do. ...	Bakhiyā, बखिया ..	Stitch.
	Do. ...	Do. ..	Do. ...	Choṅbal, चौंबल ...	A cloth wound round the head for carrying weights.
	Do. ...	On forehead ..	Do. ...	Hâr, हार .	Garland.
	Do. ...	On the back of the foot, near the ankle.	Do. ..	Bāvḍī, बावडी ...	Well.
	Do. ...	On elbow; neck; between wrist and elbow; on back of hand; or near the ankle.	Do. ...	Māṇas, माणस ...	Man.
	Do. ...	On elbow	Do. ...	Wēṇā, वेणा	Water-stand.
	Do. ..	On wrist	Do. ...	Kāṭhruṭ, काथरूट ..	Flower of Lotus.
	Do. ...	On fingers of hands or elbows.	Do. ...	Mākhī, माखी ...	Fly.
	Do. ...	Between wrist and elbow; on back of the hand.	Do. ..	Ḍēvḍī, डेवडी ...	An ornament for the head.
	Do. ...	On wrist	Do. ...	Sākaḷ, साकळ ...	Chain.
	Do. ...	Near the ankle ...	Do. ...	Lāḍvā, लाडुवा ...	Cross.

KHANDESH BHILS.

Plate VII.

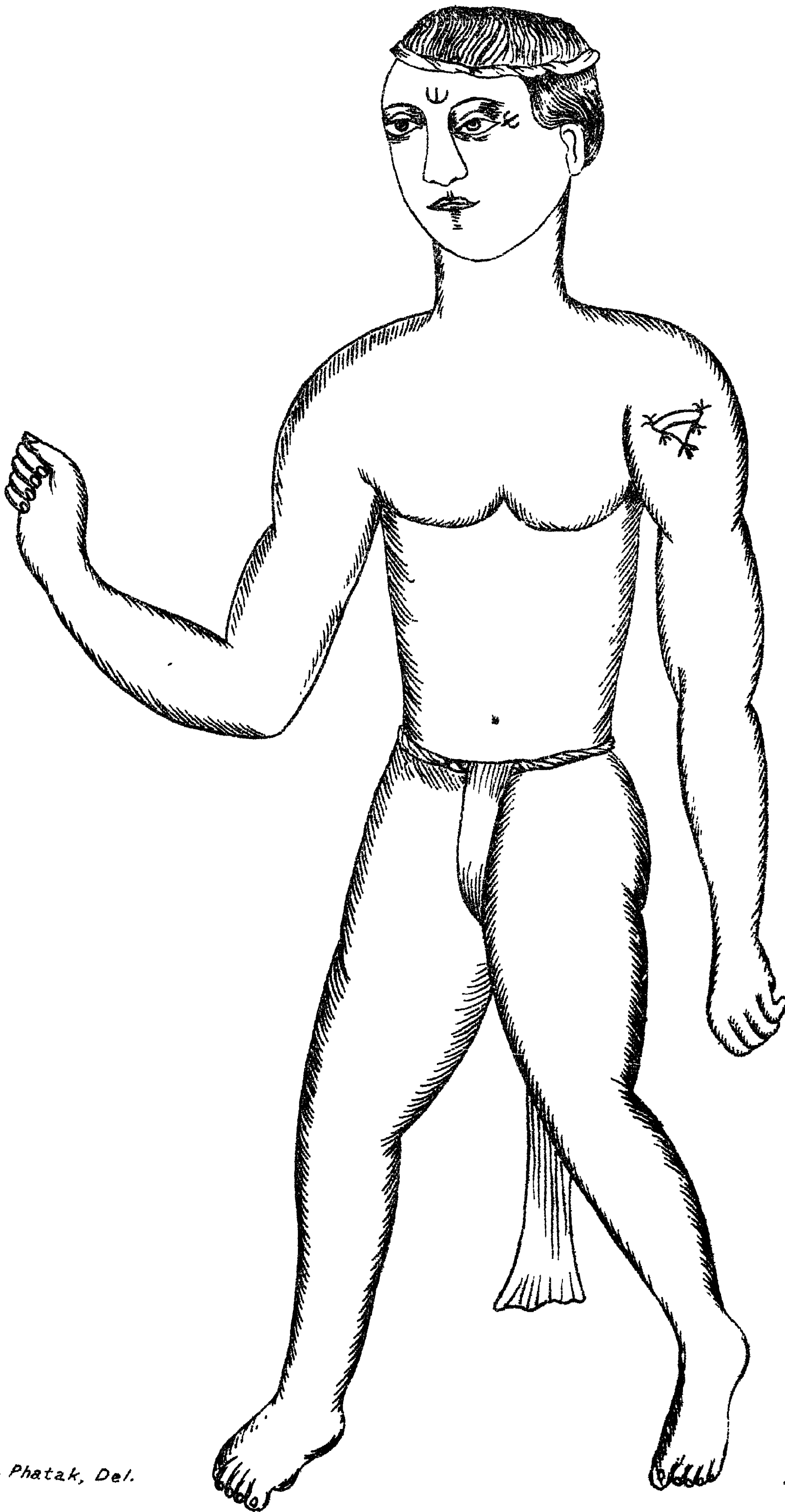


K. M Phatak Del

B. E. S Press, Litho.

MALI BHILS.

Plate VIII.



K. M. Phatak, Del.

B. E. S. Press, Litho.

CHARAN.

Plate IX.



K. M. Phatak, Del.

B.E.S. Press, Litho.

CHARAN.

Plate IX.

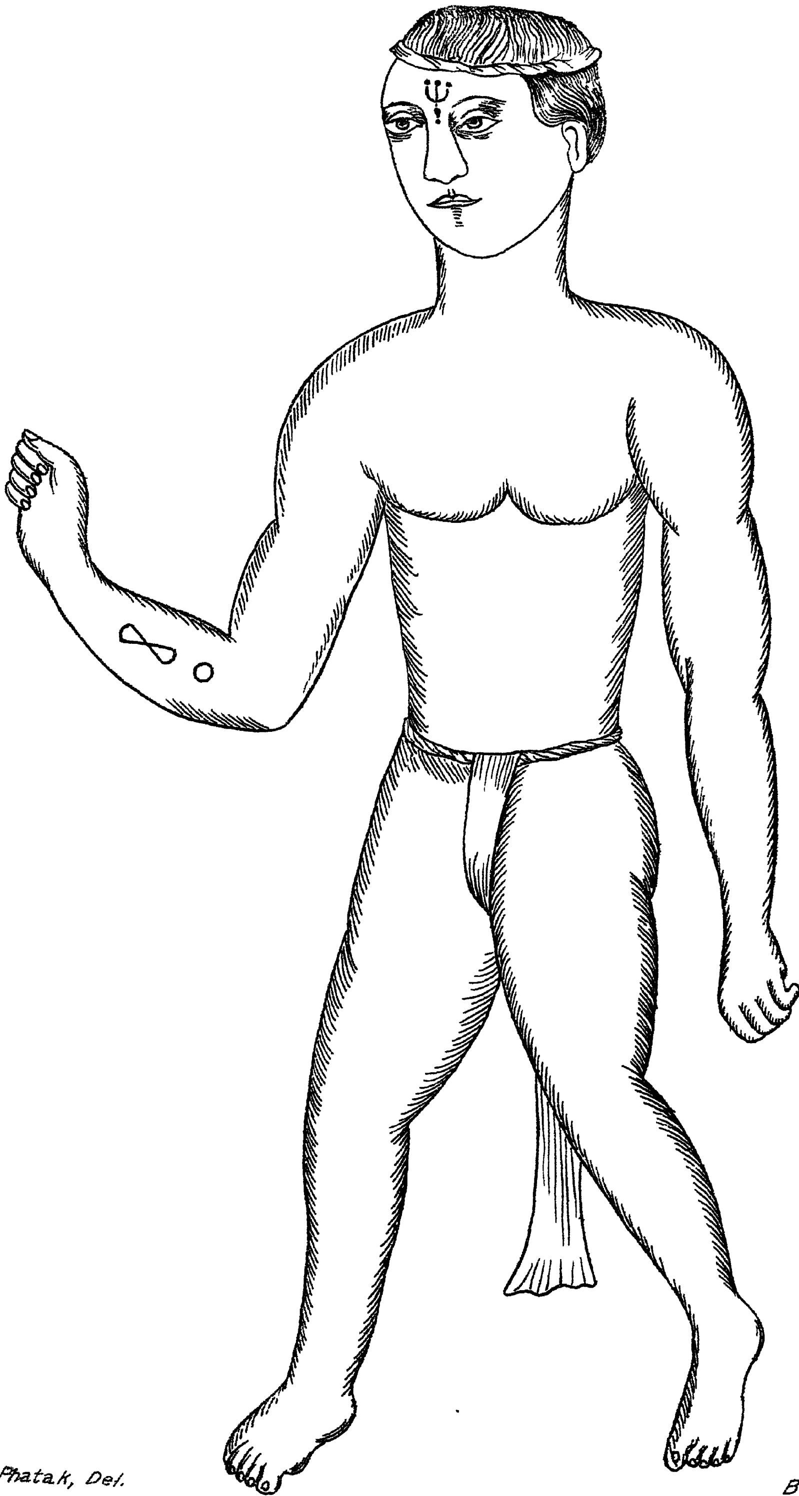


K. M. Phatak, Del.

B. E. S. Press, Litho.

NINGWĀLS.

Plate X.

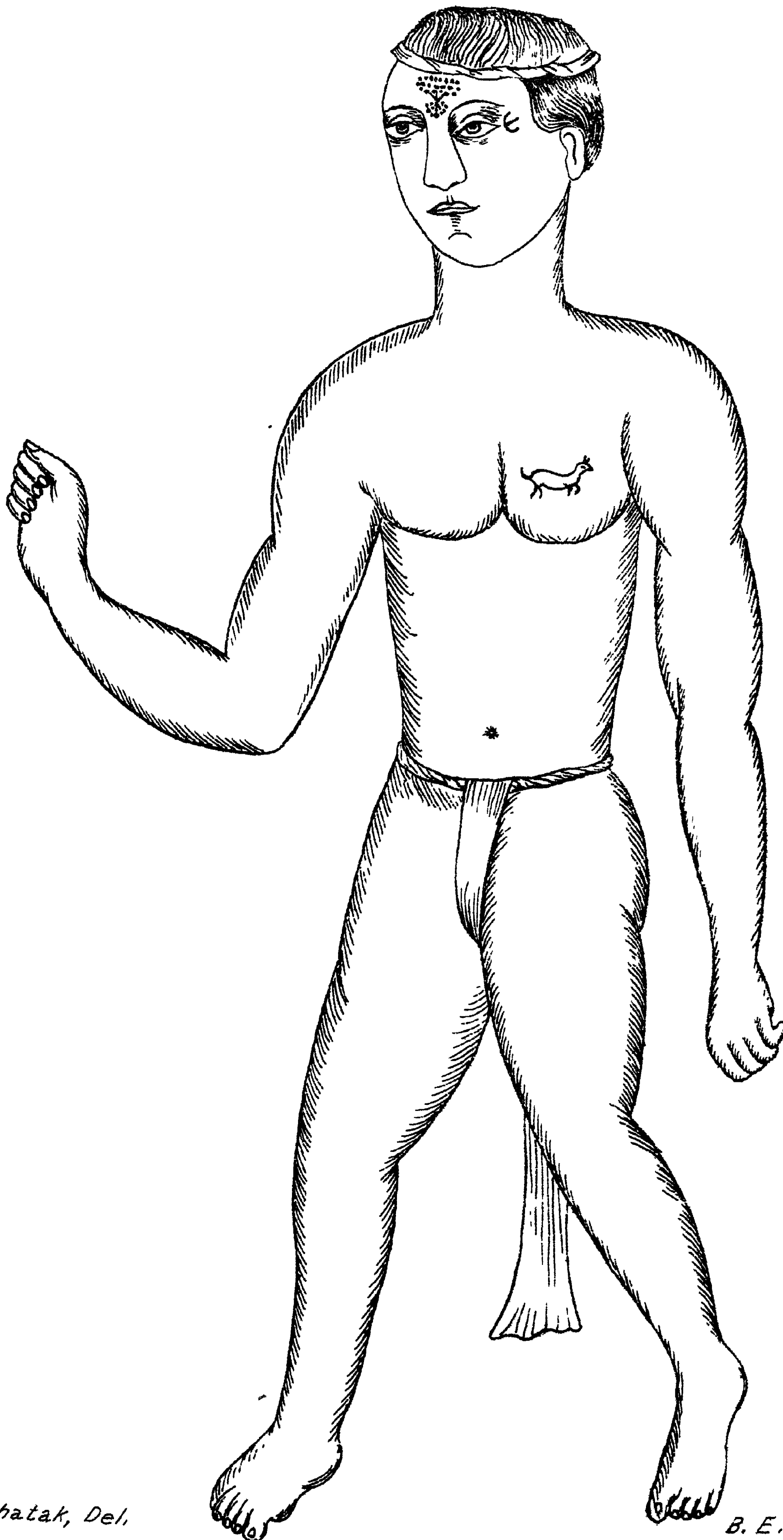


K. M. Phatak, Del.

B. E. S. Press, Litho

SOLIA BHILS.

Plate XI.

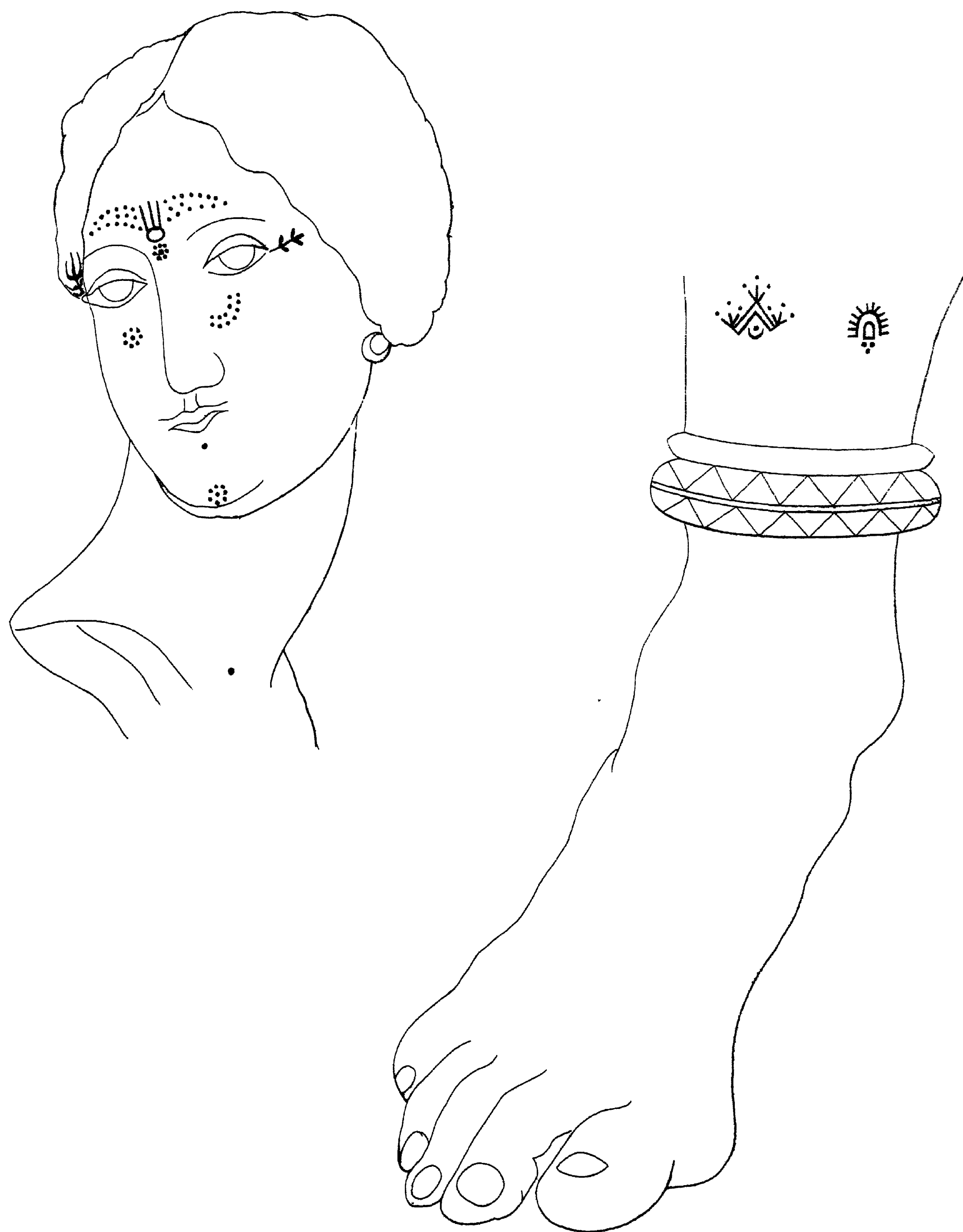


K. M. Phatak, Del.

B. E. S. Press, Litho.

BHILALAS.

Plate XII.

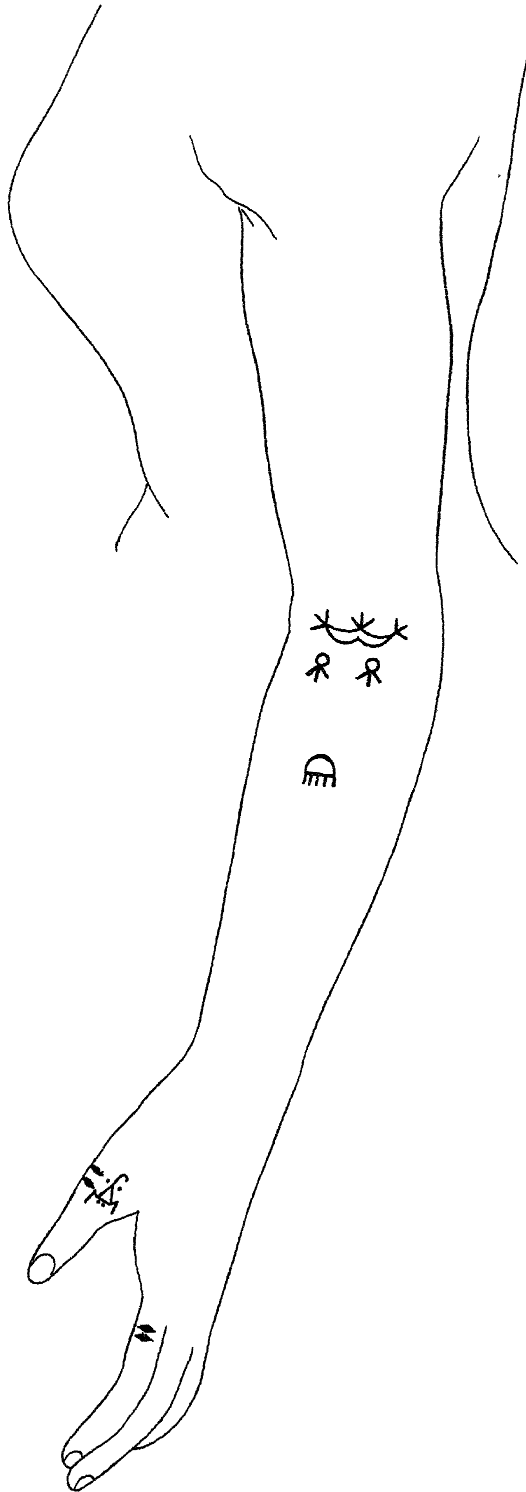


K.M Phātak, Del.

B E S Press, Litho

KĀCHĪ.

Plate XIII.



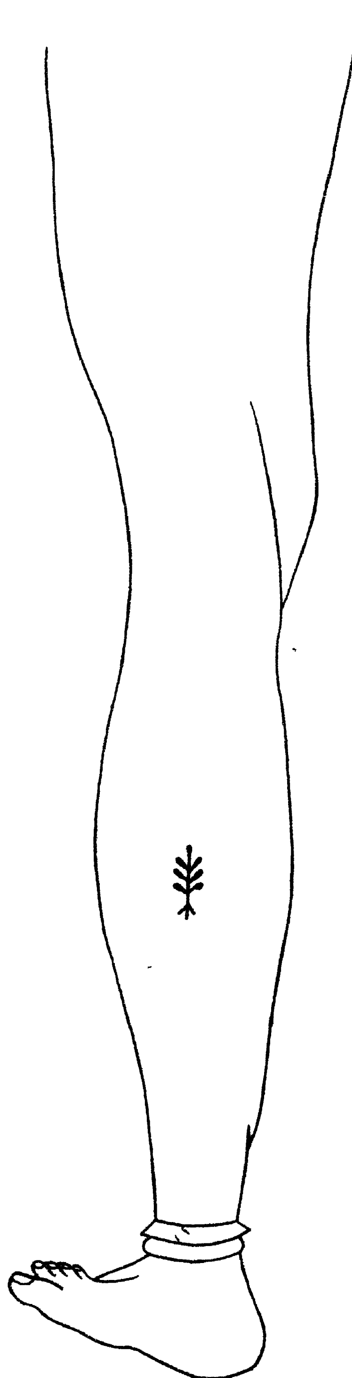
K. M. Phatak, Del.

B. E. S. Press, Litho.

KĀCHĪ.

Plate XIV.

Back of Leg.



K. M. Phatak, Del.

B. E. S. Press, Litho.

TADVĪ BHILĀLĀS

Plate XV.

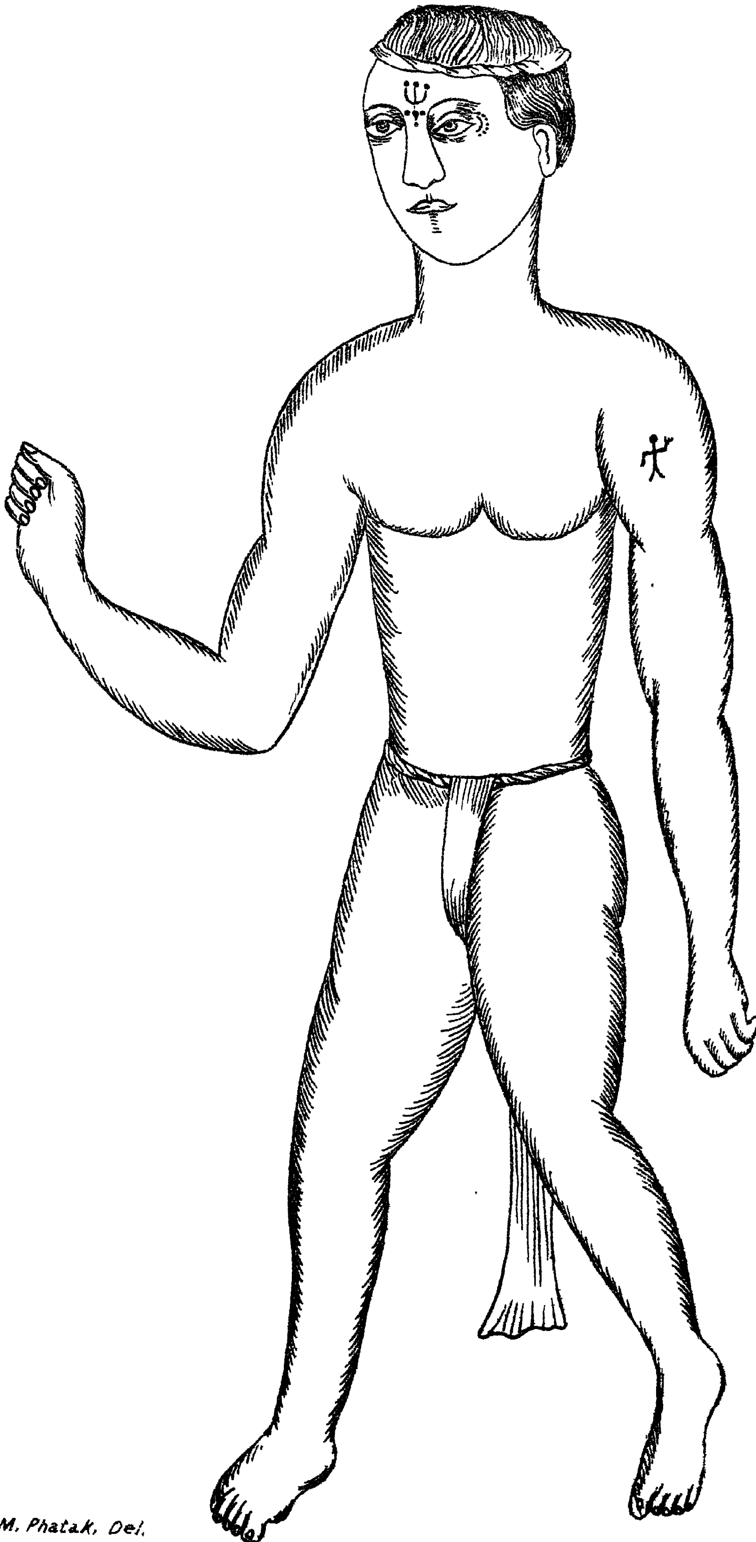


K.M Phātak, Del

B.E.S Press, Litho.

CHOHAN BHILS.

Plate XVI.



K. M. Phatak, Del.

B. E. S Press, Litho.

MEGHWĀL.

Plate XVII.



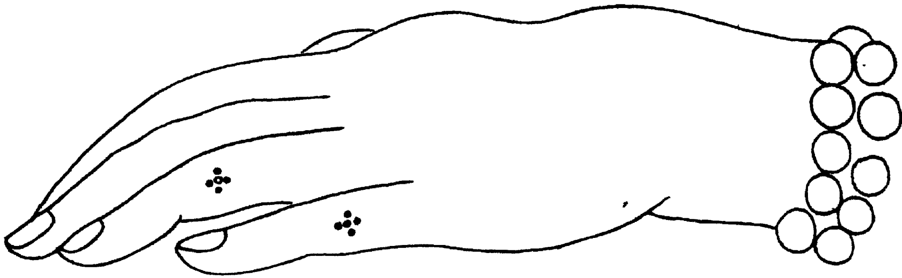
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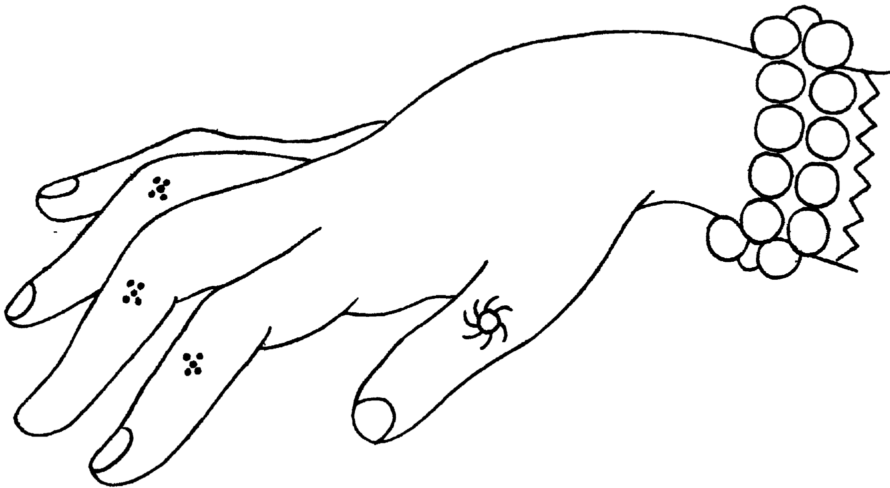
MEGHWALS.

Plate XVIII.

Left Hand.



Right Hand.



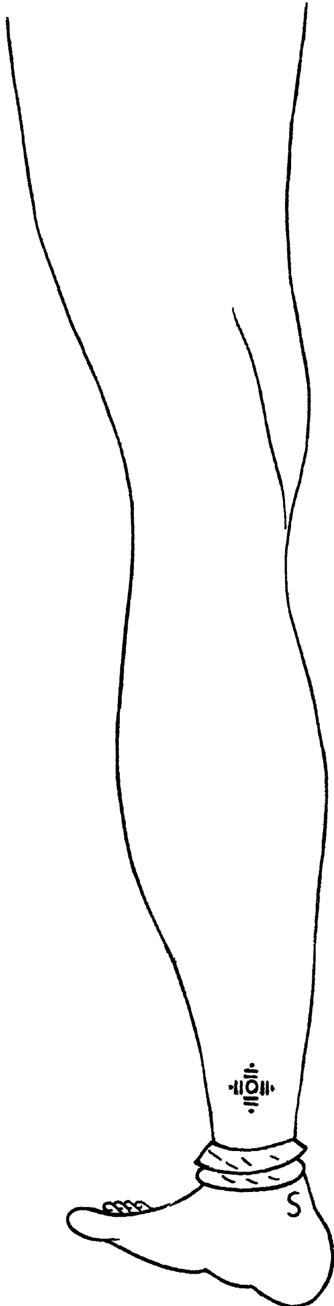
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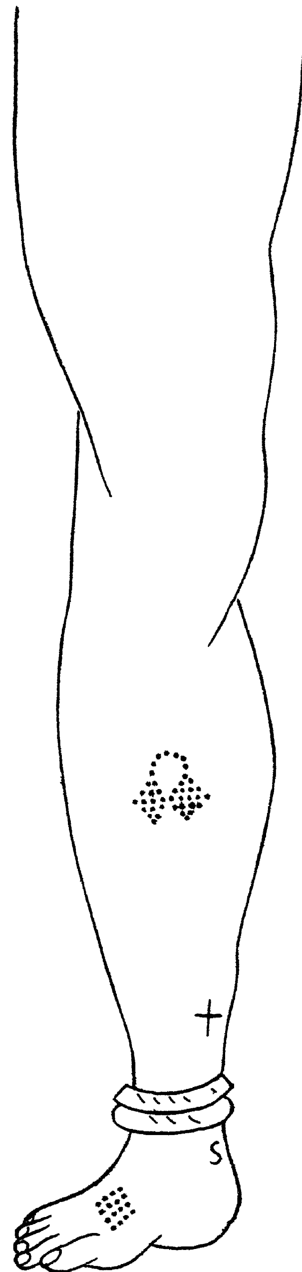
MEGHWAL.

Plate XIX.

Back of Leg



Front of Leg.



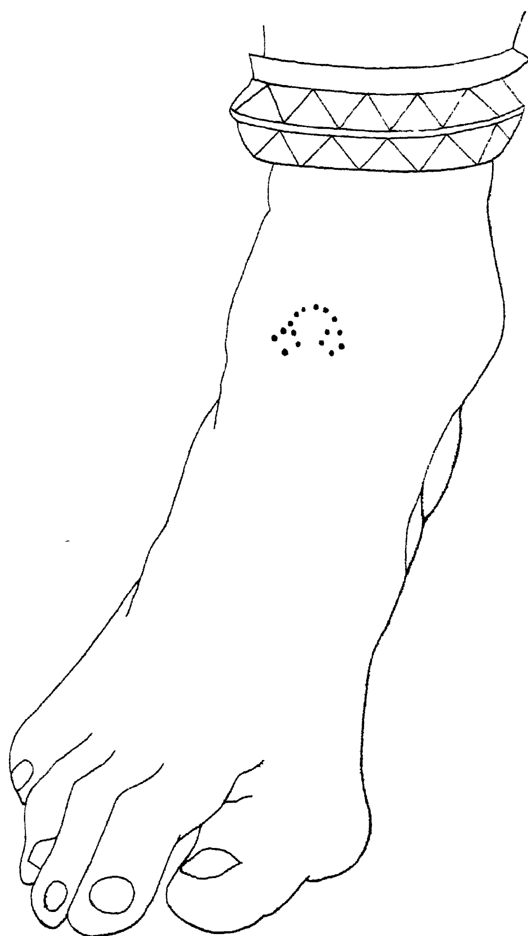
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CHOKHARIA MANKAR

Plate XX.



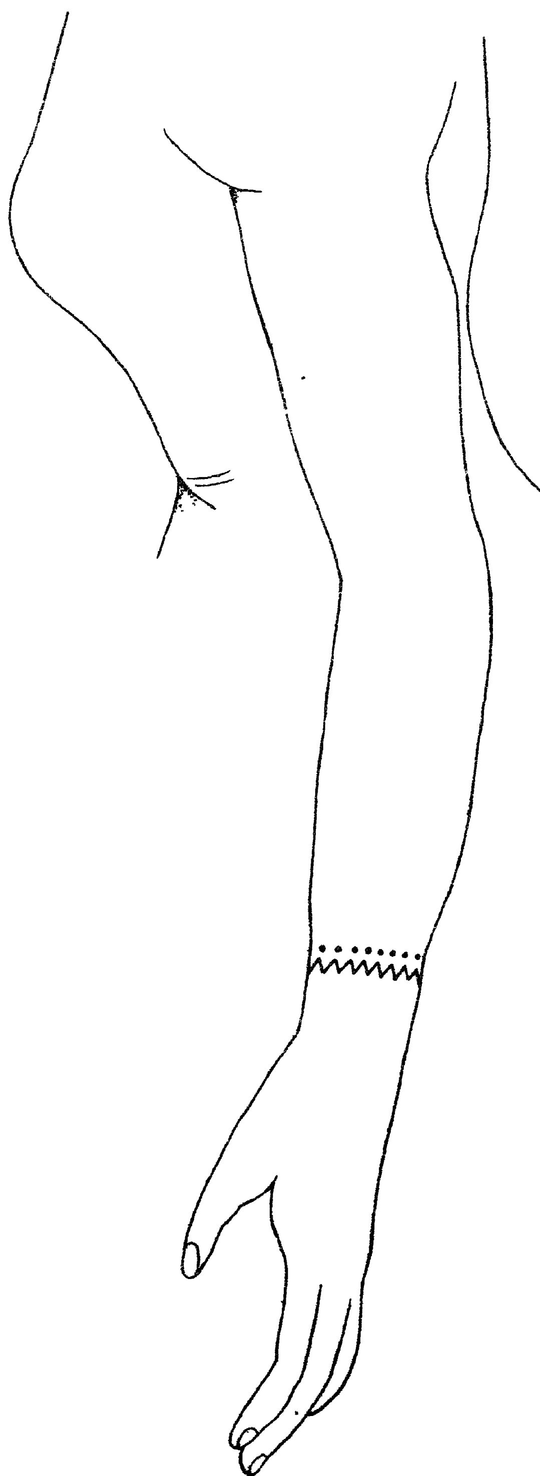


K M Phātak, Del.

B. E. S. Press, Litho

CHOKHARIĀ MANKAR.

Plate XXI.



K. M. Phātak, Del

B. E. S Press. Litho

(j) Meghwāls—(*contd*).

Signs.	Caste.	Part of the body.	Male or female.	Name of the sign.	Meaning.
	Meghwāl ..	Between wrist and elbow.	Female ..	Maur, मौर	Peacock.
	Do. ...	On the foot ...	Do. ...	Bājūt, बाजूट ...	A sort of stool.
	Do. ..	On front portion of the leg.	Do. ..	Mōḍūḍū, मोंडूडू ...	Seat for the God Mahadev.
	Do. ..	Near the ankle ..	Do. ...	Jalō, जलो	Leeches.

(k) Chokhariā Mankars.

(Plates XX. and XXI.)

Signs.	Caste.	Part of the body.	Male or female.	Name of the sign.	Meaning.
	Chokhariā Mankar.	Between the two eyebrows.	Female ...	Rēkh, रेख	Line.
	Do. ...	Near the eye ...	Do. ...	Naiṅnā, नैंना ...	Eye.
	Do. ..	Between wrist and elbow.	Do. ...	Bakhiyā, बखिया ...	Stitch.
	Do. ...	On cheek, chin or between brows.	Do. ...	Dānā, दाना... ...	Beads.

HOW THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE DALAI LAMA WAS FOUNDED.

BY L. DE MILLOUÉ.

Translation of a Lecture at the Musée Guimet, 21st January 1900.[1]

IT need neither startle us, nor is it an exaggeration to state, that everywhere and always, the priesthood has been led to lay its hand on the temporal power and to subordinate the lay-government to the religion. The most important exception to this assertion is that of Greece, where it has never since historic times played or attempted to play what seems a leading part. But of all the countries of the world, the one where sacerdotal power is most deeply and firmly established is Tibet. No other place in the world could be so favorable to a theocracy, given the profound ignorance of the people, their misery, their eminently religious character, and their inveterate leaning to superstition.

Since its introduction into this country in 630 of our era, under the reign of Sroṅ-*b*tsan-*s*Gam-po, to the middle of the 17th century, the existence of the Buddhist clergy has been simply a continued

[1] From *Conférences au Musée Guimet*, 1899—1901, par L. de Milloué, Paris, 1903, pp. 71-88. — J. B.

struggle for supremacy, a struggle from which it arose conqueror, instituting an absolutely theocratic government, which offers curious resemblances to the principles and organisation of the old Roman pontifical government. I am about to try to sketch the various phases of this struggle which are as instructive as they are interesting.

But first, it is necessary to say a word on the Tibetan monk — the Lama, his character, and where it differs from other Buddhist monks.

Buddhism, when it penetrated into Tibet, was very different from the philosophic sect, with atheistic tendencies, without gods, without cult or rites, formerly founded by Buddha Śâkyamuni. Not only had it become an actual religion, in consequence of the deification of its master, and of the cult instituted in his honour and the adoration of his relics; not only had it been penetrated by mysticism and blind devotion to the *Yoga* and the *Vedânta*; not only had it invented the eternal Buddha — essence and being of all things — the Adi-Buddha conceived on the model of the Brâhman Svayambhû, the crowd of Buddhas past, present, and future, as well as the Bodhisattvas "of three thousand thousands of worlds," but it had also received into its bosom all the male and female divinities of Brahmanism, especially of the Śaiva sect, and, under the unfortunate influence of the Tantric doctrines, had given a predominant place to divination, astrology, sorcery, and magic. Thus exploiting the superstitious ignorance of the Tibetans, and their terror for demons, by which they believed themselves to be surrounded, it was as exorcists and expert magicians, rather than as apostles of a pure morale, that the first fathers of Buddhism are represented, and it was by sorcery rather than the preaching of the Good Law that they conquered and dispossessed their rivals, the Shamans of the indigenous religion or **Bonpa**, of the confidence of the people.

Lama (in Tibetan b*La-ma*, "superior") is a title equivalent to the Sanskrit term Guru or Âchârya, which ought to be regularly applied only to a religious person renowned for his knowledge and his sanctity, but which is frequently given by courtesy and respect to all the members of the Tibetan and Mongol clergy (the real titles of the different classes being: *lama*, "superior"; d*Gê-sloṅ*, "ordained priest"; d*Gê-thsûl*, "deacon"; and d*Gê*-bs*nyen*, "novice") as with us that of abbot.

The **Lama** then, to give him the title by which he is habitually known, differs from the *Bhikshu* or Indian devotee, in that he is not simply a contemplative monk, but really a priest, invested as he is by ordination obtained, after a long novitiate and serious studies, which confers upon him special powers, notably that of taking part at ceremonies of the cult, at the initiation and ordination of new monks.

But the Lama is not only a priest. In the midst of this ignorant people who surround him with a superstitious veneration and fear, he is the universal man, the *savant par excellence*: he is educator, teacher, (the monasteries are the only schools,) doctor, literary man, astrologer, sorcerer, architect, sculptor, painter, printer, and even merchant. He is not, indeed, compelled, like the **Bhikshu**, to take the vow of poverty, but may possess a personal fortune and can increase it by all possible means, even by usury.

The Lamas are divided into two classes: the orthodox ones or d*Ge-lûgs-pas*, also called **yellow Lamas** from the colour of their costume, and the r*Nyig-ma-pas* or red Lamas; these again are subdivided into several sects, of which many permit marriage among their adherents. They are extremely numerous in consequence of the custom of dedicating at least one son from each family to the religious life, a custom which is explained by the fact that the Lamas hold all functions — in fact, if not by right. It has been said that, by themselves, they constitute a seventh or eighth part of the entire population of Tibet.

For the most part they live in monasteries, vast conglomerations of houses surrounded by walls, some of which accommodate several thousand monks; veritable universities, where the people come from all parts of the country to study the religious sciences under renowned masters. These

monasteries, enriched by royal donations, and by the pious gifts of the lay-population, possess large tracts of rich land, managed by their steward or treasurer, which they increase, not only by trading with the produce of their lands, but also by devoting themselves to all kinds of commerce ; almost all the export, import, and transport trade is thus in the hands of the Lamas.

It is easy to understand what importance such wealth gives to the superiors or abbots of the great monasteries, even from a political point of view. Thus the ecclesiastical history of Tibet is entirely filled with tales of rivalries and struggles, sometimes sanguinary, between the abbots of the more important monasteries, especially when they belong to different sects. But although they are jealous of one another, they are wise enough to cease tearing one another to pieces in order to seize any scrap of power from the civil authority and afterwards to divide the booty.

Toward the commencement of the 13th century, the leading position was held by the sect named Sa-skya-pa, from the name of its principal monastery. A monk of this sect, surnamed 'Phags-pa, sent as a missionary to Mongolia, finding himself by chance on the route of the illustrious Khubilaï Khân, when he was about to invade China, prophesied that he would gain the victory and the empire. Becoming master of the Chinese empire, and emperor, Khubilaï remembered the monk and his prediction and called him to his court (Târânâtha, the official historian of Tibetan Buddhism, says that, 'Phags-pa, being dead, it was his nephew and successor Lo-daï Gyaltsan, who came to the court of Khubilaï). It is from this epoch that the expansion of Lamaïsm in China dates. But the emperor's recognition was not limited to empty honours. By decree he conferred on 'Phags-pa and his successors, as superiors of the Sa-skya sect, the religious and political sovereignty of Tibet, but without suppressing the king of that country, who continued to govern it under the authority, more nominal than real, of the Sa-skya-pa priests.

Besides a doubtful recognition, political causes may be assigned to the act of Khubilaï: on the one hand, the desire to flatter his Mongol subjects, for the most part Lamaïsts ; on the other, the hope of putting an end to the continual incursions of the Tibetans into Chinese territory. In fact, from this moment dates Chinese influence in Tibet.

The successors of Khubilaï continued his policy with regard to Tibet and Lamaïsm, but do not appear to have attained the desired end, for, under their rule, the incursions of the Tibetans were more frequent and more audacious than ever, to say nothing of the difficulties stirred up by the tyranny of the Sa-skya-pa sect, over their rivals, and notably the burning of the Kargyutpa monastery of Dikung in 1320. Thus the dynasty of the Mings (1368—1616), which succeeded them, changed its policy with regard to Tibet. It set itself to diminish the power of the Sa-skya-pa sect, which was much too great, by giving to the abbots of the monasteries of Dikung (of the Kargyutpa sect) and of Ts'al (of the Khadampa sect), a rank and authority equal to those of the Grand Lama of Sa-skya by cleverly exciting their rivalry, by covering with honours and by granting pensions to the chief men of the country in order to bind them to themselves.

About this time, in 1355 at Khum-bum, in the district of Am-do, was born the celebrated *b*Tsoṅ-kha-pa, who, indignant at the vice and corruption of the monks of his time, at the superstitious practices, and the rites of sorcery, which degraded Lamaïsm, undertook to re-call it to the purity of primitive Buddhism, promptly gathered together, under the name of the *d*Ge-lugs-pa sect, a number of disciples, to whom, in order to distinguish them, he gave a yellow costume (the other Lamas were dressed in red) and founded in 1409 the monastery of *d*Ga-ldan, of which he remained superior until his death in 1417.

It is commonly, though erroneously, said, that *b*Tsoṅ-kha-pa was the first Dalaï Lama. He never had any title but that of *d*Ga-ldan, as also had his successor *d*Ge-'dun-grub. This title and dignity only appeared during the pontificate of Ṅag-*d*baṅ *b*Lo-bzaṅ the fourth successor of the latter (1617—1680).

Profoundly ambitious, a clever politician, marvellously advised by his old teacher the abbot of Tashi-lhunpo, Ṅag-*d*baṅ *b*Lo-bzaṅ knew how to exploit with acuteness the growing power of the *d*Ge-lugs-pa, and the popularity of *b*Tsoṅ-kha-pa was kept alive in all classes of society. Taking vigorously in hand the interests of his sect, which he identified with those of religion, he did not hesitate to enter into open conflict with the king of Tibet, and, under pretext of the safety of religion, menaced in its purity by the tyranny of this king, the protector of the **red Lamas**, he asked assistance from Guchi-Khân, prince of the Koshot Mongols, who, after having vanquished and deposed the king, made a present of Tibet to the astute Ṅag-*d*baṅ *b*Lo-bzaṅ.

The latter then assumed the dignity of *r*Gyal-ba Rin-po-che, "Precious Majesty," and the Mongol title Salaï, "Ocean (of Grandeur)," in Tibetan *r*Gya-*m*tsho, which Europeans have transformed into "Dalaï-Lama," titles which, in order to create for himself a sort of genealogy, he extended to *d*Ge-'dun-grub, who thus became the first Dalaï Lama, and at the same time he gave his counsellor, the abbot of Tashi-lhunpo, the first place after himself in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, with the title of Paṇ-chhen Rin-po-ché, and handed over to him in appanage the vassal sovereignty of the province of Tsang.

Thus it is believed that Ṅag-*d*baṅ *b*Lo-bzaṅ was the inventor of the fiction of the perpetual incarnation of the Dhyâni-Bodhisattva Chanrési (Avalokitesvara) in the person of the Dalai Lamas and that of the Dhyâni Buddha 'Od-*d*pag-med (Amitâbha) in the Paṇ-chhen Rin-po-chês, thus giving to these great persons a sort of divine relationship, an example which was immediately followed by all the superiors of the larger monasteries except that of *d*Ga-ldan, who called themselves perpetual incarnations of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrî, the god or saint, patron of their sect or of their convent.

The theory of incarnation was not in itself a novelty. From time immemorial it has been said in India, perhaps simply as a manner of speech, that illustrious men, especially in the religious order, were incarnations of such or such a god or saint, personifying the chief qualities by which they were known (a metaphor borrowed, doubtless, from the *avatârs* of Vishṇu), and in Tibet even the king Sroṅ-*b*tsan-*s*gam-po, who introduced Buddhism into that country, was considered as an incarnation of Chanrêsi and his minister Thu-mi Sambhoṭa passed as an avatâr of 'Jam-*d*pal (Mañjuśrî), the patron Bodhisattva of Science. What is new is the ingenious idea of the perpetuity of incarnation. It may surprise us that Ṅag-*d*baṅ *b*Lo-bzaṅ made himself the incarnation of a simple Bodhisattva, while he attributed to his counsellor that of an eternal Buddha. But it must not be forgotten that Chanrêsi is the usual patron of Tibet; the clever Dalai Lama thus benefited by the popularity of this divine person and at the same time created for himself a divine relationship with the first sovereign of the country, which justified his pretensions to royal power. On the other hand, if we remember, that all the sacred books of India call the counsellor the "spiritual father" of his disciples, it becomes quite natural that Ṅag-*d*baṅ *b*Lo-bzaṅ should make his instructor the incarnation of 'Od-*d*pag-med the spiritual father of Chanrêsi.

In consequence of the doctrine of perpetual incarnation, the Dalaï Lamas, the Paṇ-chhen Rin-po-chês and the other incarnated Lamas never die. When the body of a Dalai Lama is worn out by sickness or old age, the god, whose spirit animates it, quits the body to seek for another in better health; in other words, becomes incarnate in the course of from one to four years in some young infant, who, by miracles, reveals his divine nature and thus manifests himself. As soon as informed of the re-incarnation of Chanrêsi, the sacred college of the mKhan-pos send a commission to the dwelling of the parents of the infant, charged to subject him to a series of trials, such as, for example, to recognise, from among other similar objects, those made use of by preference by the former Dalaï Lama, and if he comes successfully out of it he is carried in great pomp to the pontifical palace, where he receives an education befitting the high rank which he is to occupy. Matters take place naturally in the same way in the case of Paṇ-chhen Rin-po-chê or of any other incarnated Lama or living Buddha.

But to return to Ṅag-*d*baṅ *b*Lo-bzan. The gift, which Guchi-Khân had made to him of Tibet conquered by his arms, constituted merely a possession in fact, not by absolute right, and he might with reason fear, that he would be dispossessed of it, either by a revolt stirred up by the dethroned king, or by an intervention of his powerful neighbour, the Chinese empire. Thus he hastened, at the risk of compromising the independence of Tibet, to send an ambassador to the emperor Saï-tsung Oen-Hoang, to recognise him as spiritual and temporal sovereign of Tibet, as a tributary title, and on the condition that henceforth the election of the Dalaï Lamas should be confirmed by the court of Pekin. On his side Guchi-Khân received the title of viceroy, with charge of the political administration of the kingdom (1642). Some years later, in 1662, this official acknowledgment was confirmed anew by the emperor Khang-hi, after the suppression of several revolts, which necessitated the intervention of the Chinese armies.

Ṅag-*d*baṅ *b*Lo-bzaṅ died in 1680. His death was kept secret for 16 years by the viceroy of the time, who used this interregnum in order to attempt to seize the sovereign authority. But this becoming known, provoked the intervention of the Mongol chief Lhazang-Khân, who proceeded to elect the sixth Dalai Lama, soon deposed however, in consequence of indignity and irregularities in his election, following close upon the revolt, raised under pretext of restoring religion, by a chief of a tribe named Tsé-Oang Arabdan. These disorders provoked another interference on the part of the emperor Khang-hi, who proceeded, with the help of his army, to the proclamation and definite enthronement of the sixth Dalai Lama — *b*Lo-bzaṅ *s*Kal-ldan (1705—1758).

In 1750 a new revolt against the authority of the Dalaï Lama, incited by the viceroy Gyurmed Namgyal, rendered the intervention of the emperor Kien-lung necessary, upon which the title and function of viceroy was suppressed, and the country entirely submitted to the absolute authority of the Dalaï Lama, 1751, the Chinese Government always reserving to itself the right of supervision and the direction of foreign relations entrusted to two Chinese functionaries invested, as a mark of honour, with the title of ambassador.

From this time the spiritual and temporal authority of the Dalaï Lamas[2] is no longer disputed and, except for small revolts of no consequence, they exercise in peace their double sovereignty under the protectorate of China; but for this tranquillity they paid the price of their independence. Little by little the Chinese Government has mixed more in the affairs of Tibet and has exercised an influence more and more marked on the elections of the Dalaï Lamas and the Paṇ-chhen Rin-po-chês who are no longer chosen only in uninfluential, local and pious families in China. Under colour of showing his profound respect for them, the emperor grants them an annual sum, and they end by being merely docile instrument in the hands of China, of the functionaries of the Empire.

It is unnecessary to call attention to the striking resemblances existing between the two institutions of the Catholic Papacy and the pontificate of the Dalaï Lamas. Like the Pope the Dalai Lama is a religious leader, whose decisions and orders, from a dogmatic and moral point of view, ought to be blindly accepted without discussion. He is infallible in virtue of the infallibility of the divine spirit, of whom he is the representative, the incarnation on earth. Like the Pope's, his jurisdiction extends to the boundaries of his kingdom, in Ladak, Nepâl, Bhutan, Sikhim, China (in Pekin alone there are thirteen Lama monasteries), Mongolia, Siberia among the Buriats, even in Russia among the hordes of Kirghises, — and he claims the universal imposition of it. He is invested with temporal power, as also was the Pope for long; and finally, another curious resemblance, — it was

[2] The Dalai Lamas in succession to *b*Lo-bzaṅ *s*Kal-ldan (1705—1758) were (Grünwedel, *Mythol. des Buddhismus in Tibet*, S. 203) as follows :—
*b*Lo-bzaṅ 'Jam-*d*pal (1759—1805);
*b*Lo-bzaṅ Lun-*r*togs (1806—1815);
*b*Lo-bzaṅ Tshul-khrims (1817—1837);
*b*Lo-bzaṅ *d*Ge-*d*mu (1838—1855);
*b*Lo-bzaṅ Phrin-las (1856—1874):
Nag-*d*ban *b*Lo-bzaṅ Thub-*l*dan, 1875. — J. B.

Fol. 150. Theire buildings in this Generall are but of a very meane Sort built of bamboos and **rattans,** and Stand for ye most part Vpon Stilts of wood.

Fol. 158. ffrom ye West Coast of this Jsland [Sumatra] . . . . **Rattans.**

Fol. 172. the Executioners frapp the sticks togeather wth Splitt **rattans.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Rattan.

RINGO ROOT.

Fol. 82. They [Portugals] make many Sorts of Sweetmeats vizt . . . . . **Ringo Roots.**

Not in Yule. [A very obscure form : probably means some form of ginger.]

ROOMAULS.

Fol. 61. This Kingdome [Bengala] most plentifully doth abound with . . . . . . **Rammals.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Roomauls, kerchiefs. [*N. and E.* has for 19th June, 1680, p. 24 : "Cotton **Romalls.**"]

ROUNDEL.

Fol. 41. his Retinue of Attendants and Menial Servants are in great number, he keeps . . . **Roundels.**

Fol. 42. **Roundels :** Are in these Warme Clımats very Necesarie, to keep ye ☉ from Scorchinge a man, they may alsoe and are Serviceable to keep ye raine off, most men of accompt maintaine one 2: or 3 **roundelliers,** whose office is onely to attend theire Masters Motion, they are Very light but of Exceedinge Stiffnesse, beinge for ye most part made of Rhinocerots hide, very decently painted and Guilded, with what flowrs they best admire, on ye inside exactly in ye midst thereof is fixed a Smooth handle (made of wood) by wch ye **Roundeliere** doth carry it, holdinge it up with one hand a foot or more above his Master's head directinge ye Centre thereof as Opposite to ye ☉ as possibly he may . . . . . . any man whatever, that will goe to ye Charge of it wch is noe great Matter may have one or more Catysols to attend him, bnt not a **Roundell :** Vnlesse he be a Governour or One of ye Councell : The Same Custome ye English hold good amongst their own people whereby they may be distinguished by ye Natiues.

See Yule, *s. v.* Roundel. [A state umbrella, and a constant source of bickering in the old Anglo-Indian days. *N. and E.*, p. 15, for 5th April 1680, has a valuable quotation here : — "To Verona's adopted son was given the name of Muddoo Verona and a **Rundell** to be carried over him in respect to the Memory of Verona."]

RUPEE.

Fol. 53. ffort St Georg's . . . . Rupees are worth 00*lb* 02*s* 03½*d* . . . . . The Syam Ticull Values one **rupee** ¼ or 00 03 07.

Fol. 64. great Store of treasure vizt Gold and Silver **Rupees.**

Fol. 67. his revenue came to a lack vizt 100000 **rupees** . . . . he Sent the Emperour 80 lacks of **rupees.**

Fol. 70. his demands off Some were 10 : 20 : 30 : 40 : 50 : thousand **rupees** . . . . . The Nabob (Smileinge Vpon him) demandeth wth all Speed one lack of **rupees** i e : 100000 . . . . . for he was robbed of 1500000 : **rupees** in this his journey into ye Countrey . . . . he made many Apologies and feed Some of ye Nabob's councell : whereby he got off for 50000 **Rupees.**

Fol. 71. now thought he had an Opportunitie fallen into his hand of acquireinge one lack or two of **rupe^s** . . . . demanded noe lesse then 2 lack of **Rupees.**

Fol. 80. with an addition of 100000 : **rupees** towards Satisfaction for theire great injuries received at ye hands of this Governour's ffather.

Fol. 82. A Very good Cow is Sold [at Hugly] for foure Shillings Six pence Vizt 2 **rupees**, a good hogg for ¾ of a **Rupee**, 45 or 50 fowls for one **Rupee**, 6 : 7 : and Sometimes 8 maund of rice for one **Rupee.**

Fol. 86. ye poore Orixas, whoe Indeed I may well call poore . . . I have often been in theire Villages, and where there have been more then 20 families of them, they cold not all change one **Rupee** into cowries, whereby to be paid for a little milke or fish (or what else wee had of them) in ye currant moneys of this Kingdome & Orixa : and Arackan.

Fol. 86. [Cowries] agreat quantitie passe for one **Rupee** not lesse then 3200.

Fol. 94. The Coyned Currant moneys of this Kingdome [Bengala] are rupees, halfe rupees and quarters . . . . They alsoe Coyne **Rupees** here of ye finest refined Gold, wch are called Gold Moors . . . . . The **Rupee** att 00*lb* 02*s* 03*d*.

Fol. 102. yet they are as good here as ready **Rupees.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Rupee. [The above quotations are interesting as additional evidence that the form "rupee" had become fixed by the last quarter of the 17th Century.]

ST. THOMAS'S MOUNT.

Fol. 29. Six miles to the Southwards of ffort St Georges standeth Severall mountains pretty high ye One of wch is called **St Thomas's Mount** . . . . Vpon ye top of **Mount St Thomas** groweth neturaly a very remarkable tree.

Not in Yule.

ST. THOME.

Fol. 25. A Naique that liued neare **Mylapore vizt St Thomæ.**

Fol. 29. ye ffrench who in ye yeare 1672 tooke **ye Citty St Thomæ** from ye Moor's forces.

Not in Yule. [Now a part of Madras town. *N. and E.*, 1680, has **St. Thoma** throughout pp. 38, 39, 43.]

SALAAM.

Fol. 24. This Silly Creature . . . . **Salam'd** to all her friends, Especially to ye Brachmans.

Fol. 73. and this he accompted a **Salam.**

Fol. 91. before whom they doe and must dance and Singe and make many **Salams.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Salaam. [I know of no earlier instance of the use of "Salaam" as a verb.]

SALEMPOORY.

Fol. 31. Very Considerable quantities of these followinge Commodities are here [Pettipolee] wrought and Sold to fforaign Merchants viz : . . . . **Salampores.**

Fol. 134. The most Proper and beneficiall Commodities wch are for this place [Janselone] : be . . . . **Sallampores.**

Fol. 158. ffrom ye Coast of India and Choromandell are brought hither . . . . Longcloth **Salampore's**, white and blew.

See Yule, *s. v.* Salempoory. [? Divinity. *N. and E.* p. 16, for 22nd April 1680 : — **Salampores** Blew, at 14 Pagodas per corge [score]—P. 17 for 6th May, "in Longcloth and **Salampores** for England." P. 24 for 19th June, "**Salampores,** fine : **Salampores,** ordinary." The Salampoory was probably therefore an article of a definite size, like the Palempore, or bed-spread.]

SALLEETER.

Fol. 131. jmmediately they giue it out that ye **Saleeters** came up to ye towne in ye night and committed that and many more Villanies . . . . . . The **Saleeters** are absolute Piratts and often cruiseinge about Janselone & Pullo Sambelon &c. Jsles neare this Shore [Malay Coast].

Fol. 144. Anno Dom: 1675: A Small Vessell belonginge to yͤ English was Sent from Achin hither [Queda] laden with very fine goods and was mett with **yͤ Pirats commonly called Salleeters** neare to yͤ Roade of Queda.

Not in Yule. [No doubt the **Cellates** of the Portuguese writers. See Crawford, *Dict. of Indian Archipel.*, *s. v.* Malacca, p. 242 f.]

SAMCAU.

Fol. 135. All the fruite this countrey [Janselone] affordeth is . . . **Samcau** . . . but noe fruit soe plenty here as the Plantan and **Samcau** whose figure here follow; [illustration]. The **Samcau** is not a whit pleasant to yͤ tast Vnlesse it be boyled in fish or flesh broth or else stewed.

Not in Yule. [De la Loubère in his *Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam, ed.* 1693, p. 23, has: — "Amongst the sweet Oranges the best have the Peel very green and rough; they [the Siamese] call them **Soum-keou,** or Crystal Oranges . . . . They give of these **Soum-keou** to their sick." Compare also Sir John Bowring's Journal in his *Kingdom and People of Siam*, under date 30th March, 1855, Vol. II. p. 155: — "They gave us the Siamese names of the fruits on the table: — **Som,** orange; **Som-kiou-wang,** small orange . . . . ."

SANAS.

Fol. 101. ffrom Hugly and Ballasore: **Sanas.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Piece Goods. He has no quotations. [A cotton cloth of the class now known as *sâlû*.]

SAR LASHKAR.

Fol. 56. [Chicacol] is yͤ residence of **Sr Larskare yͤ Kings deputy or Viceroy,** Who bears as great Sway Over this Coast in Generall as yͤ Kinge his Master doth in Golcondah.

Not in Yule. [The General (Sar-i-Lashkar) or Viceroy of the "Golcondah Coast," constantly mentioned in the records of the period. *N. and E.*, p. 20, for 25th May and 27th May 1680, has characteristic entries: — "One Sheake Ahmud came to Towne slyly with several peons dropping in after him, bringing letters from Futty Chaun at Chingulputt and Ruccas [notes] from the **Ser Lascar** Nabob Mahmud Ibrahim, and pretending that he had the king's Phyrmaund to warrant his beating his drum and carrying his flag as Avaldar of the Towne, and that he was ordered to take the government thereof on the plea that the Towne produced more than formerly and that Verona the Dubass was dead: whereupon he was ordered to remain outside the Towne until his business was known: In the evening three files of soldiers were sent to bring him into the Fort where he was examined and produced his letters." "The person that came to be Avaldar is sent away with a letter in answer to Futty Chaun."]

SASH.

Fol. 101. ffrom Cossumbazar . . . . . fine **Sashes.**

Not in Yule. [Probably fine muslin made up into sizes for sashes round the waist.]

SAUGOR ISLAND.

Fol. 91. The Riuer of Ganges is of large and wonderful Extent: . . . and came into yͤ great Riuer wch rather deserves to be called the Sea of Ganges: yͤ breadth of it there I cannot certainely affirme, but judge it is not lesse then 10 English leags broad, wch is about 40 miles within **Ganga Sagar**: or yͤ mouth of it.

See Yule, *s. v.* Saugor Island, at the mouth of the Hugli. [The quotation above is unique for accuracy of description and correctness of the form of the name.]

SCARLET.

Fol. 43. With a **Scarlet or broadcloth** coveringe.

Fol. 71. Where-Vpon he gave in his present of **fine Scarlet.**

Fol. 102. The Staple Commodities brought into these 3 Kingdomes (namely Orixa: Bengala: & Pattana) are **Scarlet.**

Fol. 158. Some Commodities from England; vizt **Scarlet.**

See Yule, *s. vv.* Scarlet and Suclat. ["Scarlet" in old English was "broadcloth" of any colour.] *N. and E.* for 5th April 1680, p. 15: "It being necessary to appoint one as the Company's Chief merchant (Verona being deceased), resolved Bera Pedda Vincatadry do succeed and that Tasheriffs be given to him and the rest of the principal Merchants, viz., 3 yards **scarlett** to Pedda Vincatadry and 2½ yards each to four others, the ceremony being for the better grace performed before the rest of the merchants in the Council Chamber."]

SCREETORE.

Fol. 37. Metchlipatam. Affordeth many very good and fine Commodities, vizt . . . . . **Screetores** finely wrought inlaid with turtle Shell or jvory.

Fol. 158. ffrom Syam . . . . . **Screetores** both plaine and lackared, &c:

Not in Yule. [A writing case: see *ante*, Vol. XXIX. pp. 116, 307; XXX. p. 163.]

SEEDY.

Fol. 171. he was by ye **Siddy or Bishop** of Achin freed from ye death his consorts [comrades] died.

See Yule, *s. v.* Seedy: a corruption of *Saiyyid.* [The quotation is valuable for the history of the Anglo-Indian term: now in common parlance an East African negro.]

SEER.

Fol. 94. They weigh pr ye Maund, **Seere, ½ Seere, and ¼ Seere** . . . . The Maund bigg or little is equally diuided into 40 Equall parts and are called **Seers**, wch alsoe are halfed and quartered.

Fol. 99. Notwthstandinge Pattana be soe fertile to afford graine to Such a plentifull countrey as Bengala: yett in ye yeare of our Lord 1670 they had as great a Scarcitie in soe much yt one Pattana **Seere** weight of rice (ye plentifullest graine in ye countrey) was Sold for one rupee, ye **Seere** cont onely 27 Ounces [*i. e.*, 6 oz. short weight].

See Yule, *s. v.* Seer, the well-known Indian weight, standardised nowadays at roughly 2 lbs. [In the text the big maund [Bengal] was 82 lbs. and the little maund [Madras] 25 lbs.: so the seer should have varied between 10 and 33 oz.]

SHABUNDER.

Fol. 132. as Soone as wee come Vp wee are invited into a house where Speedily come to waite Vpon us ye **Shabandar.**

Fol. 133. The **Shabandars** and what Others of ye Chiefe of ye King's Officers wee invite doe very Sociably sit downe and eat and drinke wth us.

Fol. 134. Two of ye Grandees of his Councill must alsoe be Piscashed wth 6 pieces of fine Callicoes or Chint each of them: and ye **Shahbandar** of Banquala wth 3 pieces Jdem.

Fol. 140. Anno Dom: 1677: I Voyadged once more to Ianselone, and was kindly Entertained . . . . Especially by Some of ye Old **Shabandars** and merchants.

Fol. 139. All wch Orders if not most Strictly and Speedily put in Execution ye Radja and 2 of his chiefest councellours wth ye 3 **Shabandars** Shold loose theire heads . . . . wch Startled him and his Councell soe much that they immediately Sent ye 3 **Shabandars.**

Fol. 141. he jmmediately turned out of Office most of ye Syamers both Councellours Secretaries **Shabandares.** . . . .

Fol. 143. next to whom [the Sultan] are ye Leximana: Orongkays: and **Shabandars.**

Fol. 144. Sold the goods to Sarajah Cawn: a Chulyar & chiefe **Shabandar** of Quedah: (and rogue Enough too).

Fol. 153. yͤ Kinge giueth positive Order to yͤ **Shabandare.**

Fol. 161. yͤ great Orongkay is Lord Chiefe Justice, there are other Orongkays & under this, as alsoe **Shabandars** under them. . . . . and acquainteth one of yͤ **Shabandares.**

Fol. 162. but in yͤ interim yͤ **Shabandar** & Dubashee and one or Other belongeinge to this great man the [Orongkay] doth accompanie him and discourse most friendly.

See Yule, *s. v.* Shabunder. [The above quotations show clearly that in the Malay States the Shahbandar was a high officer of State controlling the seaborne trade.]

SHROFF.

Fol. 39. **Shroffs vizt Changers of money.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Shroff. [*N. and E.* p. 31, for 5th Aug. 1680, has: — "Report of the weight of 2 chests of gold and 2 Bags of Ryalls of $\frac{8}{8}$ delivered to the **Sharoffs** for alloy."]

SIAM.

Fol. 77. The Elephants of Ceylone are best Esteemed of here . . . and Endowed with more Sence and reason then those of Tanasaree Queda or **Syam.**

Fol. 131. [Janselone] wholy belongeth to yͤ Kinge of **Syam** . . . . The Inhabitants Vp in yͤ Countrey are **Naturall Syamers.**

Fol. 134. The English Nation in Generall is free from all Such duties in yͤ Kingdome of **Syam.**

Fol. 140. A ffew Months afterwards yͤ Kinge of **Syam,** tooke it into consideration, that an Austere man, one that had been bred a Warriour was a fitter person to Governe this Island (then the **Syâmer** that now did).

Fol. 148. yͤ Kinge of **Syam** . . . haveinge a warre of greater consequence in hand namely wth yͤ Kinge of Pegu [1677].

See Yule, *s. v.* Siam.

SOLLA.

Fol. 143. but yͤ Old Kinge taketh vp his residence att **Solla**: a very large town in yͤ very middle of his Kingdome [of Queda].

Fol. 145. Save a Very handsome and well favoured boy of about 11 years of age, whoe for his good countenance yͤ Kinge kept in his Pallace att **Solla.**

Fol. 146. prepareth Some of yͤ King's boats, and goeth alonge wth him in Person to **Solla** (yͤ place of yͤ Old Kings residence).

Fol. 148. This good Old Kinge . . . . Anno Dom: 1677 . . . . . fledd up to yͤ Mountains and left Queda: **Solla**: and many Other places destitute of inhabitants, for Some time.

Not in Yule.

SOMBRERO.

Fol. 42. **Sumbareros or Catysols.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Sombrero. [An umbrella, *not* a hat.]

STICKLACK.

Fol. 158. ffrom Bengala . . . . . **Sticklack** . . . . from Pegu . . . very Excellent **Sticklack.**

Not in Yule. [But see Yule, *s. v.* Lac.]

STRIPES.

Fol. 7. alsoe very ingenuous in workinge . . . . **Striped Cloth** of Gold and Silver.

Fol. 101. ffrom Cossumbazar . . . . . **Stripes** interwoven wth gold and Silver.

Fol. 158. are brought hither . . . . . . **Striped Stuffs** of Golcondah & Pettipolee. *Not* in Yule. [Cotton cloth interwoven with gold and silver.]

SULTAN.

Fol. 143. **yͤ King's Son** (by yͤ Natives stiled **Sultan**) [at Queda] . . . . . There are Severall men in Office yͭ doe governe here, and beare great Sway over yͤ people (Vnder yͤ **Sultan or Younge Kinge**).

See Yule, *s. v.* Sultan. [The above is a valuable quotation as showing that in the Malay States it sometimes meant the heir-apparent, "second king," Skr. *yuva-râja*, Pali *upa-râja* [corrupted by the way into **Upper-Roger** by old writers on Burma, a term which should be in Yule]: the **Êng-shê-him** of Burma, the Jub-râj of Manipur and so on.]

SUMATRA.

Fol. 157. The Citty Achin is Vpon yͤ North End of yͤ great Island **Sumatra**, wᶜʰ Extendeth from 05ᵈ 40″ South Lattitude, to 05ᵈ 40″ North Lattitude, soe yͭ the Equinoctiall Line divideth this Jsland into 2 Equall parts . . . . . [the Road of Achin] almost land locked wᵗʰ yͤ head of **Sumatra** . . . . . . with infinite Numbers of Prows from yͤ Malay Shore and West Coast of this Jsland **Sumatra**.

See Yule, *s. v.* Sumatra. [The above quotation is valuable for description.]

SUMBRA.

Fol. 165. he must receive them with great reverence Standinge Vp and makeinge a **Sumbra** to yͤ Queen's Windows.

Not in Yule. [Malay, a salutation.]

SURAT.

Fol. 142. and tell them in private what our goods cost upon yͤ Coast: or in **Suratt**: or Bengala: or elsewhere, wᶜʰ doth many Christians a great Prejudice.

Fol. 146. When yͤ Companie's Shipp arriveth from **Suratt** as generally there doth one every yeare (if not more).

Fol. 153. There are not above 4 or 5 Ships and Vessels [to Queda] pʳ Annum from **Suratt** Choromandell and Bengala that Vse this Countrey.

Fol. 157. Many Ships and Vessels doe att all Seasons of the yeare arrive in this Port [Achin] from Severall places, namely **Suratt** . . . . The Chiefe Commodities brought hither from **Suratt**.

Fol. 166. When a Present is Sent to yͤ Queen [of Achin] from yͤ President of **Suratt**: or Agent and Governour of ffort Sᵗ Georg's.

See Yule, *s. v.* Surat. [The last quotation shows the accuracy of the writer's information. The "Presidency" was not transferred to Bombay till 1687.]

TAEL.

Fol. 152. 16 mace is one **Taile** [in Queda].

Fol. 162. And there wee pay for yͤ Chopp . . . . **4 tailes in moneys vizᵗ four pounds Sterlinge** . . . . . . Here yͤ Orongkay must be presented wᵗʰ one piece of Baftos to yͤ Value of 2 **tailes** . . . . . The Contract been [? between] us and the Court of Achin hath been of longe Standinge 50 **tails** pʳ Ship, if laden wᵗʰ fine goods (admitt yͤ Ship be great or Small) . . . . . . they are to make an abatement of 10: 15: or 20 **tails**, accordinge as yͤ quantitie is.

Fol. 173. gave yͤ fellow **5 tailes Vizᵗ flue pounds Sterlinge**.

See Yule, *s. v.* Tael : see *ante*, Vol. XXVII. p. 37 ff. The quotations are remarkable as to values. The *tael* was roughly an ounce and in silver was worth 5*s.* to 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling. The writer must mean a tael in gold, and if the gold tael was worth £1 sterling, as he more than once states, then gold valued in the Malay States at £1 the oz. and the ratio of silver to gold there varied between 4 and 3 to 1. A remarkable but by no means impossible occurrence, *vide ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 309 and footnotes.

TAMARIND

Fol. 17. One Old ffackeer I very well remember, that tooke up his habitation Vnder yͤ Shade of a great **tamarin** tree in Hugly (in Bengala).

Fol. 69. [Cattack] adorned with . . . delicate Groves of . . . **tamarin.**

Fol. 153. they carry hence [Queda] . . . . . **Tamarin.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Tamarind.

TANK.

Fol. 4. the great Pond or **tanke** where they frequently wash themselves all over, before they assume to enter the Pagod.

Fol. 22. went wᵗʰ all Expedition into a great **tanke** of water wᶜʰ was very nigh.

Fol. 57. they have many delicate groves, **tanks** of water . . . . .

See Yule, *s. v.* Tank.

TARRA.

Fol. 139. yͤ Kinge of Syam . . . . Sent a **Tarrah** to yͤ Radja and all Officers whatsoever upon yͤ Jsland of Ianselone : wᶜʰ gaue a most Severe and Strict charge unto them never to come to any composition wᵗʰ the Dutch . . . Hee likewise in yͤ generall letter to yͤ Radja &c · gaue positiue Orders . . . . I was discoursinge wᵗʰ yͤ Radja when this **Tarrah** arrived.

Fol. 148. untill a **Tarra** came from Syam wᵗʰ letters and a Gold Cappe for a present to him [King of Queda], after a friendly but Monarchiall manner biddinge him liue poore Slave and Enjoy his Countrey in peace.

Not in Yule. [Frequently used in old books about Indo-China for letters-patent, the Indian *firmân* [firmaun, phyrmaund, &c.]

TARRA.

Fol. 152. Noe Other Coyned moneys in this Kingdome [Queda], Save Small Coppar moneys tinned over called **Tarra**: 96 of wᶜʰ make one Copan.

Not in Yule. [The small tara, tare of Yule, is another coin altogether.]

TENASSERIM.

Fol. 38. The Kinge of Golcondah hath Severall Ships yᵗ trade yearely to . . . **Tanassaree.**

Fol. 77. that a [illegible]ally trade to Sea, Some to Ceylone Some to **Tanassaree,** those fetch Elephants . . . . . The Elephants of Ceylone are best Esteemed of here . . . . then those of Tanassaree.

Fol. 131. [Janselone] Is an Island that lyeth to yͤ Southward of all the Jsles of **Tanassaree** : nearest middway btweenė yᵗ and Queda.

See Yule, *s. v.* Tenasserim.

TICAL.

Fol. 53. The Syam **Ticull** Values one rupee $\frac{1}{4}$ or 00*lb* 03*s* 07*d*.

See Yule, *s. v.* Tical. [See *ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 253 ff. for an exhaustive treatment of this word, weight and coin.]

TODDY.

Fol. 29. the Palmero tree affordeth that rare liquor formerly termed **Palme-Wine, now vulgarly called Toddy,** ye Palmito . . . . . afford liquor alsoe . . . . called **date Toddy,** not soe good as ye Other, more lucious but soon Eager.

Fol. 40. another Sort there is [of arack] yt distilled from **Neep toddy** and yt is commonly called **Nipa de Goa.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Toddy. [The quotations are valuable for the different kinds.]

TOMBOLEE RIVER.

Fol. 76. beinge timerous of driveinge too farre down vizt upon the Shoals of ye **Riuer Tombolee** (where ye Riuer [Hugly] is most crooked).

Not in Yule. [But see Yule, *s. v.* Tumlook.] [Now the Rûpnarain running into the Hugli at the James and Mary Shoal.]

TOOTNAGUE.

Fol. 86. [The Orixas] withall soe jgnorant that they know not Silver from **Tootanagga.**

Fol. 158. from China . . . . **Totanagga.**

See Yule, *s. v.* tootnague: spelter. [The "white copper" of China is meant in the text. The same trick as that hinted at in the text is still played upon the Nicobarese, who cannot usually distinguish between silver and tootnague, *i. e.*, German silver.] See also *ante*, Vol. XXVI. p. 222 f., for a similar trick on Java by the Chinese in the 17th Century.

TRANQUEBAR.

Fol. 53. Porto Novo & **Trincombar.**

Fol. 78. That very yeare ye Danes came from Trincombar: (a fine Garrison of ye Kinge of Denmarks) the onely place they have in Asia 40 English leags to the Southward of ffort St George's . . . . . The Danes findinge Small gaines to Jssue from this warre, did Anno Dom: 16?4: come downe from their Castle of **Trincombar** . . . . All through ye Simplicitie of a Mechanick fellow yt the Danes Entitled theire Comadore, who rendred himselfe as he was really a most ridiculous man to ye mightie disgrace of there whole Nation & ffortification of **Trincombarre.**

Fol. 81. vntill they heard ffarther from the Castle of **Trincombar.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Tranquebar.

TRESSLETORE.

Fol. 4. Here followeth ye figr of ye Pagod called **Tressletore,** 5 & ½ miles to ye Noward of ffort St Georg's.

Not in Yule. [An old pagoda, once famous, near Madras, known under various forms, of which **Trivitore** in Wheeler's *Old Madras*, p. 528, is as near as may be expected to the correct form.]

TURBAN.

Fol. 70. he had pulled off his gold **Turbant.**

Fol. 165. and from her is Sent to ye English Commander a Silke Suite of cloths wth a **Turbant** after the Malay fashion.

Fol. 176. Each of them wore his **Turbat** after the Arabian mode.

See Yule, *s. v.* Turban.

TUTICORIN.

Fol. 91. many of them have ye Shackles on theire arms made of Chanke, a great Shell brought from **Tutacree** (a Dutch ffactorie neare ye Cape Comorin).

See Yule, *s. v.* Tuticorin.

VISS.

Fol. 53. The Vsuall Weights of this Coast [Choromandel] are . . . . y[e] **Veece.** . . . . A Maund Cont: 8 **Veece** 1/3: or 025 Idem [pounds] A **Veece** Cont: 003 Idem.

Fol. 132. [Janselone] when a Small parcell then for soe many **Viece** or soe many great or Small puttas: 4 great puttas make a **Viece** 10 Small ones is a **Viece.**

See Yule, *s. v.* Viss: *ante,* Vol. XXVI. p. 327, Vol. XXVII. p. 58 ff. [The well-known S. Indian Indo-Chinese weight, about 3¼ *lbs.*]

VIZAGAPATAM.

Fol. 56. beinge a Very Secure Coast to harbour in namely in . . . . **Vizegapatam.**

Not in Yule, but should be, as it turns up in all sorts of queer forms in the old books. [See *ante,* Vol. XXX. pp. 357, 400.]

WALTAIR.

Fol. 56. beinge a Very Secure Coast to harbour in namely in . . . . **Wattara** [? Waltara].

Not in Yule : practically part of Vizagapatam.

YAM.

Fol. 19. they feed for y[e] most part vpon that w[ch] is very good, as . . . . **yamms.**

See Yule, *s. v.* yam.

YAVANASATAKAM:

A HUNDRED STANZAS TRANSLATED FROM GREEK POETS.

BY PROFESSOR C. CAPPELLER, PH.D., JENA.

HOMER.

1

न राज्यं बहुभिः कार्यमेकः शास्तु प्रजा विभुः ।
लोकत्राणाय यो देवैः स्थापितः परमे क्षये ॥

Cf. Pañchat. III..80. B 204, 205.

2

यादृशानि हि पत्राणि तादृशाः सन्ति मानुषाः ।
यथा पत्त्राणि वृक्षेभ्यो निपतन्ति महीतले ॥
रोहन्ति च पुनर्वातैः प्रेर्यमाणानि माधवैः ।
एवं कुलानि जायन्ते विनश्यन्ति च देहिनाम् ॥

Z 146—149.

3

न हि कश्चिज्जनो दैवमतिवर्तितुमर्हति ।
क्षुद्रकः स्यादुदारो वा जन्म यो लब्धवान्भुवि ॥

Z 488, 489.

4

अनग्निमनिकेतं च कुलघ्नं विद्धि तं नरम् ।
यो वैरं रमते कुर्वन्नेकराष्ट्रनिवासिनाम् ॥

I 63, 64.

5

न हि प्राणिषु सर्वेषु महीतलविसर्पिषु ।
शोचनीयतरः कश्चिन्मनुष्यादिति मे मतिः ॥

Cf. v. 38. P 446, 447.

6

सूक्ष्मा जिह्वा बह्वन्यस्यां विविधानि वचांसि च ।
यादृशं तु भवेदुक्तं प्रत्युक्तमपि तादृशम् ॥

Cf Subhâshitârṇ. 192, 193. Y 248—250.

7

एतद्भवति मर्त्यानां देवैः पूर्वविनिर्मितम् ।
दुःखादापतितुं दुःखं ते स्वयं सुखमासते ॥

Ω 525, 526.

8

तद्गीतं सर्वगीतानां प्रशंसन्ति हि मानुषाः ।
येनापूर्वेण कर्णानि ह्रियन्ते हृदयानि च ॥

α 351, 352.

9

बहुमान्यमधीशत्वमचिराद्धि महाधनैः ।
पूर्यते भवनं राज्ञो यशश्चैव विवर्धते ॥

Cf. v. 96. α 392, 393.

10

समाः कतिपये सन्ति पापीयांसो न दुर्लभाः ।
श्रेयांसस्तु पितुः पुत्रा विद्यन्ते यदि पञ्चषाः ॥

β 276, 277.

11

न प्रशस्यतरं किंचिन्न तादृक्तृप्तिकारकम् ।
यथा भर्ता च भार्या च द्वावन्योऽन्यवशानुगौ ।
दुर्जनानां मनःशल्यं सुहृदां नयनोत्सवः ।
भूयिष्ठं तु महाप्रीत्या सुखयन्तौ परस्परम् ॥

Cf. Mârk. Pur. XXI. 69. ζ 182—185.

12

विधिना प्रेषितं विद्धि याचकं चातिथिं च ते ।
सत्कारेण प्रयच्छास्मै दानं स्वल्पमपि प्रियम् ॥

ζ 207, 208.

13

न तथान्यद्यशो भाति यावज्जीवसि भूतले ।
यथा यल्लभ्यते हस्तैः पादैश्चाजिषु जित्वरैः ॥

Cf. M. Bh. V. 1256. ϑ 147, 148.

14

न सर्वेषां मनुष्याणां सर्वान्देवा ददुर्गुणान् ।
स्वाकृतिं च विवेकं च दिव्यां चापि सरस्वतीम् ॥
एकोऽङ्गदुर्बलत्वेन वैरूप्येण च योजितः ।
यस्य वाक्पटुता वक्त्रे शृण्वतां तृप्तिदायिनी ॥
अन्यो रूपविशेषेण सर्वेभ्यो व्यतिरिच्यते ।
न यस्मै ददिरे देवा हृद्यमां मधुजिह्वताम् ॥

Cf. Bahudarśana 36. ϑ 168—175.

15

पितृपैतामहे स्थाने यत्सौख्यं हृदि जायते ।
न तद्देशान्तरे लभ्यं विभवेषु महत्स्वपि ॥

Cf. v. 93; Pañchat. III. 92; V. 49. ι 34—36.

16

क्षेत्रं कर्तुं वरं मन्ये नरस्याधनिनो भुवि ।
न तु सर्वकुलं शास्तुं प्रेतानां यममन्दिरे ॥

λ 489—491.

17

तं हि प्राघुणिका नित्यं ध्यायन्ते मनसा नरम् ।
यो गृहे प्रतिजग्राह पूजयामास चादरात् ॥

o 54, 55.

18

तुल्यदोषाववैम्येतौ तिष्ठन्तं योऽतिथिं गृहे ।
निष्काशयितुमिच्छेत यियासुं च निरोधयेत् ॥

o 72, 73.

19

भिक्षार्थेन मनुष्या यत्पर्यटन्ति वसुंधराम् ।
सहमाना महाक्लेशांस्तास्मिन्निन्द्यो हतोदरः ॥

Cf. Pañchat. I. 256. o 344, 345.

20

न हि कश्चिदुपायोऽस्ति क्षुद्रोगं विनिगूहितुम् ।
यस्य हेतोस्तितिक्षन्ते श्रमान्बहुविधान्नराः ॥
नावो दीर्घैररित्रैश्च योजयन्ति बुभुक्षया ।
तितीर्षन्त उदन्वन्तं रणेषु च युयुत्सवः ॥

§ 286—289.

21

न शोच्यं मरणं पुंसः शेते यो निहतः शरैः ।
रक्षणे स्वकुटुम्बस्य गवाश्वस्य च पालने ॥

§ 470—472.

HESIOD.

(Opera et Dies.)

22

कुलालश्च कुलालाय वणिजे वणिगीर्ष्यति ।
दरिद्रश्च दरिद्राय गायनाय च गायनः ॥

Cf. Mâlav. v. 19. v. 25, 26.

23

भयानां पृथिवी पूर्णा पूर्णोऽब्धिः प्रसरन्ति च ।
व्याधयः परितो जन्तून्स्वयंजाताः पदे पदे ॥

Cf. v. 60. v. 101—103.

24

नाद्य सूनुः पितुर्भक्तो न च सूनौ रतः पिता ।
मित्रं नाद्रियते मित्रं नातिथिश्च प्रतीच्छकम् ॥
न भ्रातैव प्रियो भ्रातुः पूर्वकाले यथाभवत् ।
विजजृम्भे मनोमादः पूज्यते पापकर्मकृत् ॥
नष्टो धर्मो गता लज्जा विरलान्पश्य सज्जनान् ।
धूर्तो वञ्चयते गीर्भिः पट्वीभिः शपथैरुत ॥
ईर्ष्या निविविशे मर्त्यान्दुर्मुखी घोररूपिणी ।
परव्यसनसंहृष्टा धिगद्यत्वस्य दुष्टता ॥

Cf. Subhâshitâv. 3070. v. 182—196.

25

मूढाशयो बलीयांसं निरोद्धुं यो व्यवस्यति ।
स पराभवमाप्नोति दुःसहां च विमाननाम् ॥

Cf. Pañchat. III. 126; I. 227; IV. 24. v. 210, 211.

42

न सिंहोऽपि सदा मांसं भोक्तुं विन्दति पश्यत ।
बलवन्तमपि क्रूरा पीडयेदनुपायता ॥

43

स्वैरिणीं योषितं द्वेष्मि नरं च रतिलम्पटम् ।
पत्युरन्यस्य यः क्षेत्रे कृषिं कर्तुं व्यवस्यति ॥

44

अमित्रं च गुणोपेतं न निन्देयं कदाचन ।
वयस्यं च न शंसेयमनर्हं धर्मरोधिनम् ॥

ALCMAN.

45

निद्रावशं संप्रति पर्वतानां
शिरांसि यातानि सकन्दराणि ।
इच्छन्ति शय्यां वनचारिणश्च
श्यामायते च स्तिमितेव पृथ्वी ॥
त्यजन्ति गुञ्जं मधुलिट्कुलानि
कृतं विहंगैर्विटपेषु मौनम् ।
शीतेषु पाथोनिधिगह्वरेषु
तिमिंगिलाः स्वप्नसुखं भजन्ते ॥

Cf. Subhâshitam. 109.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOME NOTES ON DIGAMBARA JAINA ICONOGRAPHY.

SIR, — With reference to an article on Digambara Jaina Iconography by Dr J. Burgess, *ante*, Vol. XXXII. pp. 459 ff., I beg to point out the following few inaccuracies, which may lead your readers to misunderstand some customs of the Digambara Jainas:—

1.

It is said that the Jaypûr Khandarwâls are **Viśpanthîs or Thêrâpanthîs**, and that the former worship standing and the latter sitting. First, this might lead one to think that the division into Viśpanthîs and Thêrâpanthîs is confined to the Digambara Khandarwâl Jainas only. As a matter of fact, the Svêtâmbarîs and some of their sub-classes also may be Viśpanthîs. Also the Agarwâls and other minor classes of the Digambara Jainas may be Viśpanthîs and Thêrâpanthîs. By the way, **the term should be Têṛâ (i e. 13) Panthîs and not Têrâpanthîs.** Secondly, the attitude of worship of the two classes is quite reversed. It is the Viśpanthîs who worship sitting; whereas the Têrâpanthîs worship standing, and sit only when they propose to meditate or repeat their *mantras* on the beads of a rosary in a very low, almost inaudible, tone of voice.

It must, however, be said here that a class of Jaina laymen, who profess to be much more learned and spiritual than their other Jaina Têrâpanthî brethren, and who are called **Bhattârakas**, worship in a *sitting* posture. But these Bhattârakas are a less than microscopic minority and their practice, therefore, is the exception to the rule, which is recognized by the majority of the orthodox Digambara Jainas.

2.

Again, it is said that "they (the Têrâpanthîs) object to bathing themselves or the images, and worship with water, cocoanut-water or *panchâmrita.*" In this connection it is enough to say that it is one of the most important factors of the ritual connected with every Digambara Jaina temple, that some one — a male — should get up early in the morning, should bathe, and at sunrise, or only a little, not much, before it, should go to the temple and bathe the images of the Tîrthankaras that are placed there. Also it must be noted that the bathing is generally — almost exclusively — done on the premises of the temple, to guard against the risk of the worshipper's body being again contaminated after bathing, if he bathes at his house and then goes to the temple.

3.

As to the "eleven grades of Jainas" enumerated by Dr. Burgess, I think these are the eleven stages in the life of a householder, which lead up from a simple belief in Jainism to an almost complete renunciation of the world, in perfect agreement with the essential teachings of the Jaina religion. These stages are called pratimâs, and in Digambara books are enumerated as below :—

1. *Darsaṇa*, or Faith in the true God, true teacher, and true religion.

2. *Vrata*, various kinds of abstinence and vows.

3. *Sâmâyak*, saying prayers three times a day for fixed periods.

4. *Proshdhôpvâs*, keeping fast for sixteen *pahars* on the eighth and the fourteenth days of each half of the month as reckoned in India.

5. *Sachita-tyâga*, abstaining from eating green vegetables.

6. *Nisbhôjân-tyâga*, abstaining from four kinds of food at night, and from providing others with the same.

7. *Brahmacharyya*, keeping aloof from sexual intercourse altogether.

8. *Ârambha-tyâga*, abandonment of all engagements and occupations.

9. *Parigraha-tyâga*, renunciation of the two sorts of *Parigrahas*, external and internal.

10. *Anumôdana-Vrata*, vowing not to take part in any worldly or household concern. Also vowing not to take food uninvited.

11 *Uddhisht-Vrata*, becoming unclothed and living in a jungle with a *langoti* and *kamandalu* (alms-bowl); or retaining a *dhoti* (a waist-cloth), a piece of cloth to cover the body and an alms-bowl, and living in a temple or a *maṇḍapa*, or in some lonely and unfrequented place, other than a *mandir* or temple.

Obviously the eleven grades of Jainas, as Dr. Burgess is informed, are inaccurate. Either he has been given wrong information, or he has misunderstood the explanations of his informant. The statement that the fourth-grade Jainas "observe all the Jaina precepts but are guilty of adultery" is altogether misleading. Perhaps in the above enumeration it corresponds to the sixth *pratimâ*, the *Nisbhôjân-tyâga*. For sometimes a part of its observance is said to be abstinence from sexual enjoyment in the day-time, which, of course, implies freedom of the enjoyment at other times. Now this implied permission to enjoy one's wedded spouse at night is misconstrued as adultery, and the inaccuracy of the statement in the article is obvious.

The fifth-grade Jainas are said to be 'dishonest.' But this is misleading, for dishonesty is neither enjoined nor permitted to the Jainas. Only they do not have to take a religious vow expressly to abstain from it at a certain stage of their life as a householder. Otherwise it is a part of the details of the second *pratimâ Vrata*, even of the details of the first *pratimâ Darsaṇa*, that the Jaina householder shall not commit theft, and theft surely includes many kinds of dishonesty.

The misleading nature of the sixth statement that the Jainas "abet crimes, but do not commit them personally," is quite akin to the fifth. It is well known that the Jainas view their morality, and their asceticism also at times, from three points of view, *i.e.*, as they relate to the body, mind or tongue, *i.e.*, to act, thought or words.[1] Now it is not abetting of crimes that is enjoined upon or allowed to a householder of the sixth grade; it is the absence of *express prohibition* of committing deeds by words or by the instrumentality of others that is mistaken for permission to abet crimes.

4.

As to the distinctions that the article draws between the Digambara and the Svêtâmbara Jainas, the fifth distinction, on p. 461, is inaccurate. The Svêtâmbaras light lamps in their

[1 Compare H. Jacobi's Introduction to *Jaina Sutras*, Part II, Vol. XLV., S. B. E. p. xvii, where he institutes a comparison between some Jaina doctrines as referred to in the *Majjhima Nikâya*, with certain corresponding statements in the *Sûtrakṛitâṅga* and *Sthânâṅga Sûtras*.]

temples and worship their images at night. The Digambaras, particularly the Têrâpanthîs, do not worship at night although they light lamps in their temples for the purpose of reading their scriptures there.

As to the sixth distinction, it is not the Digambaras, especially Têrâpanthîs, who bathe their images with *panchâmrita* It is the Svêtâmbaras who do so, or else the Bhattârakas, reference to whom has already been made above.

5.

As to the **Yakshas and Yakshinîs**, general references to them in the body of the article, p 463, ll 29—32, are not in keeping with the plates given at the end of the article. Both Yakshas and Yakshinîs do *not*, in all cases, hold their right hand up with palm foremost in front of the chest, and the left hand closed As a matter of fact, (i) Trimukha Yaksha (3)[2] has his left hand closed but with a tendency to show the palm outwards; (ii) Isvara and Gaurî (11) both hold up the left hand with their open palm outwards and the fingers hanging down; (iii) Kumâra (12) Yaksha holds the left hand as above — his Yakshinî has it closed; (iv) Yakshini Kushmanpinî (22) has two children in her two arms and places both her hands before her near her thighs and with the palm inwards; (v) Yaksha and Yakshinî (24) both hold up their left hand open, with its fingers hanging down and the palm inwards.

6.

Similarly, with regard to the **feet of the Yakshas and Yakshinîs**, the general remark in the article is at variance with the figures on the plates. A complete classification would be as follows: —(i) Yaksha and Yakshinî (1) have their left foot down and right tucked up in front; (ii) Yaksha (2) has his left foot down and right tucked up in front, and Yaksinî (2) has her right foot down and left in front; (iii) Yakshas and Yakshinîs (from Nos 3 to 12) all have their left foot down and right tucked up in front; (iv) Both Yakshas and Yakshinîs (Nos. 13 to 22) hold their right foot down and the left tucked up in front; (v) Yaksha (23) has his right foot down and left in front; Yakshinî (23) has her left foot down, and right in front; (vi) Yaksha and Yakshinî (24) both sit as above.

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April, 1904.

MISCELLANEA.

FURTHER NOTES ON SOME DOUBTFUL COPPER COINS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

SINCE the publication of my paper on Doubtful Copper Coins in Southern India in *ante*, Vol. XXXII. p. 313 ff., I have been able to identify a few of the coins there figured, and I now submit the following notes.

No. 17 E. — I am inclined to think that this is a Pândyan coin, and that the symbol at the top of the *rev.* is not a *liṅgam* and altar as I supposed. Above the back of the Nandi is a battle-axe.

The symbol above the axe seems to be separated by dotted lines from the axe and the bull. It may represent a mountain. One of my "Koneri Râyan" series, which seems to be certainly Pândyan, has a figure of a standing bull with a battle-axe above.

Nos. 43, A to D, are coins of the Dutch, and the legend on the reverse is *Puduchchêri* (Pondicherry). Count Maurin Nahuys has described them (pp. 13, 14) and figured them (Plates 6, 7, 8) in his paper on the "*Numismatique des Indes Néerlandaises,*" published in the "*Revue Belge de Numismatique,*" 1887.

No. 55 belongs to a South-Indian Bull-and-*triśûla* series of which I have several. Sir Walter Elliot has figured one (Plate IV., 174) and described it (p. 134) in his "*Coins of Southern India,*" but he was unable to place it with any accuracy. I overlooked this point when preparing my List.

I take this opportunity of submitting for identification by experts, another coin from South India that has long been a puzzle to me.



It was omitted from my List accidentally, being, at the time my paper was prepared, in custody of Mr. Rapson of the British Museum, who, however, was unable to class it. The horse is somewhat similar to that on **No. 56** of my "Doubtful" List, which may be a coin of Maisûr. But the Tamil letter *na* on the reverse seems to shew that the present coin has no connection with that principality.

R. SEWELL.

[2] Numerals enclosed in brackets denote the serial number of the figures in the plates.

INDEX.

INDIAN PALEOGRAPHY

FROM ABOUT B. C. 350 TO ABOUT A. D. 1300

BY

G. BÜHLER.

I. THE ANTIQUITY OF WRITING IN INDIA AND THE ORIGIN OF THE OLDEST INDIAN ALPHABET.

§ 1. — The Indian tradition.[1]

THE tradition of both the orthodox and the heterodox sects of India ascribes the invention of writing, or at least of the chief script, to the creator Brahmā, and thereby claims it as a national invention of the remotest antiquity. The former view is found in the Nārada-Smṛti,[2] a redaction of the Manusaṃhitā (mentioned by Bāṇa about A. D. 620), and in Bṛhaspati's Vārttika on Manu,[3] as well as in Hiuen Tsiang[4] and in the Jaina Samavāyāṅga-Sūtra (traditional date about B. C. 300), the account of which latter work is repeated in the Paṇṇāvaṇā-Sūtra (traditional date B. C. 168).[5] The story is also indicated in the representations of Brahmā at Bādāmi of about A. D. 580, where the deity holds in one of his hands a bundle of palm-leaves,[6] for which in later representations an inscribed sheet of paper is substituted.[7]

The story, according to which in particular the Indian script running from the left to the right is an invention of Brahmā (*Fan*), is told in full in the Chinese Buddhistic Fawanshulin.[8] The two Jaina works mentioned above, and the Lalitavistara,[9] indicate its existence by naming the most important script *bambhī* or *brāhmī*. These traditional statements make it advisable to adopt the designation *Brāhmī* for the characters in which the majority of the Aśoka edicts are written, and for their later developments.

Berūnī[10] mentions a slightly different story. He says that the Hindus once had forgotten the art of writing, and that through a divine inspiration it was rediscovered by Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara. Accordingly, the history of the Indian alphabets would begin with the Kaliyuga, in B. C. 3101.

While these myths tend to show that the Hindus had forgotten the origin of their alphabet in early times, — perhaps already about B. C. 300, but certainly before the beginning of our era, — there are some other portions of their traditions which possess a greater and a positive value. The two Jaina Sūtras referred to above, contain a list of 18 separate alphabets; and the Lalitavistara[11] enumerates 64 scripts which are said to have existed in the time of Buddha. Several among the names of the two lists agree, and there are in particular four which, as may have been already recognised, have a claim to be considered authentic and historical.

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1 B.IS. III², 23—35; comp. Anecdota Oxon., Aryan Series, I, 3, 67; B.ESIP. 6; A. LUDWIG, Yavanānī, Ṣitz. Ber. Böhm. Ges. d. Wiss. 1893, IX., and the works quoted by DR. BURNELL.

2 SBE. 23, 58 f.

3 SBE. 23, 304.

4 Siyuki 1, 77 (BEAL).

5 W.IS. 16, 280, 399.

6 IA. 6, 366, Pl.

7 MOOR, Hindu Pantheon, Pl. 3, 4; AR. 1, 243.

8 BOR. 1, 59.

9 Sansk. text, 143 (Bibl. Ind.), and the Chinese translation of A. D. 308.

10 India 1, 171 (SACHAU).

11 *loc. cit.*; a third list, with about 30 mostly very corrupt names, in the Mahāvastu 1, 135 (SENART).

Besides the *brāhmī* or *bambhī*, which is the parent of all the still existing alphabets of India, two more can be identified with known scripts. The *kharoṣṭhī* or *kharoṭṭhī* is, as the Fawan-shulin states,[1] the writing running from the right to the left, invented by one Kharoṣṭha, "Ass-lip,"[2] and is the same character which European scholars formerly used to call Bactrian, Indo-Bactrian, Bactro-Pali, Ariano-Pali, &c. The *drāviḍī* or *ḍāmilī* of the lists is very [2] probably the partly independent variety of the Brāhmī, which recently has become known through the relic vessels from the Stūpa of Bhaṭṭiprolu in the Kistna district.[3] Besides, the name *puṣkarasārī* or *pukkharasāriyā* is certainly historical, as it is evidently connected with the *nomen gentile Puṣkarasādi* or *Pauṣkarasādi* (with the Northern Buddhists *Puṣkarasāri*) by which one or several ancient teachers of law and grammar are mentioned in Pāṇini's grammar, Āpastamba's Dharmasūtra, and other works. It appears not incredible that a member of the family of *Puṣkarasad* may have invented a new alphabet or modified an existing one. The list of the Jainas includes also the name *yavaṇāliyā* or *yavaṇāṇiyā*, which is identical with *yavanānī*, "the writing of the Yavanas or Greeks," of Pāṇini (traditional date about B. C. 350).[4] An early acquaintance of the Hindus with the Greek alphabet may have been brought about by the expedition of Skylax to North-Western India in B. C. 509, or by the fact that Indian and Gandharian troops took part in Xerxes' war against Greece,[5] and even by an ancient commercial intercourse. At all events, finds of Indian imitations of Attic drachmes with Greek inscriptions tend to prove the use of the Greek alphabet in North-Western India before the time of Alexander.[6]

As some names of the Jaina list are thus shown to be ancient by the results of epigraphic researches and by Pāṇini, as well as by the agreement of the independent tradition of the Northern Buddhists, the list is not without historical value. And it may be considered at least highly probable that a fairly large number of alphabets was known or used in India about B. C. 300. The exact number, 18, which the Jainas mention, must however be taken merely as conventional, as it frequently occurs in traditional statements.

An extract from the lost Dṛṣṭivāda of the Jainas also gives some further account of the ancient Brāhmī.[7] It states that this alphabet contained only 46 radical signs, instead of the usual number of 50 or 51. The letters intended are without a doubt : *A, Ā, I, Ī, U, Ū, E, AI, O, AU* (10), *Aṃ, Aḥ; ka, kha, ga, gha, ṅa, ca, cha, ja* (20), *jha, ña, ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa, ta, tha, da* (30), *dha, na, pa, pha, ba, bha, ma, ya, ra, la* (40), *va, śa, ṣa, sa, ha, ḷa* ; while the *mātṛkās Ṛ, Ṝ, Ḷ, Ḹ*, and the ligature *kṣa*, which in later times was often erroneously considered a *mātṛkā*, were excluded. The four liquid vowels are wanting also in the alphabet of the Lalitavistara,[8] and in that of the modern elementary schools. In the latter the instruction is based on the so-called *Bārākhaḍī* (Skt. *dvādaśākṣarī*), a table of the combinations of the consonants with the twelve vowels mentioned above, *e. g.*, *ka, kā*, to *kaṃ, kaḥ*. The antiquity of the *Bārākhaḍī*, which from its Maṅgala *Oṃ namaḥ siddham* is at present sometimes called *Siddhākṣarasamāmnāya* or *Siddhamātṛkā*, is attested by Hui-lin (A. D. 788—810),[9] who mentions it as the first of the twelve *fān* or 'cycles' (evidently Hiuen Tsiang's twelve *chang*)[10] with which the Hindu boys began their studies. Further evidence for the omission of the vowels *Ṛ, Ṝ, Ḷ, Ḹ* is furnished by Hiuen Tsiang's remark[11] that the Indian alphabet of his time contained 47 letters (the last one being probably the ligature *kṣa*), and by the fragments of the incomplete alphabet of Aśoka's stone-masons at Gayā,[12] which may be restored as follows: *A, *Ā, *I, *Ī, *U, *Ū, *E, *AI, *O, *AU* (10), **Aṃ* or **Aḥ, ka, *kha, *ga, *gha, ṅa, *ca, cha, *ja, *jha* (20), **ña, *ṭa*.

1 BOR. 1, 59.
2 Comp. WZKM. 9, 66, and B.IS. III², 113 f.
3 EI. 2, 323 ff.
4 Mahābhāṣya 2, 220 (KIELHORN).
5 Herodotus, VII, 65, 66.
6 B. V. HEAD, Cat. of Greek Coins: Attica, p. XXXI. f., pp. 25—27.
7 W.IS. 16, 281.
8 Sansk. text, Bibl. Ind. 145; LEFMANN, 127.
9 B.IS. III², 30.
10 Siyuki 1, 78 (BEAL) ; ST. JULIEN, Mémoires des pèlerins Bouddhiques 1, 72, and note.
11 Siyuki 1, 77.
12 B.IS. III², 31.

All these various points tend to show that the popular Brāhmī contained, as the Jaina tradition asserts, since the third century B. C. only 46 letters, and that, as the occurrence of the vowels *AI*, *AU*, *Aṃ*, *Aḥ* and the consonant *ṅa* proves, it was adapted to the wants of the Sanskrit language. But it is not [3] improbable that the Brahmans already then used particular signs for the liquid vowels in their works on grammar and phonetics. The method, however, according to which the actually known signs for these sounds have been formed, differs from that adopted for the other vowel-signs. The medial *ṛ*, *ṝ*, and *ḷ* were developed first, and the initials later; while in the case of *a*, *ā*, &c., the process was the contrary one (see below, § 4, and § 24, A, 6, 7). The Chinese have also preserved an Indian tradition asserting that *ṛ*, *ṝ*, and *ḷ* are later additions to the original alphabet.[1]

§ 2. — Literary evidence for the use of writing.

A. — Brahmanical literature.[2]

Among Vedic works, the Vāsiṣṭha Dharmasūtra, which according to Kumārila (about A. D. 750) originally belonged to a school of the Ṛgveda, and which is younger than the lost Mānava Dharmasūtra but older than the existing Manusaṃhitā,[3] offers clear evidence for the widely spread use of writing during the "Vedic" period. Vasiṣṭha in XVI, 10, 14—15, mentions written documents as legal evidence, and the first of these sūtras is a quotation from an older work or from the traditional lore. Further, Pāṇini's grammar, which belongs to the Vedāṅgas, contains, besides the term *yavanānī* mentioned above, the compounds *lipikara* and *libikara*, "writer" (III, 2, 21), which sometimes have been rendered erroneously, against the authority of the Koṣas, by "maker of inscriptions."[4] In addition to these few certain passages, the later Vedic works contain some technical terms, such as *akṣara*, *kāṇḍa*, *paṭala*, *grantha*, &c., which some scholars have quoted as evidence for writing. But others have explained them differently, and it is indeed not necessary to consider them as referring to written letters and MSS.[5] Similarly, opinions are much divided with respect to the force of some other general arguments for the early use of written documents and MSS., drawn from the advanced state of Vedic civilisation, especially from the high development of trade and the complicated monetary transactions mentioned in Vedic works, from the use of prose in the Brāhmaṇas from the collection, the methodical arrangement, the numeration, and the analysis of the Vedic texts, and from the grammatical, phonetic, and lexicographic researches in the Vedāṅgas.[6] Though some of these points, especially the first and the last, undeniably possess considerable weight, they have yet not gained general recognition, as will always happen if an *argumentum ex impossibili* is used, even if it should be supported by fuller special enquiries than Sanskrit scholars have hitherto devoted to these subjects.

While this kind of evidence will probably not be generally accepted very soon, it is to be hoped that the *argumentum ex silentio*, — the inference that a Vedic work which does not mention writing must have been composed when writing was unknown in India, — will be dropped. The *argumentum ex silentio* is certainly not conclusive, because the Hindus even at present, in spite of a long continued use of writing, esteem the written word less than the spoken one, because they base their whole literary and scientific intercourse on oral communications, and because, especially in scientific [4] works, writing and MSS. are mentioned very rarely. Though MSS., being *Sarasvatīmukha*, "the face of the goddess of speech," are

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[1] B.IS. III², 33.

[2] B.IS. III², 5 f.; M.M.HASL. 497 ff.; L.IA.², 1, 1008 ff.; B.ESIP. 1 ff.; Weber, Ind. Streifen 3, 348 f.

[3] SBE. 14, XVII ff.

[4] M.M.ṚV.², 4, LXXII.

[5] M.M.HASL. 521 ff.; Goldstücker, Mānava Kalpasūtra, Intr. 14 ff.; W.IS. 5, 16 ff.; M.M.ṚV.², 4, LXXII ff.

[6] Whitney, Or. and Ling. St. 82; J.AOS. 6, 563; Benfey, ZDMG. 11, 347; Böhtlingk, Bull. Pet. Akad. 1859, 347; Pischel and Geldner, Vedische Studien, 1, XXIII, XXVI; J. Dahlmann, Das Mahābh. 185; against these views, M.M.ṚV.², 4, loc. cit.; Letter in Takakusu's transl. of Itsing, X ff.; W.IS. 5, loc. cit.

held sacred and are worshipped, the Veda and the Śāstras exist, even for the modern Hindu, only in the mouth of the teacher, whose word has more weight than a written text, and they can only be learned properly from a teacher, not from MSS. Even in our days, the Hindus esteem only the *mukhasthā vidyā*, the learning which the Pandit has imprinted on his memory. Even in our days, learned discussions are carried on with reference to living speech, and even the modern poets do not wish to be read, but hope that their verses will become "ornaments for the throats of the learned" (*satām kaṇṭhabhūṣaṇa*). As far as our observation reaches, this state of things has been always the same since the earliest times. Its ultimate cause probably is that the beginning of the Hindu Śāstras and poetry goes back to a time when writing was unknown, and that a system of oral teaching, already traceable in the Ṛgveda, was fully developed before the introduction of written characters. The reasons just stated do not permit us to expect many traces of the use of writing in the works of the schools of priests or Pandits, or to look in them for frequent references to letters and written documents. But, on the other hand, there is nothing to bar the conjecture, repeatedly put forward, that, even during the Vedic period, MSS. were used as auxiliaries both in oral instruction and on other occasions. And, as an argument in favour of this conjecture, it is now possible to adduce the indisputable fact that the Brāhmī alphabet has been formed by phonologists or by grammarians and for scientific use.[1]

But such Brahmanical works as the Epics, Purāṇas, Kāvyas, dramas, &c., which describe actual life, or the metrical law-books which fully teach not only the sacred but also the civil and criminal law, as well as compositions such as the Nīti-, Nāṭya-, and Kāma-śāstras which exclusively refer to worldly matters, contain numerous references to writing and to written documents of various kinds, and likewise evidence for the occurrence of MSS. of literary works. Unfortunately, however, it is not possible to assert of any of the existing books of these classes, — excepting the two Epics, — that they are older than the period to which the oldest inscriptions belong. And even the evidence of the Epics may be impugned, since we cannot prove that every word of their texts goes back to a high antiquity. Professor Jacobi's examination of the several recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa has shown that the greater part of the verses, now read, did not belong to the original poem.[2] As far as is known at present, the MSS. of the Mahābhārata do not show equally great variations. But the existence of the majority of its chapters can be proved only for the eleventh century A. D.[3] Though the testimony of the Epics can, therefore, only be used with due reserve, yet it is undeniable that their terms regarding writing and writers are archaic. Like the canonical works of the Southern Buddhists,[4] they use the ancient expressions *likh*, *lekha*, *lekhaka*, and *lekhana*, not the probably foreign word *lipi*.

The most important passages of the Epics, concerning writing, have been collected in the St. Petersburg Dictionary under the words mentioned, and by J. Dahlmann, Das Mahābhārata, 185 ff. Regarding the passages on writing in Manu, see the Index in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV, under "Documents," and for the legal documents, described in the later Smṛtis, see Vol. II. of this Encyclopedia, Part 8, Recht und Sitte, § 35. An interesting collection of statements regarding MSS. in the Purāṇas is found in Hemādri's Dānakhaṇḍa, Adhy. 7, p. 544 ff. (Bibl. Ind.). The Kâmasūtra I, 3 (p. 33, Durgāprasād) enumerates *pustakavācana*, "the reading of MSS.," among the 64 kalās.

B. — Buddhistic literature.[5]

[5] More important than the testimony of the Brahmans is that of the Ceylonese Tripiṭaka, where numerous passages bear witness not only to an acquaintance with writing, but also to its extensive use at the time when the Buddhist canon was composed. *Lekhā*, "writing,"

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1 See below, page 17. 2 Jacobi, Das Rām. 3 ff. 3 Kirste in B IS. II, 27 ff. 4 See below, under B.

5 B.IS. III.2, 7—16; Oldenberg, SBE. 13, XXXII ff.; D'Alwis, Introd. to Kaccāyana's Gram. XXVI f., CXV f., 72—103; Weber, Ind. Streifen 2, 337 ff.

and *lekhaka*, "a writer," are mentioned in the Bhikkhu-Pācittya 2, 2, and in the Bhikkhunī-Pācittiya 49, 2; and the former work praises writing as a branch of knowledge that is honoured in all countries. The Jātakas repeatedly speak of private[1] and official[2] letters. They also know of royal proclamations,[3] of which Mahāvagga 1, 43 likewise mentions an instance; and they narrate that important family affairs or moral and political maxims were engraved on gold plates.[4] Twice we hear of debtor's bonds (*iṇapaṇṇa*),[5] and twice even of MSS. (*potthaka*).[6] A game called *akkharikā* is mentioned repeatedly in the Vinayapiṭaka and the Nikāyas,[7] according to Buddhaghoṣa, its main feature was that letters were read in the sky. The Pārājika section of the Vinayapiṭaka (3, 4, 4) declares that Buddhist monks shall not "incise" (*chind*) the rules which show how men may gain heaven, or riches and fame in the next life, through particular modes of suicide. From this passage it follows (1) that the ascetics of pre-Buddhistic times used to give their lay-disciples rules, incised on bamboo or wooden tablets, concerning religious suicide, which the ancient Brahmans and the Jainas strongly recommended, and (2) that the knowledge of the alphabet was widely spread among the people.

Finally, Jātaka No. 125, and Mahāvagga 1, 49,[8] bear witness to the existence of elementary schools, in which the method of teaching and the matter taught were about the same as in the indigenous schools of modern India. The Jātaka mentions the wooden writing-board (*phalaka*), known (as well as the *varṇaka* or wooden pen) also to the Lalitavistara[9] and to Berūnī,[10] and still used in Indian elementary schools. The passage of the Mahāvagga gives the curriculum of the schools, *lekhā*, *gaṇanā* and *rūpa*, which three subjects, according to the Hāthigumphā inscription of the year 165 of the Maurya era,[11] king Khâravela of Kaliṅga learnt in his childhood. *Lekhā*, of course, means "writing," and *gaṇanā*, "arithmetic," *i.e.*, addition, substraction and the multiplication-table formerly called *aṅka* and now *āṁk*, while *rūpa*, literally "forms," corresponds to applied arithmetic, the calculations with coins, of interest and wages, and to elementary mensuration. These three subjects are still "the three R's" taught in the indigenous schools called *gāmṭī nīśāḷ*, *pāṭhśālā*, *lehśaḍ* or *toll*.

These very plain statements of the Ceylonese canon refer certainly to the actualities of the period between B. C. 500—400, possibly even of the sixth century.[12] Their antiquity is proved also by the fact that all the terms for writing, letters, writers, — *chindati*, *likhati*, *lekha*, *lekhaka*, *akkhara*, — as well as nearly all the writing materials, wood or bamboo, *paṇṇa* or leaves, and *suvaṇṇapaṭṭa* or gold plates, point to the oldest method of writing, the incision of the signs in hard materials. All traces of the use of ink are wanting, though the statements of Nearchos and Q. Curtius regarding the writing materials used at the time of Alexander's invasion (see below under C) make it very probable that ink was known in the fourth century B. C., and though an ink-inscription of the third or second century B. C. is found on the inner side of the lid of the relic vessel from Stūpa No. III. at Andher.[13] Moreover, the Ceylonese books are not acquainted with the words *lipi*, *libi*, *dipi*, *dipati*, *dipapati*, *lipikara* and *libikara* for "writing," "to write," and "writer," of which the first six are found in the [6] Aśoka edicts and the last two, as stated above, in Pāṇini's grammar. *Dipi* and *lipi* are probably derived from the Old Persian *dipi*, which cannot have reached India before the conquest of the Pañjāb by Darius about B. C. 500, and which later became *lipi*.[14]

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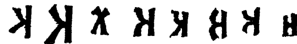
1 B.IS. III², 7 f.
2 B.IS. III², 8 f., 120.
3 B.IS. III², 10, 18.
4 B.IS. III², 10 f.
5 B.IS. III², 10, 120.
6 B.IS. III², 120.
7 B.IS. III², 16.
8 B.IS. III², 13 ff.
9 Sansk. text, 143; comp. BOR. 1, 59.
10 India 1, 182 (SACHAU).
11 Sixth Oriental Congress, 3, 2, 154.
12 B.IS. III², 16 ff., OLDENBERG, Vinayapiṭaka 1, XXXIV ff.; M. MÜLLER, SBE. 10, XXIX ff.
13 CUNNINGHAM, Bhilsa Topes, p. 349, pl. 30, 6.
14 B.IS. III, 21 f., WESTERGAARD, Zwei Abhandl. 33.

C. — Foreign Works.

To the last quarter of the fourth century B. C. refer the statement of Nearchos,[1] according to which the Hindus wrote letters on well beaten cotton cloth, and the note of Q. Curtius,[2] which mentions the tender inner bark of trees as serving the same purpose, and clearly points to the early utilisation of the well known birch bark. The fact that, according to these two writers, two different *indigenous* Indian materials were used in B. C. 327—325, shows that the art of writing was then generally known and was nothing new. To a slightly later time belongs the fragment No. 36 *a* of Megasthenes,[3] which speaks of mile-stones indicating the distances and the halting places on the high roads. In another often discussed passage,[4] Megasthenes says that the Indians decided judicial cases according to unwritten laws, and adds in explanation that they knew no γράμματα and settled everything ἀπὸ μνήμης. According to the now usual interpetation, this statement has been caused by a misunderstanding. Megasthenes took the term *smṛti*, used by his informants, in the sense of μνήμη, "memory," while they meant it in the sense of "the sacred tradition concerning law," or "the lawbooks," which, according to Indian principles, can only be explained orally by one who knows the Dharma.

§ 3. — Paleographic evidence.[5]

The results of a paleographic examination of the most ancient Indian inscriptions fully agree with the literary evidence, which bears witness to the widely spread use of writing during the fifth century B. C. and perhaps even during the sixth. The characters of the Aśoka edicts, which have to be considered first, prove very clearly that writing was no recent invention in the third century B. C. The alphabet of the edicts is not homogeneous. All the letters, with the exception of *U*, *jha*, *ṅa*, *ña*, *ṭha*, *ṇa*, *tha* and *na*, have several often very dissimilar forms, which are partly local and partly cursive varieties. The number of the variants of one letter sometimes amounts to nine or ten. Thus plate II, 1, 2, cols. II—XII, shows for *A*, *Ā*, no less than ten forms, among which the eight most important ones may be placed here side by side: —



The first sign has hardly any resemblance to the last. But the sequence in the row shows their connection and their development. The first seven owe their existence to a predilection partly [7] for angles and partly for curves, — two mutually contradictory tendencies, which find their expression also in the forms of other letters of pl. II, such as *gha*, *ḍa*, *da*, *la*, &c. The signs Nos. 1, 2, 3 of the series given above, are due to the first tendency, and Nos. 6, 7 to the second. Nos. 4, 5 show the transition from the angle to the curve, and No. 8 is a cursive simplification of No. 6. These eight signs are not found in all the versions of the Aśoka edicts, but are divided locally as follows. The angular forms Nos. 1, 2, 3 appear only in the south, in Girnār, Siddāpura, Dhauli, and Jaugada, side by side with Nos. 4 to 7. And it must be noted that the latter are rare in Girnār and Siddāpura, but in the majority in Dhauli and Jaugada. In the versions discovered north of the Narmadā or the Vindhya, we find mostly only Nos. 4 to 7, but in Kālsī No. 8 also is common, and it occurs a few times in Rāmpūrva. Hence the angular forms of *A*, *Ā*, appear to be specially southern ones, and they are no doubt also the most ancient. The first inference is confirmed by a comparison of the most nearly allied inscriptions. The relic vessels from Kolhāpur[6] and Bhaṭṭiprolu (pl. II, cols. XIII—XV), and the oldest Andhra inscription from the Nānāghāṭ (pl. II, cols. XXIII, XXIV) again show the angular *A*, *Ā*, either exclusively or

[1] Strabo, XV, 717.

[2] Hist. Alex. VIII, 9; comp. C. Müller, Fragm. Hist. Graec. 2, 421.

[3] C. Müller, op. cit. 430.

[4] Frag. 27; C. Müller, op. cit. 421; Schwanbeck, Megasthenes, p. 50, n. 48; M.M.HASL. 515; B.ESIP. 1; L.IA. II[2], 724; Weber, Ind. Skizzen 131 f.

[5] B.IS. III[2], 35—53.

[6] B.ASRWI. No. 10, 39, plate.

together with the mixed forms Nos. 4, 5, while the numerous inscriptions found further north on the Stūpas of Sāñci and Bharahut, in Pabhosa and Mathurā (pl. II, cols. XVIII—XX) on the coins of Agathocles, and in the Nāgārjunī cave (pl. II, col. XVII), offer either pure curved letters or mixed ones. An exception in Mahābodhi-Gayā[1] is probably explained by the fact that pilgrims from the south incised records of their donations at the famous sanctuary. Similar differences between northern and southern forms may be observed in the case of *kha*, *ja*, *ma*, *ra* and *sa*,[2] and they are all the more important as the circumstances under which the Aśoka edicts were incised did not favour the free use of local forms.[3] But the existence of local forms always points to a long continued use of the alphabet in which it is observable.

Equally important is the occurrence of apparently or really advanced and cursive types which for the greater part reappear or become constant in the later inscriptions. The subjoined table shows in line *A* the most important modern looking signs from the Aśoka edicts, and in line *B* the corresponding ones from later inscriptions.

	a	*ka*	*kha*			*ga*	*gha*	*cha*	*jā*	*ḍa*	*ṭi*
A											
B											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

	da	*pa*	*pha*	*bha*	*la*		*va*	*ma*	*sa*	*ha*	
A											
B											
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22

Four among these signs, Nos. 2, 7, 10, 21, are, as will appear further on,[4] really archaic, but the remainder are partly secondary, partly tertiary cursive forms. To the last-mentioned belong in particular Nos. 4, 8, 11, 15 and 19. [8] Among the letters from the later inscriptions in line *B*, Nos. 9, 11, 12 and 19 appear in the Nāgārjunī cave inscriptions of Aśoka's grandson Daśaratha; Nos. 2, 6—8, 10, 13—16 and 21 in Khāravela's Hāthigumphā inscription and in the oldest Andhra inscriptions, Nāsik No. 1 and Nānāghāt, as well as in the archaic Mathurā inscriptions, all of which documents belong to the period between about B. C. 170 and 150. Nos. 1, 3 and 22 are still later, and occur first in the inscriptions of the Kuṣanas from Mathurā and in the Andhra and Ābhīra inscriptions from Nāsik of the first and second centuries A. D. Occasionally the Aśoka edicts show also the short top-stroke, the so-called *Serif*, which is so characteristic for the later alphabets and causes numerous modifications.[5] Very commonly, too, appear the upward strokes for medial *ā* and *e*, the cursive rounded *i* (in Girnār sometimes not distinguishable from *ā*), more rarely the later straight *o*-stroke, and once a looped *o*.[6] Finally, the Anusvāra sometimes stands, as is generally the case in later times, above the letter after which it is pronounced.[7]

The existence of so many local varieties, and of so very numerous cursive forms, proves in any case that writing had had a long history in Aśoka's time, and that the alphabet was then in a state of transition. The use of the cursive forms together with archaic ones may possibly be explained by the assumption that several, partly more archaic and partly more advanced, alphabets were simultaneously used during the third century B. C., and that

[1] C.MG. pl. 10, 2.
[2] See below, § 16, C.
[3] See below, § 16, B.
[4] See below, § 4, A.
[5] See below, § 16, C.
[6] See below, § 16, C.
[7] See below, § 16, D.

the writers, intending or ordered to use lapidary forms, through negligence mixed them with the more familiar cursive letters, as has also happened not rarely in later inscriptions. It is possible to adduce in favour of this view the above-mentioned tradition of the Dṛṣṭivāda, according to which a larger number of alphabets was in use about B. C. 300. The conjecture would become a certainty, if it could be shown that the word *seto*, " the white (elephant)," which has been added to Dhauli edict VI. in order to explain the sculpture above the middle column, was incised at the same time as the preceding edicts. The two characters of *seto* show the types of the Kuṣana and Gupta inscriptions.[1] Though it is difficult to understand that, in later times, anybody should have cared to add the explanation of the relief, keeping exactly the line of the edict, the possibility of the assumption that this was actually done, is not altogether excluded.

The Eraṇ coin with the legend running from the right to the left,[2] offers a contribution to the earlier history of the Brāhmī. It shows the ancient *sa* with the straight side-stroke, but the later *ma* with the semicircular top, and the *dha* turned to the left. The coin probably dates from the time when the Brāhmī was written both from the right to the left and from the left to the right. Even if one makes due allowance for the fact that coins often reproduce archaic forms long gone out of fashion, one can only agree with Cunningham (CAI. 101), who thinks that the coin is older than the Maurya period; and one must allot it, if not to B. C. 400, at least to the middle of the fourth century. The time when the Brāhmī was written *βουστροφηδόν* probably lies somewhat before the Maurya period, since the Aśoka edicts show only few traces of the writing from right to left, in the *O* of Jaugada and Dhauli and in the rare *dha* of Jaugada and Delhi-Sivālik (plate II, 8, VI, and 26, V, VI).[3] In connection with this coin it is also necessary to mention the Patnā seals (C.ASR. 15, pl. 3, 1, 2), which very likely are older than the time of the Mauryas. The first with the legend *Nadaya* (*Naṃdāya*), " (the seal) of Nandā," shows a *da* open to the right, [9] and the second with the inscription *Agapalaśa* (*Aṃgapālaśśa*) shows an *A* in its original position (pl. II, 1, I). More important results for the history of the Brāhmī may be obtained from the Drāviḍī of the relic caskets of Bhattiprolu,[4] already referred to above. This alphabet contains, besides various characters agreeing with the southern variety of the Aśoka edicts, (1) three signs, *dh*, *ḍ* and *bh*, in the position of the writing running from right to left; (2) three signs, *c*, *j* and *ṣ*, which are more archaic than those of the Aśoka edicts and of the Eraṇ coin; (3) two signs, *l* and *ḷ*, derived independently from the old Semitic originals; (4) one new sign, *gh*, derived from *g*, the *mātṛkā gha* of the Brāhmī being at the same time discarded. The reasons for the assertions under 2 and 3 will be adduced in the next paragraph. But if the assertions themselves are true, it certainly follows that, whatever the age of the inscriptions may be, the Drāviḍa alphabet separated from the main stock of the Brāhmī long before the Eraṇ coin was struck, at the latest in the fifth century B. C.

This estimate carries us back to the period for which the Ceylonese canon proves the general use of writing in India, without however giving the name of the current alphabet. It seems therefore natural to conjecture that the alphabet known to the earliest Buddhist authors was a form of the Brāhmī; and there are some further facts which favour this view. Firstly, recent discoveries have made it evident that the Brāhmī has been commonly used since the earliest times even in North-Western India, and that it was indeed the real national script of all Hindus.[5] In the ruins of Taxila, the modern Shāh-Derī in the Pañjāb, coins have been found which are struck according to the old Indian standard, and some of which bear inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī, while the majority show legends in the oldest type of the Brāhmī, sometimes

1 B. ASRSI. 1, 115.

2 C.CAI. pl. 11, 18, and plate II, col. I, of this work.

3 If according to C.CMI, 27, as Mr. A. V. Smith points out to me, some coins of Mihirakula show inscriptions running from the right to the left, this peculiarity must be ascribed to Sassanian influence.

4 Plate II, cols. XIII—XV.

5 C.CAI. 38 f.

together with transcripts in Kharoṣṭhī.[1] These coins are certainly not later than the third century B. C. Perhaps they even date, as CUNNINGHAM thinks, from a much earlier time about B. C. 400. Some of them have been struck by *negamā* or guilds, those of the *Dojaka* or *Dujaka*, of the *Tālimata* and of the *Atakatakā* (?), and one with the inscription *Vaṭasvaka* probably was issued by a section of the tribe of the *Aśvakas* (*Assakenoi*), named after the *vaṭa*-tree, the Ficus religiosa. These finds decidedly establish the popular use of the Brāhmī in the Pañjāb, side by side with the Kharoṣṭhī, at least for the third century B. C. Mr. RAPSON's discovery of Persian *sigloi* with letters in Kharoṣṭhī and in Brāhmī proves that both alphabets were used together much earlier.[2] For, in all probability these *sigloi* were current during the rule of the Akhaemenians over North-Western India, or before B. C. 331.

Secondly, DR. TAYLOR's view regarding the origin of the Kharoṣṭhī has become more and more probable, and it must now be admitted that this alphabet was developed out of the later Aramaic characters after the conquest of the Pañjāb by Darius, which happened about B. C. 500.[3] And it becomes more and more difficult to refuse credence to the conjecture of A. WEBER, E. THOMAS and A. CUNNINGHAM, according to which the principles ruling the already developed Brāhmī have been utilised in the formation of the Kharoṣṭhī.[4] According to our present information, the Kharoṣṭhī is the only alphabet, besides the Brāhmī, to which the Buddhists possibly could refer. But as it was only a secondary script even in Gandhāra, and as it was developed only in the fifth century, the possibility suggested becomes improbable, and the Brāhmī alone has a claim to be considered as the alphabet known to the authors of the Ceylonese canon.

§ 4. — The origin of the Brāhma alphabet.[5]

[10] Among the numerous greatly differing proposals to explain the origin of the Brāhmī,[6] there are five for which complete demonstrations have been attempted: — (1) A. CUNNINGHAM's derivation from indigenous Indian hieroglyphics;[7] (2) A. WEBER's derivation from the most ancient Phoenician characters;[8] (3) W. DEECKE's derivation from the Assyrian cuneiform characters, through an ancient South-Semitic alphabet which is also the parent of the Sabaean or Himyaritic script;[9] (4) I. TAYLOR's derivation from a lost South-Arabian alphabet, the predecessor of the Sabaean;[10] (5) J. HALÉVY's derivation from a mixture of Aramaic, Kharoṣṭhī and Greek letters of the last quarter of the fourth century B. C.[11]

CUNNINGHAM's opinion, which was formerly shared by some eminent scholars, presupposes the use of Indian hieroglyphic pictures, of which hitherto no trace has been found. On the other hand, the legend of the Eraṇ coin, which runs from the right to the left, and the letters seemingly turned round in the opposite direction which appear rarely in the Aśoka edicts and more frequently in the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions, point to the correctness of the view taken as granted in all the other attempts at explanation, *viz.*, that Semitic signs are the prototypes of the Brāhma letters.

Among the remaining four proposals, J. HALÉVY's *a priori* improbable theory may be at once eliminated, as it does not agree with the literary and paleographic evidence just discussed, which makes it more than probable that the Brāhmī was used several centuries before the beginning of the Maurya period, and had had a long history at the time to which the earliest Indian inscriptions belong. It is more difficult to make a choice between A. WEBER's derivation from the oldest North-Semitic alphabet, and the view of W. DEECKE and I. TAYLOR, who derive the Brāhmī from an ancient South-Semitic script. Neither the one nor the other derivation can be declared to be *a priori* impossible; for, the results of modern researches make

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1 C.CAI, pl. 2, 3. 2 WZKM. 9, 65; B.IS. III², 113. 3 See below, § 8. 4 See below, § 9, B, 4.
5 B.IS. III², 53—82. 6 R. N. CUST, Ling. and Or. Essays, 2nd Ser., 27—52. 7 C.IA (CII. 1), 52 ff.
8 ZDMG. 10, 389 ff.; Ind. Skizzen 125 ff. 9 ZDMG. 31, 598 ff.
10 The Alphabet, 2, 314 ff.: restated with some modifications by F. MÜLLER, Mélanges Harlez 212 ff.
11 JA. 1885, 268 ff.; Revue Sém. 1895, 223 ff.

a high antiquity probable for also the Sabaean script, and point to the conclusion that this alphabet not only is older than the oldest Indian inscriptions, but that it existed at a period for which no evidence for the use of writing in India is available.[1] But according to these results, the question has to be put in a manner somewhat differing from that in which DEECKE and TAYLOR have put it. The point to be ascertained is no longer, whether the Brāhmī can be derived from an unknown predecessor of the Sabaean alphabet, but whether it can be derived directly from the actually known Sabaean characters.

In all attempts at the derivation of alphabets, it is necessary to keep in mind three fundamental maxims, without which no satisfactory results can be obtained:—

(1) For the comparison of the characters to be derived, the oldest and fullest forms must be used, and the originals from which they are derived must belong to the types of one and the same period.

(2) The comparison may include only such irregular equations as can be supported by analogies from other cases where nations have borrowed foreign alphabets.

(3) [11] In cases where the derivatives show considerable differences from the supposed prototypes, it is necessary to show that there are fixed principles, according to which the changes have been made.

If one wishes to keep to these principles in deriving the Brāhmī from Semitic signs, neither the Sabaean alphabet, nor its perhaps a little more archaic variety, the Lihyanian or Thammudaean,[2] will serve the purpose, in spite of a general resemblance in the *ductus* and of a special resemblance in two or three letters. The derivations proposed by DEECKE and TAYLOR do not fulfil the absolutely necessary conditions, and it will probably not be possible to obtain satisfactory results, even if all the impossible equations are given up, and the oldest Indian signs in every case are chosen for comparison. It would be necessary to assume that several Sabaean letters, such as *Aleph*, *Gimel*, *Zain*, *Teth*, *Phe*, *Qoph*, *Resh*, which show strong modifications of the North-Semitic forms, had been again made similar to their prototypes on being converted by the Hindus into *A*, *ga*, *ja*, *tha*, *pa*, *kha* and *ra*. In other cases, it would be impossible to show any connection between the Sabaean and the Indian signs. These difficulties disappear with the direct derivation of the Brāhmī from the oldest North-Semitic alphabet, which shows the same type from Phoenicia to Mesopotamia. The few inadmissible equations which WEBER's earlier attempt contains, may be easily removed with the help of recently discovered forms, and it is not difficult to recognise the principles, according to which the Semitic signs have been converted into Indian ones.

An examination of the old Indian alphabet in plate II. reveals the following peculiarities:—

(1) The letters are set up as straight as possible, and, with occasional exceptions in the case of *ṭa*, *ṭha* and *ba*, they are made equal in height.

(2) The majority consist of vertical lines with appendages attached mostly at the foot, occasionally at the foot and at the top, or rarely in the middle; but there is no case in which an appendage has been added to the top alone.

(3) At the top of the letters appear mostly the ends of verticals, less frequently short horizontal strokes, still more rarely curves on the tops of angles opening downwards, and, quite exceptionally, in *ma* and in one form of *jha*, two lines rising upwards. In no case does the top show several angles, placed side by side, with a vertical or slanting line hanging down, or a triangle or a circle with a pendant-line.

The causes of these characteristics of the Brāhmī are a certain pedantic formalism, found also in other Indian creations, a desire to frame signs suited for the formation of regular lines, and an aversion to top-heavy characters. The last peculiarity is probably due in part to the

[1] MORDTMANN and D. H. MÜLLER, Sab. Denkmaler (in DWA. Phil Hist. Cl. 31) p. 108 f.

[2] D. H. MÜLLER, Denkmaler aus Arabien (DWA. Phil. Hist. Cl. 37), p. 15 ff.

circumstance that since early times the Indians made their letters hang down from an imaginary or really drawn upper line,[1] and in part to the introduction of the vowel-signs, most of which are attached horizontally to the tops of the consonants. Signs with the ends of verticals at the top were, of course, best suited for such a script. Owing to these inclinations and aversions of the Hindus, the heavy tops of many Semitic letters had to be got rid of, by turning the signs topsy-turvy or laying them on their sides, by opening the angles, and so forth. Finally, the change in the direction of the writing necessitated a further change, inasmuch as the signs had to be turned from the right to the left, as in Greek.

[12] The details of the derivation, for which, with the exception of the evidently identical Nos. 1, 3—7, 9, 12, 16, 17, 19—22, only a greater or smaller degree of probability can be claimed, are shown in the subjoined comparative table, which has been drawn by Mr. S. Pepper of Vienna. Cols. I, II, showing the oldest Phoenician characters and those from Mesa's stone, have been taken from Ph. Berger's Histoire de l'Écriture dans l'Antiquité, pp. 185, 202. Col. III. comes from Euting's Tabula Scripturae Aramaicae of 1892. And cols. IV—VI, with the exception of the signs marked by asterisks as hypothetical, are taken from plate II. of this work. With respect to the single letters, I add the following explanatory remarks, brief abstracts of those in my Indian Studies, III², p. 58 ff.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]	[illegible]
2	[illegible]	[illegible]		*[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]	[illegible]
4	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]	[illegible]
5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	
6		[illegible]			[illegible]	[illegible]
7	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]	[illegible]
8	[illegible]	[illegible]		*[illegible]	[illegible]	
9	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
10	[illegible]	[illegible]		*[illegible]	[illegible]	
11	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]	
12	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
13	[illegible]	[illegible]		*[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
14	[illegible]	[illegible]		*[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
15	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
16	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
17	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
18	[illegible]	[illegible]		*[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
19	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]	
20	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]	
21	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	
22	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	

1 Compare Berūnī's India, 1, 172 (Sachau).

A. — Borrowed signs.

No. 1, *A*, col. V, = *Aleph*, cols. I, II (WEBER doubtfully), [13] turned from right to left except on the Patnā seal (above, § 3, and pl. II, 1, I), with transposition of the vertical line to the end of the angle. — No. 2, *ba*, col. V, *a*, *b*, *c*, = *Beth*, cols. I, II (WEBER); the opening of the triangular top produced first a sign like that in col. IV, next the rhombus, col. V, *a*, and finally the square and the oblong, col. V, *b*, *c*. — No. 3, *ga*, col. V. = *Gimel*, cols. I, II. — No. 4, *dha*, col. V, *a*, *b*, = *Daleth*, cols. I, II (WEBER), set up straight with rounded back (compare the half-angular forms, pl. II, 26, IX, XIX, XXIII, and the triangular, pl. III, 24, VII—XIII), with or without the turn from right to left. — No. 5, *ha*, col. V, = *He* (WEBER doubtfully), the Śiddāpura form, col. V, *a*, being probably derived from the *He* of col. III, *a* (Mina of Salmanassar, before B. C. 725), which was turned topsy-turvy and from right to left. The more similar *He* of the sixth century B. C. (col. III, *b*) cannot be the prototype, because it occurs in the period when the Brāhmī had been developed, and because then the Semitic *Aleph*, *Daleth*, *Cheth*, *Theth*, *Waw*, and *Qoph* had become cursive and had been changed so much that they could no longer have produced the Indian forms. — No. 6, *va*, col. V, *a*, *b*, = *Waw*, col. II (WEBER doubtfully), turned topsy-turvy and with the lower end shut. — No. 7, *ja*, col. V, = *Zain*, cols. I, II (WEBER); a displacement of the two bars produced the Drāviḍī letter, col. V, *a*; from this was derived, the letter being made with one stroke of the pen, the *ja* of the northern Brāhmī, col. V, *b*, with a loop, for which, owing to the use of ink, a dot was substituted in the *ja* of col. V, *c*. The usual Girnār form, col. V, *d*, was also derived from the Drāviḍa form, the letter being made with two strokes of the pen.

No. 8, *gha*, col. V, *a*, *b*, = *Cheth*, cols. I, II (TAYLOR), the Semitic sign being laid on its side, col. IV (on account of its often sloping position), and the upper horizontal bar being changed into a vertical. — No. 9, *tha*, col. V, = *Theth*, col. I (WEBER), with the substitution of a dot for the cross in the centre, just as in the Assyrian letter, col. III. — No. 10, *ya*, col. V, = *Yod* (WEBER), the *Yod* of cols. I, II, being laid on its side, col. IV, the central stroke being lengthened; and, the pendant on the right being turned upwards, hence first the *ya* of col. V, *a*, and later the cursive forms in col. V, *b*, *c*. — No. 11, *ka*, col. V, *a*, *b*, = *Kaph*, the upper side-bar of a form like that in col. II. having been converted into the top of the vertical, and the sign being then set up straight. — No. 12, *la*, col. V, = *Lamed*, cols. I, II (WEBER), preserved in its original position in the slightly differentiated *ḷ* of the Drāviḍī, col. VI (see below, B, 4, *c*), and in the Eraṇ form, col. IV, with the *Serif* on the top of the curve, turned from right to left in the usual form of the Aśoka edicts, col. V, *a*, and turned with a tail on the right, but without the *Serif*, in the Drāviḍī *l*, col. V, *b*. — No. 13, *ma*, col. V, = *Mem* (WEBER), derived from a form like that in col. II, with the change of the bent pendant into a loop, as in the hypothetical form in col. IV (analogous development in Euting, TSA. col. 58, *a*), and with superposition of the angle on the loop, col. V, *a* (analogous development in Euting, TSA. col. 59, *c*), whence the cursive form with semicircle at the top in col. V, *b*. — No. 14, *na*, col. V, = *Nun* (TAYLOR), the *Nun* in cols. I, II, being turned topsy-turvy as in col. IV, and the hook at the foot being converted into a straight stroke, for which development the *ña*, col. VI, *a*, formed out of the hypothetical sign by a regularisation of the hook and the addition of a differentiating bar at the top (see below B, 4, *d*), appears to be a witness.

No. 15, *sa*, *ṣa*, cols. V, IV, = *Samekh* (WEBER doubtfully); a *Samekh* like that of col. I, *b*, being made cursive by the Hindus, as shown in col. IV, and turned topsy-turvy, [14] whereby the Drāviḍa *ṣ*, col. V, was obtained, which originally served both for *s* and *ṣ*. Later, this sign was divided into the signs for the etymologically connected *sa* and *ṣa*. By transferring the cross-bar to the outside of the curve, arose the *sa* of the southern Brāhmī in col. VI, *a*, and (turned round) that in col. VI, *b*, while the removal of the bar to the inside of the curve produced the *ṣa* of the same script, col. VI, *c*. The Drāviḍī adopted the new *sa* for its *s*, and retained the old sign for *ṣ*. The northern Brāhmī developed out of the southern *sa* that with

the curve, col. VI, *d*, and out of this a new *ṣa*, col. VI, *e*. An immediate derivation of the Drāviḍa *ṣ* from the *Samekh* of the sixth century B. C. in col. III. is not possible, for the reasons stated under No. 5, and because the characteristic ancient cross-bar is wanting in it. — No. 16, *E*, col. V, = *Ain*, cols. I, II (WEBER), the Indian sign being changed slightly or not at all in the ancient forms of Kālsī, col. IV. and col. V, *b*, as well as in that of Sāñci and Hāthigumphā, col. V, *a*, but later made triangular, col. V, *c*, *d*, *e*, in order to avoid a confusion with *ṭha* and *dha*. — No. 17, *pa*, col. V, = *Phe*, cols. I, II (WEBER), turned topsy-turvy; in its original position in the Eraṇ form, col. IV; turned sideways in col. V.

No. 18, *ca*, col. V, = *Tsade*, cols. I, II, turned topsy-turvy, the second hook on the right being bent at the same time towards the vertical as in the hypothetical form of col. IV, whence arose, with the turn sideways, the angular or round *ca* of the Brāhmī in col. V, *a*, *b*, and the tailed one of the Drāviḍī, col. V, *c*. — No. 19, *kha*, col. V, = *Qoph*, cols. I, II, turned topsy-turvy with the addition of a curve at the top, col. V, *a*, in order to distinguish the letter from *va*. Owing to the use of ink, the circle at the foot was converted into a dot, col. V, *b*. — No. 20, *ra*, col. V, = *Resh*, cols. I, II (WEBER), the triangular head of the letter being opened and the vertical attached to the base of the former triangle, whence arose the forms in col. V, *a*, *b*, and later the ornamental ones, col. V, *c*, *d*, in which the angles were repeated. — No. 21, *śa*, col. V, = *Shin*, cols. I, II (WEBER), the two angles, standing side by side, being placed the one inside the other, and the sign being then turned topsy-turvy, col. V, *a*, *b*, *c*. The more closely resembling Aramaic *Shin* of the sixth century B. C., col. III, cannot be the prototype of *śa*, for the same reasons as those stated above under No. 5, and is merely an analogous transformation, which the Aramaeans, Phoenicians and Ethiopians have made independently at various periods. The older form with two angles has been preserved in the western sign for 100 = *śu* (see my Indian Studies, III², 71, 117). — No. 22, *ta*, col. V, = *Taw*, cols. I, II (WEBER); from a form like that of Sinjirli, col. III, *b*, or the Assyrian of the time of Salmanassar, col. III, *a*, was derived the *ta* of col. V, *a*, *b*, and hence the regularised form of col. V, *c*.

B. — Derivative consonants and initial vowels.

The derivative signs, invented by the Hindus themselves, have been formed by means of the following contrivances :—

(1) One of the elements of a phonetically cognate letter is transposed: (*a*) in *sa* and *ṣa*, where the cross-bar of the oldest sign has been displaced (see above, A, No. 15); (*b*) in *da*, which has been derived from *dha* (WEBER) by dividing the vertical stroke, and by attaching the two pieces to the upper and lower ends of the curve, whence first the *da* of the Drāviḍī and of the Patnā seal, No. 4, col. VI, *a*, was derived, and, with the turn to the left, the ordinary form of the Brāhmī, No. 4, col. VI, *b*, and further the angular *da*, No. 4, col. VI, *f*.

(2) A borrowed or derivative letter is mutilated in order to obtain one with a similar phonetic value : (*a*) from *da*, No. 4, col. VI, *a*, comes [15] by the removal of the lower end the half round *ḍa* of Kālsī and the later southern inscriptions, col. VI, *c*; similarly, from the angular *da*, col. VI, *g*, the ordinary angular *ḍa*, col. VI, *h*, of the Aśoka edicts (WEBER); (*b*) from *tha*, No. 9, col. V, comes *ṭha*, col. VI, *a*, by the removal of the central dot; and from the latter again *ṭa*, col. VI, *b*, is derived by bisection, the round *ṭha* being considered as the product of an unaspirated letter and a curve of aspiration, which appears (see below, 5) in various other letters (WEBER); (*c*) from the triangular *E*, No. 16, col. V, *c*, *d*, *e*, comes the *I* with three dots, col. VI, B, *a*, *b*, *c*, which just indicate the outlines of the older sign (PRINSEP), the derivation being suggested by the fact that grammatically *e* is the guṇa-vowel of *i*, for which therefore a lighter form of *e* appeared suitable; (*d*) through a bisection of the lower portion of *va*, No. 6, col. V, *b*, and a straightening of the remaining pendant, is derived *U*, col. VI, *a* (see

my Indian Studies, III², 74), the derivation being suggested by the fact that *u* commonly represents *va* in weak grammatical forms (*samprasāraṇa*); (*e*) if the later small circle (pl. IV, 38, VI) is the original form of the Anusvāra, No. 13, col. VI, *a*, *b*, and the dot a cursive substitute, the sign may be explained as a mutilated small *ma*, which has lost the angle at the top, and has been thus treated like the small vowelless consonants appearing in the inscriptions of the first centuries A. D. (see, *e. g.*, pl. III, 41, VIII); compare also the derivation of the Kharoṣṭhī Anusvāra from *ma* (see below, § 9, B, 4).

(3) Short horizontal strokes, which originally, before the change in the direction of the writing, stood on the left, are used to derive the long vowels *Ā*, No. 1, col. VI, and *Ū*, No. 6, col. VI, *d*, from short *A* and *U*. On account of the peculiar shape of *I*, a dot is used instead for the formation of *Ī*, No. 16, col. VI, B, *g*.

(4) Short horizontal strokes, originally added on the right, denote a change in the quality of the sounds: (*a*) in *O*, No. 6, col. VI, *f*, *g*, derived from *U*, col. VI, *a* (with the bar in the original and the later position), because grammatically *o* is the guṇa-vowel of *u*; (*b*) in *AI*, No. 16, col. VI, A, *b*, derived from *E*, because grammatically *ai* is the vṛddhi-vowel of *e*; (*c*) in the *ḷ* of the Drāviḍī, No. 12, col. VI, from the original form of *la* (*Lamed*), cols. I, II, in which case the bar still stands on the right, because the letter has not been turned; (*d*) in *ña*, No. 14, col. VI, *a*, from the original inverted *Nun*, col. IV; compare above under A, No. 14; (*e*) in *ṅa* (see my Indian Studies, III², pp. 31, 76; also page 35, below, § 16, C, 12) from *na*, No. 14, col. V, with a displacement of the lower horizontal stroke towards the right, the letter being kept in its original position; (*f*) in *ṇa*, No. 14, col. VI, *b*, from *na*, the bar protruding at both sides of the vertical in order to avoid the identity with *nā*, *ne* and *O*.

(5) The aspiration is expressed by a curve in the *gh* of the Drāviḍī, No. 3, col. VI, formed out of *g*, and in the ordinary Brāhmī *ḍha*, No. 4, col. VI, *d*, from *ḍa*, col. VI, *c*, in *pha*, No. 17, col. VI, from *pa*, col. V, and in *cha*, No. 18, col. VI, *a*; in the last sign the curve has been attached to both ends of the vertical, and this proceeding led to the development of the cursive *cha* of col. VI, *b*. More rarely a hook is substituted for the curve, and then the original sign is mutilated; thus *bha*, No. 2, col. VI, is derived from *ba* by omitting the base-stroke, and *jha*, No. 7, col. VI, from the Drāviḍa *j*, col. V, *a*, by dropping both bars at the ends of the vertical. Both the hook and the curve are cursive substitutes for *ha*, which in the Tibetan alphabet[1] is used again in order to form *gha*, *bha*, &c.

(6) [16] The *ḷa* of the Brāhmī, No. 4, col. VI, *e*, has been derived, by the addition of a small semicircle, for which we have an open angle in Sāñci (pl. II, 41, XVIII), from the half round *ḍa* of col. VI, *c*, the derivation being very probably suggested by the phonetic affinity of *ḍa* to *ḷa*, which two letters are frequently exchanged in Vedic and classical Sanskrit and in the Prākrit dialects.

C.—Medial vowels and absence of vowel in ligatures.

(1)—The system of the Brāhmī.

In accordance with the expressions of the Sanskrit phonologists and grammarians, who take into account the spoken language alone[2] and who call the *k*-sound *ka-kāra*, the *g*-sound *ga-kāra*, &c., the medial *a* is inherent in all consonants, and consequently medial *ā* is expressed by the stroke which distinguishes *A* from *Ā*.

The other medial vowels are either the full initial vowel-signs or cursive derivatives from them, which are placed mostly at the top or rarely at the foot of the consonants. The identity of the medial *o* with the initial *O* is distinctly recognisable in all letters with verticals at the

[1] AR. 2, plate at p. 400.

[2] M.M.HASL. 505 ff.

top, as in *ko*, No. 6, col. VI, *h*, *i*, where, on the removal of the dagger-shaped *k* below the second cross-bar, the signs in col. VI, *f*, *g*, reappear; compare also *go* in *mago*, Girnār edict I, line 11, where an initial *O* has been placed above *g*. In the Jaugada edicts, where only the *O* of col. VI, *f*, occurs, the medial *o* has invariably the same form. But in Girnār we have both forms of *o*, though there is only the *O* of col. VI, *g*. Similarly, the full initial *U* is recognisable in the combinations with consonants ending in verticals, as in *ku*, pl. II, 9, V; *ḍu*, 20, VII; *du*, 25, V; *bhu*, 31, III, V (compare § 16, D, 4); and in the *dhu* of Kālsī, No. 6, col. VI, *b*: more usually *u* is represented cursively, either by the horizontal stroke of *U*, as in *dhu*, No. 6, col. VI, *c*, or by its vertical as in *cu*, pl. II, 13, III, and *dhu*, 26, II, &c. Medial *ū* is identical with *Ū*, if combined with consonants ending in verticals; elsewhere it is cursively expressed by two lines, commonly placed horizontally, as in *dhū*, No. 6, col. VI, *e*: but in the later inscriptions we occasionally find the *Ū* of the period used for the medial vowel.[1] Medial *i* was probably at first expressed by the three dots of the initial *I* (*ki*, No. 16, col. VI, B, *d*), which afterwards were joined cursively by lines and converted into the angle used in most of the Aśoka edicts (*ki*, col. VI, B, *e*). The medial *ī* has been developed out of the latter form by the addition of a stroke, indicating that the vowel is long (*kī*, col. VI, B, *f*; see above, under B, 3). In order to express medial *e*, the triangle of the initial *E* has been reduced cursively first to an angle, open on the left, as in *ge*, pl. II, 11, III, and more commonly to a straight line (*ke*, No. 16, col. VI, A, *a*). In accordance with the form of the initial *AI*, which consists of *E* and a horizontal bar, medial *ai* is expressed by two parallel horizontal strokes (*thai*, No. 16, col. VI, A, *c*).

The absence of a vowel is indicated by interlacing the sign for the consonants immediately following each other, and in such ligatures the second sign is often mutilated; see below, § 16, E, 2. This proceeding appears to be a practical illustration of the term *saṃyuktākṣara*, "a joined or ligature syllable," by which the phonologists and grammarians denote a syllable beginning with more consonants than one.

(2) — The system of the Drāviḍī.

The notation of the medial vowels in the inscriptions of Bhaṭṭiprolu differs from the usual one in so far as medial *a* is marked by the Brāhmī sign for *ā*, and medial *ā* by a horizontal stroke from the end of which a vertical one hangs down; see *ka*, pl. II, 9, XIII; *kā*, 9, XIV. Hence the consonants have no inherent *a*. The device is no doubt of later origin, and has been invented in order to avoid the necessity for ligatures.

§ 5. — The time and the manner of the borrowing of the Semitic alphabet.[2]

[17] According to the preceding discussion, the great majority of the Brāhma letters agree with the oldest types of the North-Semitic signs, which are found in the archaic Phoenician inscriptions and on the stone of Mesa, incised about B. C. 890. But two characters, *ha* and *ta*, are derived from Mesopotamian forms of *He* and *Taw*, which belong to the middle of the eighth century B. C., and two, *sa-ṣa* and *śa*, resemble Aramaic signs of the sixth century B. C. As the literary and epigraphic evidence leaves no doubt that the Hindus were not unlettered during the period B. C. 600—500, and as the other signs of the Aramaic alphabet of this period, such as *Beth*, *Daleth*, *Waw*, &c., are too far advanced to be considered as the prototypes of the corresponding Brāhma letters, it becomes necessary to regard the seemingly modern forms of *sa*, *ṣa* and *śa* as the results of an Indian development, analogous to that of the corresponding Aramaic characters. This assumption, of course, remains tenable only as long as the two Aramaic letters are not shown to be more ancient by new epigraphic discoveries, which event, to judge from the results of the Sinjirli finds, does not seem to be impossible. But, for the present, they must be left out of consideration in fixing the *terminus a quo*

[1] See below, § 24, B, 3; pl. IV, 30, XII, XIV; pl. VII, 30, XII, XX, XXI.

[2] B.IS. III², 83—91.

for the importation of the Semitic alphabet into India; and this *terminus* falls between the time of the incision of Mesa's inscription and of those on the Assyrian weights, from about B. C. 890 to about B. C. 750, probably a little more towards the lower than towards the upper limit, or, roughly reckoning, about B. C. 800. And various circumstances make it probable that this was actually the time when the Semitic letters became known to the Hindus.

As the *ha* and the *ta* of the Brāhmī are derived from forms of *He* and *Taw* not found in the Phoenician inscriptions but only in Mesopotamia, it appears probable that this is the Semitic country from which the letters were brought over.[1] It agrees with this inference, that the most ancient Indian works speak of sea-voyages in the Indian Ocean at a very early period, and sea-borne trade, carried on by Hindu Vāṇias in the same waters, is mentioned in later, but still ancient, times. The well-known Bāveru Jātaka[2] bears witness to an early export trade of the Vāṇias to Babylon; and the form of the word, in which the second part *ilu* is represented by *eru*, points to its having arisen in Western India, where *ra* is occasionally substituted for *la*, as in the Girnār and Shāhbāzgarhī form *Turamaya* for *Ptolemaios*. Several other Jātakas, *e. g.* No. 463, which describe sea-voyages, name the ancient ports of Western India, Bharukaccha (the modern Broach) and Śūrpāraka (now Supārā), which were centres of the trade with the Persian Gulf in the first centuries A. D. and much later. As according to the Jātakas the Vāṇias started from these towns, it is probable that these trade-routes were used much earlier. Two of the most ancient Dharmasūtras likewise bear witness to the earlier existence of trade by sea in India and particularly on the western coast. Baudhāyana, II, 2, 2, forbids Brahmans to undertake voyages by sea, and prescribes a severe penance for a breach of the rule. But he admits, 1, 2, 4, that the "Northerners," were not strict in this respect. As the other offences of the "Northerners," mentioned in the same passage, such as dealing in wool, selling animals with two rows of teeth, *i. e.* horses and mules, show, the term applies to the inhabitants of western and north-western India. It naturally follows that the sea-voyages referred to were made to western Asia. The same author, I, 18, 14, and the still older Gautama Dharmasūtra, 10, 33, mention the duties payable to the king on merchandise imported by sea.[3] In accordance with my estimate of the age of the Dharmasūtras and of the materials out of which the Jātakas have been made up, I look upon these statements as referring to the 8th—6th centuries B. C.[4] From still earlier times dates the well-known Vedic myth of the shipwreck of Bhujyu "in the ocean where there is no support, no rest for the foot or the hand," and of his being saved on the "hundred-oared galley" of the Aśvins.[5] The scene of action must of course lie in the Indian Ocean, and the story points to the inference [18] that the Hindus navigated these waters during the earliest Vedic period. As, in addition, Semitic legends such as that of the Flood and of Manu's preservation by a miraculous fish occur in the Brāhmaṇas,[6] we have a sufficient number of facts to furnish some support for the conjecture that Hindu traders, who probably learnt the language of the country, just as their modern descendants learn Arabic and Suahili and other African languages, may have imported from Mesopotamia not only the alphabet, but perhaps also other technical contrivances, such as brick-making which was so important for the construction of the ancient Brahmanical altars. With this assumption, which under the circumstances stated appears at least not quite unfounded, the Indian Vāṇias are credited with having rendered the same service to their countrymen which Sambhota or Thon-mi did to the Tibetans, when he fetched the elements of their alphabet from Magadha, between A. D. 630 and 660.[7]

1 According to BENFEY, Indien 254, the Semitic alphabet came to India from Phoenicia; according to A. WEBER, Ind. Skizzen 137, either from Phoenicia or from Babylonia.

2 No. 339, FAUSBÖLL, 3, 126; compare also FICK, Die sociale Gliederung im nordöstl. Indien, 173 f.

3 SBE. 2, 228; 14, 146, 200, 217; comp. MANU, 3, 158; 8, 157, 406, and DAHLMANN, Das Mahābhārata, 176 ff.

4 B.IS. III[2], 16 ff.

5 ṚV. 1, 116, 5; compre OLDENBERG, Vedische Religion, 214.

6 OLDENBERG, op. cit. 276.

7 J.ASB. 57, 41 f.

In any case, it is *a priori* probable that the Vāṇias were the first to adopt the Semitic alphabet,[1] for they, of course, came most into contact with foreigners, and they must have felt most strongly the want of some means for recording their business transactions. The Brahmans wanted the art of writing less urgently, since they possessed, as passages of the Ṛgveda show,[2] from very early times a system of oral tradition for the preservation of their literary treasures.

Nevertheless, the oldest known form of the Brāhmī is, without a doubt, a script framed by learned Brahmans for writing Sanskrit. This assertion is borne out not only by the remnants of the Gayā alphabet of Aśoka's stone-masons, which must have contained signs for the Sanskrit vowels *AI* and *AU*, and which is arranged according to phonetic principles, but also by the influence of phonetic and grammatical principles which is clearly discernible in the formation of the derivative signs. The hand of the phonologist and grammarian is recognisable in the following points: (1) the development of five nasal letters and of a sign for nasalisation in general from two Semitic signs, as well as of a complete set of signs for the long vowels,[3] which latter are very necessary for the phonologist and grammarian, but not for men of business, and are therefore unknown in other ancient alphabets; (2) the derivation of the signs for the phonetically very different, but grammatically cognate, *sa* and *ṣa* from one Semitic sign (*Samekh*); (3) the notation of *U* by the half of *va*, from which the vowel is frequently derived by *saṃprasāraṇa*; (4) the derivation of *O* from *U* (*o* being the guṇa-vowel of *u*) by the addition of a stroke; of *I* by a simplification of the sign for its guṇa-vowel *E*: of *AI*, the vṛddhi-vowel, from *E* the guṇa-vowel of *I*; and of *ḷa* from *ḍa*, the former consonant being frequently a substitute for the latter, as in *īḷe* for *īḍe*; (5) the non-expression of medial *a*, in accordance with the teaching of the grammarians who consider it to inhere in every consonant; the expression of medial *ā* by the difference between *A* and *Ā*, and of the remaining medial vowels by combinations of the initial ones, or of cursive simplifications of the same, with the consonants, as well as of the absence of vowels by ligatures of the consonants, which apparently illustrate the grammatical term *saṃyuktākṣara*. All this has so learned an appearance and is so artificial that it can only have been invented by Pandits, not by traders or clerks. The fact that the Vāṇias and the accountants until recent times used to omit all medial vowels in their correspondence and account-books, permits even the inference that an Indian alphabet, elaborated by such men, would not possess any such vowel-signs. And it is immaterial for the correctness of this inference, whether the modern defective writing is a survival from the most ancient period or is due to the introduction of the Arabic alphabet in the middle ages.

A prolonged period must, of course, have elapsed between the first introduction of the Semitic alphabet by the merchants, its adoption by the Brahmans which probably did not take place at once, and the elaboration of the 46 radical signs of the Brāhmī together with its system of medial vowels and ligatures.

As, according to the results of the preceding enquiry, the elaboration of the Brāhmī was completed about B. C. 500, or perhaps even earlier, the *terminus a quo*, about B. C. 800, may be considered as the actual date of the introduction of the Semitic alphabet into India. This estimate is, however, [19] merely a provisional one, which may be modified by the discovery of new epigraphic documents in India or in the Semitic countries. If such a modification should become necessary, the results of the recent finds induce me to believe that the date of the introduction will prove to fall earlier, and that it will have to be fixed perhaps in the tenth century B. C., or even before that.

1 Comp. WESTERGAARD, Zwei Abhandlungen 37 ff.

2 ṚV, 7, 103, 5; comp. M.M.HASL, 506.

3 Comp. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Grammatik 1, LVII.

II. THE KHAROSTHI SCRIPT.

§ 6. — How it was deciphered.

The Indian alphabet running from right to left, the *Kharoṣṭhī lipi*,[1] has been deciphered exclusively by European scholars, among whom MASSON, J. PRINSEP, CH. LASSEN, E. NORRIS, and A. CUNNINGHAM must be particularly mentioned.[2] The coins of the Indo-Grecian and Indo-Scythian kings with Greek and Prākrit inscriptions furnished the first clue to the value of the letters. The results, which the identifications of the royal names and titles seemed to furnish, were partly confirmed, partly rectified and enlarged, by the discovery of the Shāhbāzgarhī version of the Aśoka edicts and E. C. BAYLEY's Kāngrā inscription in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī. The characters of the Aśoka edicts are readable with full certainty, with the exception of a few ligatures (see below, § 11, C, 3, 4). Similarly, the inscriptions of the Śakas offer no difficulties, and the new MS. of the Dhammapada from Khotan[3] is in general not difficult to read. But considerable portions of the inscriptions of the Parthian Guduphara and of the Kuṣana kings Kaniṣka and Huviṣka, still resist the attempts of decipherers and interpreters.

§ 7. — Use and characteristics.

In its form, known to us at present, the Kharoṣṭhī is an ephemeral, chiefly epigraphic, alphabet of North-Western India. The majority of the inscriptions written in Kharoṣṭhī have been found between 69°—73° 30′ E. Long. and 33°—35° N. Lat., in the ancient province of Gandhāra, the modern eastern Afghanistan and the northern Pañjāb; and the oldest documents are confined to the districts the capitals of which were Taxila (Shāh-Derī) to the east of the Indus, and Puṣkalāvatī or Carsādā (Hashtnagar) to the west of the river. Single inscriptions have turned up further south-west in Bhāwalpur near Multān, south in Mathurā, and south-east in Kāngrā, and single words or letters in Bharahut, Ujjain and Maisūr (Siddāpura Aśoka edicts).[4] Coins, cameos and MSS. with Kharoṣṭhī characters have been carried much further north and north-east. The period during which, according to the documentary evidence at present available, the Kharoṣṭhī seems to have been used in India, extends from the fourth century B. C. to about the third century A. D., the earliest letters occurring on the Persian *sigloi* (§ 8) and the latest perhaps on the Gandhāra sculptures and the Kuṣana inscriptions.[5] As the note in the Fawanshulin of A. D. 668 (see above, § 1) shows, the Buddhists preserved a knowledge of the existence of the alphabet much longer.

Hitherto, the Kharoṣṭhī has been found (1) in stone-inscriptions, (2) on metal plates and vases, (3) on coins, (4) on cameos, and (5) on a longer known small piece of birch bark from a Stūpa in Afghanistan[6] and on the Bhūrja MS. of the Dhammapada from Khotan. The latter MS. has probably been written in Gandhāra during the Kuṣana period. The dialect of its text shows characteristic affinities to that of the Shāhbāzgarhī version of the Aśoka edicts, and

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[1] Regarding the name, see § 1 above, and B.IS. III², 113 f

[2] P.IA. 1, 178—185; 2, 128—143; W.AA. 242 ff; J.ASB. 23, 714; C.ASR. 1, VIII; Centenary Review 2, 69—81; C.CIS. 3 ff.; SENART, IP. 1, 22 ff.; ZDMG. 43, 129 ff.

[3] See the next paragraph.

[4] B.IS. III², 47—53; C.ASR. 2, 82 ff., pl. 59, 63; 5, 1 ff., pl. 16, 28, W.AA. 55 ff.; C.CAI. 31 ff.

[5] B.IS. III², loc. cit.; the question of the lower limit of the use of the Kharoṣṭhī is difficult on account of the uncertainty regarding the dates of Kaniṣka and his two successors, all of whom S. LÉVI now places in the first cent. A. D. (JA. 1897, 1, 1 ff.). The limit given above is based on the assumption that Kaniṣka's dates refer to the Śaka era or to the fourth cent. of the Seleucidan era I still make use of it, not because I consider it to be unassailable, but for the reasons stated in WZKM. 1, 169. The letters in the inscriptions of Saṃvat 200 and 276 or 286 (Hashtnagar image) look more ancient than those of the Kuṣana inscriptions. According to a communication from Dr. Th. Bloch, Prof. Hoernle has read dates of the fourth cent. of the same unknown Saṃvat on recently found Gandhāra sculptures.

[6] W.AA. pl. 3 at p. 54, No. 11; similar twists have been found in other Stūpas, see op. cit. 60, 84, 94, 106; but the fragments in the British Museum, said to belong to them, show no letters.

its characters agree very closely with those of the Wardak vase.[1] On the metal plates and vases, [20] the letters frequently consist of rows of dots, or have been first punched in in this manner and afterwards scratched in with a stilus.[2] On stone vases they are sometimes written with ink.[3]

In spite of its frequent utilisation for epigraphic documents, the Kharoṣṭhī is a popular script, destined for clerks and men of business. This is proved by the throughout highly cursive character of the letters, by the absence of long vowels, which are useless for the purposes of common daily life, by the expression of groups of unaspirated double consonants by single ones (*ka* for *kka*) and of unaspirated and aspirated ones by the latter alone (*kha* for *kkha*), and by the invariable use of the Anusvāra for all vowelless medial nasals.[4] The discovery of the Khotan MS. makes it very improbable that there existed another form of the script which, being more similar to the Brāhmī in completeness, would have been more suitable for the Brahmanical Śāstras.

§ 8. — Origin.[5]

The direction of the Kharoṣṭhī from right to left made it *a priori* highly probable that its elements had been borrowed from the Semites; and the almost exact agreement of the forms for *na*, *ba*, *ra* and *va* with Aramaic signs of the transitional type induced E. Thomas to assume a closer connection of the Kharoṣṭhī with this alphabet.[6] His view has never been disputed; but of late it has been given a more precise form by I. Taylor and A. Cunningham, who assign the introduction of the Aramaic letters into India to the first Akhaemenians.[7] The reasons which may be adduced for this opinion are as follows: — (1) The Aśoka edicts from the western Pañjāb use for "writing, edict," the word *dipi*, which evidently has been borrowed from the Old Persian, and they derive from it the verbs *dipati*, "he writes," and *dipapati*, "he causes to write;" see above, § 2, B. (2) The districts where Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions occur, especially in earlier times, are just those parts of India which probably were subject to the Persians, be it with or without interruptions, from about B. C. 500 to 331. (3) Among the Persian *sigloi*, there are some marked with single syllables in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī,[8] whence it may be inferred that they were struck in India during the Persian period, and that the Kharoṣṭhī was current during a great part of the fourth century B. C., certainly before the fall of the Persian empire in B. C. 331. Some considerable variations in the Kharoṣṭhī letters of the Aśoka edicts, as well as the strongly cursive forms of several ligatures, such as *sta*, *spa*, &c. (see below, § 11, C, 2, 3), likewise point to the conclusion that the alphabet had had a long history before the middle of the third century B. C. (4) Recent discoveries in Semitic epigraphy make it extremely probable that the Aramaic, which was used already in Assyria and Babylon for official and business purposes side by side with the cuneiform writing, was very widely spread during the rule of the Akhaemenians. Numerous Aramaic inscriptions of this period have been found in Egypt, Arabia, and Asia Minor, and one even in Persia. Besides, Egypt has furnished a number of official Aramaic papyri, and Asia Minor many coins with Aramaic legends, struck by Persain satraps.[9] In addition, there is the curious statement in the Book of Ezra, IV, 7, according to which the Samaritans sent to Artaxerxes a letter written in the *Ārāmī* script and language. Taking all these points together, there are sufficient reasons to warrant the assertion that Aramaic was commonly employed

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[1] See S. v. Oldenburg, Predvaritelnae zamjetkao Buddhiiskoi rukopisi, napisannoi pismenami Kharoṣṭhī, St. Petersburg, 1897, and Senart, Acad. des Inscrs , Comptes rendus, 1897, 251 ff.

[2] IA. 10, 325. [3] W.AA. 111. [4] B.IS. III[4], 97 f. [5] B.IS. III[2], 92 ff.

[6] P.IA. 2, 144 ff.; regarding Kharoṣṭhī legends on late coins running from left to right, see Proc. J.ASB. 1895, 83 f.

[7] I. Taylor, The Alphabet, 2, 261 f.; C.CAI. 33. [8] J.RAS. 1895, 865 ff.

[9] Clermont-Ganneau, Revue Archéologique, 1878-79; Ph. Berger, Hist. de l'Écrit. dans l'Antiquité, 214, 218 ff.

not only in the offices of the satraps, but also in the royal secretariate at Susa. The ultimate cause for the official use of the Aramaic script and language during the Akhaemenian period was, no doubt, that numerous Aramaeans held appointments as clerks, accountants, mint-masters and so forth in the Persian Civil Service. [21] When the Persian empire was rapidly built up on the ruins of more ancient monarchies, its rulers must have found the employment of the trained subalterns of the former governments, among whom the Aramaeans were foremost, not only convenient, but absolutely unavoidable. In these circumstances, it is but natural to assume that, after the full organisation of the administration by Darius, the Persian satraps introduced Aramaean subordinates into the Indian provinces, and thereby forced their Indian subjects, especially the clerks of the native princes and of the heads of towns and villages, to learn Aramaic. At first, the intercourse between the Persian and the Indian offices probably led to the use of the Aramaic letters for the north-western Prākrit, and later to modifications of this alphabet, which were made according to the principles of the older Indian Brāhmī,[1] and through which the Kharoṣṭhī finally arose. The adoption of the Arabic alphabet, during the middle ages and in modern times, for writing a number of Indian dialects, is somewhat analogous, as it likewise happened under foreign pressure, and as its characters were and are used either without or with modifications. (5) With these last conjectures agrees the general character of the Kharoṣṭhī, which is clearly intended for clerks and men of business; see above, § 7. (6) Finally, they are confirmed by the circumstance that the majority of the Kharoṣṭhī signs can be most easily derived from the Aramaic types of the fifth century B. C. which appear in the Saqqārah and Teima inscriptions of B. C. 482 and of about B. C. 500, while a few letters agree with somewhat earlier forms on the later Assyrian weights and the Babylonian seals and gems, and two or three are more closely allied to the later signs of the Lesser Teima inscription, the Stele Vaticana, and the Libation-table from the Serapeum. The whole *ductus* of the Kharoṣṭhī, with its long-drawn and long-tailed letters, is that of the characters on the Mesopotamian weights, seals and cameos, which re-occurs in the inscriptions of Saqqārah, Teima and the Serapeum. Others[2] have compared the writing of the Aramaic papyri from Egypt, which partly at least, like the Taurinensis, belong to the Akhaemenian period. But it does not suit so well. Many of its signs are so very cursive that they cannot be considered as the prototypes of the Kharoṣṭhī letters, and its *ductus* is that of a minute current handwriting. Some special resemblances appear to be, on a closer investigation, the results of analogous developments. Taking all these points together, the Kharoṣṭhī appears to have been elaborated in the fifth century B. C.

§ 9. — Details of the derivation.

The subjoined comparative table illustrates the details of the derivation. The signs in col. I. have been taken (with the exception of No. 10, col. I, *a*) from Euting's Tabula Scripturae Aramaicae, 1892, cols. 6, 8, 9, 11 and 12; those in col. II, from the same work, cols. 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, and those in cols. III, IV, from plate 1 of this manual; and all have been reproduced by photolithography.

A. — Borrowed signs.[3]

Preliminary remarks. — The changes of the Aramaic signs have been caused chiefly by the following principles: (1) by a decided predilection for long-tailed signs with appendages at the upper end, the foot being left free for the addition of *u*, *ra* and the Anusvāra, and by an aversion to appendages at the foot alone; (2) by an aversion to signs with heads containing

[1] Weber, Ind. Skizzen, 144 f., E. Thomas, P.IA. 2, 146; C.CAI. 33; and below, § 9, B, 4.

[2] J. Halévy, JA. 1885, 2, 243—267, believes the Kharoṣṭhī to have been derived about B. C. 330 from 16 signs of the papyri and of a Cilician coin, and, Revue Sémitique, 1895, 372 ff., from the script of the papyri and of the *ostraka* from Egypt.

[3] B.IS. III², 99 ff.; compare the more or less differing attempts of E. Thomas, P.IA. 2, 147; I. Taylor, The Alphabet, 2, plate at p. 236 ff.; J. Halévy, JA. 1885, 2, 252 ff., Revue Sémitique, 1895, 372 ff.

more than two lines rising upwards, [22] or with transverse strokes through the top-line, or with pendants hanging down from it,—all of which peculiarities would have been awkward for the insertion of the vowels *i*, *e* and *o*; (3) by a desire to differentiate the signs which, altered according to these principles, would have become identical.

	I	II	III	IV
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
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8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
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19				
20				

No. 1, *A*, col. III, = *Aleph*, col. I, *a* (Saqqārah), with a cursive change of the head to a curve; the position and the size of the letter make a connection with the forms in col. I, *b*, or col. II, improbable. — No. 2, *ba*, col. III, = *Beth*, col. I, *a*, *b* (Teima, Saqqārah), with a cursive curve for the angle at the right: the cursive forms of the *Beth* of the papyri, [23] col. II, *b*, *c*, are further developed than the Kharoṣṭhī signs.— No. 3, *ga*, col. III, = *Gimel*, derived from col. I. or a similar form (compare col. II, and Euting, TSA. 1, *a*), with a cursive loop on the right and a curve on the left; similar loops are common in later ligatures, see pl. I, 33, 35, 36, XII; 34, XIII; and they occur even in *ja*, pl. I, 12, XII. — No. 4, *da*, col. III, = *Daleth*, derived from a form like that in col. II, *b*, which, according to col. I, *a*, occurs already about

B. C. 600 on Assyrian weights. — No. 5, *ha*, col. III, = *He*, derived from a form like that in col. I, *a* (Teima), with the transposition of the pendant in the middle of the curve to the right end of the foot in order to facilitate the insertion of *i*, *e* and *o* (see preliminary remarks, 2, page 20 f , above, and below under No. 17). — No. 6, *va*, col. III, = *Waw*, col. I (Teima, Saqqārah) ; the papyri in col. II. show more advanced forms.

No. 7, *ja*, col. III, *a*. = *Zain*, derived from a form like those in col. I, *a*, *b* (Teima), the left corner being turned upwards still further, whence the usual Kharoṣṭhī letter in col. III. is derived by omitting the stroke at the foot ; the papyri, col. II, show more advanced forms unsuitable for comparison. — No. 8, *śa*, col. III, = *Cheth*, col. I (Teima), the sound of the Indian *śa* being very similar to a palatal χ*a*, as in the German *ich*. — No. 9, *ya*, col. III, = *Yod*, derived either from a form like col. I, *b*, or directly from one like col. I, *a* (Assyrian weights), with the omission of the bar on the right (see preliminary remarks, 1) ; analogous forms occurring in later Palmyranian and Pahlavi (E.TSA. cols. 21—25, 30—32, 35—39, 58). — No. 10, *ka*, col. III, = *Kaph*, derived by a turn from right to left from col. I, *b* (Assyrian weights, Babylonian seals, &c.), and with the addition of a top-stroke, in order to distinguish the new sign from *la* (No. 11, col. III) and from *pa* (No. 15, col. III) ; the signs of the papyri, col. II, differ entirely. — No. 11, *la*, col. III, = *Lamed*, a form like those in col. I, *a*, *c* (Teima) being turned topsy-turvy owing to the aversion to signs with appendages at the foot alone (prelimimary remarks, 1), and the curved line being broken and attached lower in order to distinguish the new letter from *A*.

No. 12, *ma*, col. III, *a*, *b*, = *Mem*, derived from a form like that in col. I, *a*, *b* (Saqqārah) with a curved head, by the omission of the transverse line and a rudimentary indication of the vertical standing originally on the right, whence comes the semicircular ordinary *ma* of the Aśoka edicts, col. III, *c*, still more mutilated on account of the vowel-signs ; the forms of the *Mem* of the papyri, col. II, are unsuited to be considered the prototypes of the Kharoṣṭhī *ma*. — No. 13, *na*, col. III, *a*, = *Nun*, col. I, *a*, *b* (Saqqārah), a later derivative being the *na* of col. III, *b* ; the *Nun* of the papyri, col. II, is again unsuited for comparison. — No. 14, *sa*, col. III, = *Samekh*, col. I (Teima), with transposition of the slanting bar to the left end of the top-stroke from which it hangs down, and with connection of its lower end with the tail of the sign, which has been pushed forward towards the left (see the figures in B.IS. III², 105) ; analogous developments appear in Nabataean (E.TSA. cols. 46, 47) and in Hebrew. — No. 15, *pa*, col. III, *a*, = *Phe*, col. I (Teima), turned from right to left to distinguish it from *A* ; in the more usual *pa* of col. III, *b*, the curve has been pushed lower down. — No. 16, *ca*, col. III, = *Tsade*, derived from an acute-angled form like col. I, *a*, *b* (Teima), with the omission of the second hook on the right (see preliminary remarks, 2) and with the development of a hook below the head, because the vertical was made separately ; the analogous *Tsade* of col. II, *b*, has been developed, because the right stroke of the head was made separately and drawn to the vertical.

No. 17, *kha*, col. III, = *Qoph*, derived from a form like col. I, *a*, *b* (Serapeum) with the conversion of the central pendant into an elongation of the top-stroke on the left ; similarly, the pendant has been transferred to the right end of the letter in the Teima form (E.TSA. col. 10). — No. 18, *ra*, col. III, = *Resh*, col. I, *a*, *b* (Saqqārah), with complete removal of the angular protuberance on the right. — No. 19, *ṣa*, col. III, = *Shin*, col. 1 (Teima), turned topsy-turvy owing to the aversion to tops with more than two strokes rising upwards (preliminary remarks, 2), and with a lengthening of the central stroke owing to the predilection for long-tailed signs. — No. 20, *ta*, col. III, = *Taw*, derived from a form like that in col. I, *a* (Assyrian weights) or in col. I, *b* (Saqqārah), with the transposition of the bar to the top of the [24] vertical, as in col. II, *a*, the new sign at the same time being turned from right to left in order to avoid the resemblance to *pa* (No. 15), and being broadened in order to distinguish it

from *va* and *ra* (Nos. 6, 18); the older form and the intermediate steps appear in *tha* (No. 20, col. IV, *a*) and *ṭa* (No. 20, col. IV, *b*) where the original *Taw* has been preserved, and in *ṭa* (No. 20, col. IV, *c*) where the bar stands at the top; compare below, B, 1, *c*, and B. 2.

B. — Derivative signs.

(1) Aspiration. — The aspiration is expressed by the addition of a curve or a hook, which probably represent a cursive *ha* (Taylor), and for which cursively a simple stroke appears; at the same time, the original *mātṛkā* is sometimes simplified. — (*a*) A curve or a hook is added to the right of the vertical of *ga* in *gha*, No. 3, col. IV, to the top of *da* in *dha*, No. 4. col. IV, *a*, and to the end of the second bar of *ṭa*, No. 20, col. IV, *c*, from which it rises upwards, in *ṭha*, No. 20, col. IV, *d* (properly *ṭho*). — (*b*) A hook, a curve, or cursively a slanting stroke, appears to the right of *ba* in *bha*, No. 2, col. IV, *a*, *b*, the head of *ba* being converted at the same time into a straight line and pushed somewhat more to the left, in order to avoid the identity with *ka*, No. 10, col. III. — (*c*) In the following aspirates appear only cursive straight strokes, added on the left in *jha*, No. 7, col. IV, and *pha*, No. 15, col. IV, and on the right in *cha*, No. 16, col. IV, *ḍha*, No. 4, col. IV, *c*, and *tha*, No. 20, col. IV, *a*, all of which letters show, however, additional peculiarities. In *cha*, the little pendant on the left of *ca* has been made horizontal and combined with the stroke of aspiration to a cross bar. In *ḍha*, the head of *ḍa* has been flattened into a straight line. *Tha* has been formed out of the ancient Aramaic *Taw*. No. 20, col. I, *a*, turned from right to left. and the stroke of aspiration continues the bar of *Taw* towards the right.

(2) Linguals. — *Ṭa* has been formed out of the older *Taw*, turned from the right to the left, by the addition of a short bar, which in the Aśoka edicts usually stands on the right and lower than that on the left, as in No. 20, col. IV, *b*. In col. IV, *c*, the sign of lingualisation stands on the left, below the *ṭa* with the bar at the top. This form of *ṭa*, which appears rarely in the Aśoka edicts, must formerly have been common, as the *ṭha* has been derived from it (see above, B, 1, *a*). The *ḍa* of No. 4, col. IV, *b*, exactly resembles the common Aramaic *Daleth* in col. I, *b* (Teima) and may be identical with it. If the alphabet imported into India contained two forms for *da* (col. I, *a*, *b*), both may have been borrowed, and the more cumbrous one may have been used for the expression of the fuller sound. It is, however, also possible that the *ḍa* has been formed out of the *da* of No. 4, col. III, *a*, by the addition of the bar of lingualisation, placed vertically on the right. The *ṇa*, No. 13, col. IV, *a*, is likewise derived from *na*, col. III, *a*, *b*, by the addition of a straight stroke going downwards; compare what has been said above, § 4, B, 4, regarding the use of a short stroke for denoting the change of the quality of a borrowed or derivative sign in forming the *AI*, *O*, *ṅa*, *ña* and *ṇa* of the Brāhmī.

(3) The palatal *ña*, No. 13, col. IV, *b*, *c*, consists of two *na* (col. III, *a*) joined together (E. Thomas), and illustrates the modern Indian name for *ña* and *ṇa*, which the Pandits often call the big *nakaras*. The sign, which is really not necessary for a clerk's alphabet, has perhaps been framed only because it existed in the Brāhmī, the Pandit's alphabet.

(4) Medial vowels, absence of vowel in ligatures, and Anusvāra. — Long vowels are not marked, and *a* inheres, just as in the Brāhmī, in every consonant. Other vowels are marked by straight strokes. In the case of *i*, the stroke passes through the left side of the top-line or top-lines of the consonant; in *u*, it stands to the left of the foot; in *e*, it descends on the left side of the top-line; in *o*, it hangs down from this line, see *ṭho*, No. 20, col. IV, *d*; for further details see below, § 11, B. Joined to *A*, the same strokes form *I*, *U*, *E* and *O* (No. 1, col. IV, *a*—*d*). The absence of a vowel between two dissimilar consonants, except nasals, is expressed, as in the Brāhmī, by the combination of the two signs into a ligature, in which the second letter is usually connected with the lower end of the first. But *ra* stands invariably at the foot

of the other consonant, whether it may have to be pronounced before or after it. Double [25] consonants, except nasals, are expressed by single ones, and non-aspirates and aspirates by the aspirates alone. Nasals immediately preceding other consonants, are always expressed by the Anusvāra, which, in the Aśoka edicts, is attached to the preceding *mātṛkā*.

The non-expression of *a*, and the rules regarding the formation of the ligatures, no doubt, have been taken over from the Brāhmī, only minor modifications being introduced. And it seems probable that the use of straight strokes for *i*, *u*, *e* and *o* comes from the same source. For, already in the Brāhmī of all the Aśoka edicts, *u*, *e* and *o* are either regularly or occasionally expressed by simple strokes, and in Girnār *i* is represented by a shallow curve, often hardly distinguishable from a straight stroke; moreover, *i*, *e* and *o* stand in Brāhmī, just as in the Kharoṣṭhī, at the top of the consonants, and *u* at the foot. A connection of the two systems of medial vowel-signs is therefore undeniable, and that of the Brāhmī must be regarded as the original one, since its signs, as has been shown above, § 4, C, 1, evidently have been derived from the initial vowels.

The notation of *I*, *U*, *E* and *O* by combinations of *A* with the medial vowel-signs is peculiar to the Kharoṣṭhī, and is attributable to a desire to simplify the alphabet. Among the later Indian alphabets, the modern Devanāgarī offers an analogy with its अो and अौ, and the Gujarātī with its અે *E*, અૈ *AI*, અો *O*, and અૌ *AU*. Several among the foreign alphabets derived from the Brāhmī, as *e. g.* the Tibetan, show the principle of the Kharoṣṭhī fully developed.

The Anusvāra, which is used, as in the Brāhmī, for all vowelless nasals, is derived from *ma* (E. THOMAS). In *maṃ*, No. 12, col. IV, it still has the full form of *ma*, but usually it undergoes cursive alterations; see below, § 11, B, 5.

§ 10. — The varieties of the Kharoṣṭhī of Plate I.[1]

According to plate I, the Kharoṣṭhī shows four chief varieties, *viz.*: — (1) the archaic one of the fourth and third centuries B. C., found in the Aśoka edicts of Shāhbāzgarhī (photolithograph of edict VII. in ZDMG. 43, 151, and of edict XII. in EI. 1, 16) and of Mansehra (photolithograph of edicts I—VIII. in JA. 1888, 2, 330, = SENART, Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne, 1), with which the signature in the Aśoka edicts of Siddāpura (photolithographs in EI. 3, 138—140), the legends on the oldest coins (autotypes in C.CAI. pl. 3, Nos. 9, 12, 13) and the syllables on the Persian *sigloi* (autotypes in J.RAS. 1895, 865) fully agree.

(2) The variety of the second and first centuries B. C. on the coins of the Indo-Grecian kings, which is imitated by some later foreign kings (autotypes in P. GARDNER's Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, pl. 4—21).

[1] Preparation of PLATE I: —

1—37, cols. I—V, and 38, 39, cols. I—XIII, traced by DR. DEDEKIND from DR. BURGESS' impressions of the Aśoka edicts of Shāhbāzgarhī and Mansehra, and reduced by photography.

1—37, cols. VI, VII, and 38, 39, col. XIV, drawn by DR. W. CARTELLIERI from P. GARDNER's autotypes of Indo-Grecian coins.

1—37, cols. VIII, IX, and 22—25, col. XIII, traced from Dr. BURGESS' impressions of the Mathurā lion capital and the photograph of the Taxila copper-plate of which a collotype has since then been published in EI. 4, 53 (10 and 14, col. VIII, and 25, col. XIII).

1—37, cols. X—XII, and 31—37, col. XIII, traced or drawn according to Dr. HOERNLE's facsimile of the Sué Bihār inscription, supplemented by some signs from the Manikyāla stone and gelatine copies of the Wardak and Bimāran vases by Dr. S. VON OLDENBURG.

26—30, col. XIII, drawn according to P. GARDNER's autotypes of the older Kuṣana coins.

1—20, cols. XIII, XIV, numerals drawn according to the impressions and facsimiles of the Aśoka edicts and later inscriptions.

Older tables of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, in P.IA. 2, 166, pl. 11; W.AA. 262; C.IA(CII. 1), pl. 27; P. GARDNER, Cat. I. C. Br. Mus. p. LXX. f.; VON SALLET, Nachfolger Alex. d. Gr. (end); G. H. OZHA, The Ind. Pal. pl. 26.

(3) The variety of the Śaka period, first century B. C. to first century A. D. (?), on the Taxila copper-plate of Patika (lithograph in J.RAS. 1863, 222, pl. 3, and collotype in EI. 4, 56), and on the lion-capital of the satrap Śoḍāsa or Śuḍasa from Mathurā, which occurs also on some sculptures from Gandhāra (autotype in J.ASB. 58, 144, pl. 10; Anzeig. phil. hist. Cl. WA. 1896), on the Kaldawa stone (WZKM. 10, 55, 327) and on the coins of several Śaka and Kuṣana kings (autotypes, P. Gardner, op. cit., pl. 22—25).

(4) The strongly cursive script of the first and second centuries A. D. (?), which begins with the Takht-i-Bahi inscription of Gondopherres (autotype in JA. 1890, I, = S.NEI. 3, pl. 1, No. 1) and is fully developed in the inscriptions of the later Kuṣana kings Kaniṣka and Huviṣka (autotype of the Zeda inscription in JA. 1890, I, = S.NEI. 3, pl. 1, No. 3, of the Manikyāla stone, JA. 1896, I, = S.NEI. 6, pl. 1, 2, of the Suë Bihār inscription, IA. 10, 324, lithograph of the Wardak vase, J.RAS. 1863, 256, pl. 10),[1] and occurs also in the MS. of the Dhammapada from Khotan ; see above, § 7.

§ 11. — The archaic variety.[2]

A. — The radical signs.

(1) [26] A small stroke, rising upwards at an acute angle, may be added at the foot of every letter ending with a straight or slanting line, in order to mark its end (plate I, 1, II ; 6, II, V ; 7, II ; 8, II ; &c). If a letter ends with two slanting lines, like *ya* and *śa* (34, II), the upstroke may be added to the left. In the Aśoka edicts of Mansehra, *ḍa* receives instead occasionally a straight base-stroke (18, V).

(2) *Ca* has three varieties, (*a*) head with obtuse angle (10, I, II, IV) ; (*b*) head with curve (10, V) ; (*c*) head with curve, connected by a vertical with the lower part (10, III). — (3) The head of *cha* is likewise sometimes angular (11, I, IV) and sometimes round (11, II), and loses occasionally the cross-bar below the head, as in the later types. — (4) The full form of *ja* occurs at least once in Shābhāzgarhī (12, I, V) and oftener in Mansehra, where once (edict V, l. 24) the bar stands to the left of the foot. The left side-stroke of *ja* is often curved (12, III). — (5) In *ña*, the second shortened *na* (see above, § 9, B, 3) is sometimes added on the right (14, I, V) and sometimes on the left (14, III, IV). Occasionally, the right side of the letter is converted cursively into a vertical, as in the later inscriptions (14, IX).

(6) The normal form of *ṭa* is that of 15, I, II ; but the bar on the left stands occasionally lower than that on the right (15, V ; 38, II), or both bars stand on the left (38, VI), or the bar on the right is omitted (commonly in Mansehra) (15, III).

(7) *Ta* (20) is mostly shorter and broader than *ra* (31), and either its two lines are of equal length, or the vertical one is shorter. Forms like 20, V, are rare. — (8) *Di* (22, II) shows twice, in Shābhāzgarhī edict IV, l. 8, and Mansehra edict VII, l. 33 (where the transcript in ZDMG. has erroneously *dri*), a curve to the right of the foot, which is probably nothing but an attempt to clearly distinguish *da* from *na*. — (9) *Dha* with the left end turned upwards (23, V) is rare and a secondary development (see above, § 9, B, 1). In the abnormal *dha* of 38, VIII (*dhra*), from Mansehra, the second bar is a substitute for a very sharp bend to the left (23, V). — (10) The *na* with the bent head (24, III) occurs not rarely in the syllable *ne*.

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[1] Other facsimiles of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions: — (1) Aśoka edicts in J.RAS. 1850, 153 ; C.IA(CII 1), pl. 1, 2 ; C.ASR. 5, pl 5 ; S.IP. 1 (end) ; IA. 10, 107 ; — (2) later inscriptions in P IA. 1, 96 (pl. 6), 144 (pl. 9), 162 (pl. 1?) ; W.AA. 54 (pl. 2), 262 , C.ASR. 2, 124 (pl. 59), 160 (pl. 63) ; 5, pl. 16, 28 ; J RAS. 1863, 222 (pl. 3), 238 (pl. 4), 250 (pl. 9), 256 (pl. 10), and 1877, 144 ; J.ASB. 23, 57 ; 31, 176, 532 ; 39, 65 , IA. 18, 257 , S.NEI. Nos. 3 (JA. 1890, I, pl. 1, No. 2) and 5 (JA 1894, II, pl. 5, Nos. 34, 36) : all useless except the last three

[2] Compare ZDMG. 43, 123 ff., 274 ff.

(11) The greatly mutilated *ma* (29, I) is more common than the forms with remnants of the old pendant (compare above, § 9, A, No. 12). It appears invariably in connection with vowel signs and owes its existence to such combinations.

(12) *La* with a curve on the left, as in the later inscriptions (32, VIII), is rare in the Aśoka edicts, but occurs in Mansehra edict VI, l. 29.

(13) The cursively rounded *śa* of 34, III, is rare; but once, in Shāhbāzgarhī edict XIII, l. 1, appears a *śa* hardly distinguishable from *ya*. — (14) The *sa* with a triangular head (36, II), and that with a rounded head (36, I, III, IV), are cursive developments from the old polygonal form (36, V). The vertical stroke of *sa* is occasionally omitted, as in Mansehra [27] edict VI, l. 27.

(15) The common forms of *ha* with a curve (37, I, IV) or a short hook (37, III, V) at the foot, are cursive developments of the *ha* of 37, II; see above, § 9, A, No. 5.

B. — Medial vowels and Anusvāra.

(1) The *i*-stroke goes regularly across the left side of the horizontal strokes of the consonants (6, III; 7, III; 15, II, III; &c.); in letters with two horizontal or slanting top-strokes, it passes through both (14, III; 16, III; 38, III, VI; &c.), likewise through both the top-strokes of *ṇa* (19, X). In *I* (2, I), *di* (22, II), and *ni*, it stands just below the head, and in *yi* (30, II) it hangs in the left side.

(2) The *e*-stroke corresponds in form and position to the upper half of the *i*-stroke (4, I; 6, IV; 12, II; 19, III; &c.); in *E* (4, II) it may also stand straight above the head of *A*.

(3) The *o*-stroke mostly corresponds in its position to the lower half of the *i*-stroke (5, I; 12, IV; 14, IV; &c.), but it stands further to the right in the angle, formed by the upper part of the letters, in *go*, *gho* (9, II) and *so* (36, IV).

(4) The *u*-stroke stands regularly at the left lower end of the consonant (3, I; 8, III; 10, IV; 12, III; &c.), but a little higher up if the foot of the consonant is curved to the left (*U*, 3, II), or to the right (*du*, 22, IV), or has a hook on the right (*pru*, 25, V; *hu*, 37, IV). In *mu* it stands to the left of the top of *ma* (see *mru*, 29, V).

(5) The Anusvāra has the full form of *ma* (see above, § 9, B, 4) only occasionally in *maṃ* (29, IV). More commonly it is represented cursively by a straight stroke as in *maṃ* (38, XI), or by two hooks at the sides of *ma* as in *maṃ* (38, X). In combination with other consonants ending in a single slanting or vertical line, the Anusvāra is marked by an angle, opening upwards, which the foot of the consonant bisects (8, IV; 11, IV; 17, V; 19, V; &c.), or, rarely in Shāhbāzgarhī, oftener in Mansehra, by a straight line, a substitute for the curve of *ma*, as in *thaṃ* (21, V). If the foot of the consonant has some other appendage, the Anusvāra is attached higher up to the vertical, as in *ñaṃ* (14, V); *ḍaṃ* (18, V); *vraṃ* (33, V); *haṃ* (37, V). The angular Anusvāra is always divided in *yaṃ* (30, V) and in *śaṃ*, and the one half is added to the right end of the *mātṛkā*, and the other to the left. This may also be done in *kaṃ* and in *bhaṃ* (28, IV).

C. — Ligatures.

(1) *Bhye* (38, IX), *mma* (38, XII) and *mya* (38, XII, *b*) show no changes or only very slight ones in the combined letters. In other cases, one or the other is usually mutilated.

(2) For *ra*, which must be pronounced sometimes before and sometimes after its *mātṛkā* (exception in *rṭa* in Mansehra edict V, l. 24), appears, besides slightly mutilated forms (in *rṭi*, 38, IV, and *rva*, 39, I), (*a*) a slanting line, with or without a bend, which goes through the middle of the vertical of the combined consonant (as in *gra*, 38, I; *rṭa*, 38, II; *rṭi*, 38, III); (*b*) also a curved or straight stroke at the foot of the combined sign (*rṭi*, 38, V; *kra*, 6, V; *gra*, 8, V; *tra*, 20, V; *dhra*, 23, V; 38, VIII; *pru*, 25, V; *bra*, 27, V; *vraṃ*, 33, V; *śru*, 34, V; *stri*, 39,

VIII, IX). In combination with *ma*, the *ra*-stroke stands invariably at the right top, as in *mru* (29, V), and in *kra* and *bhra* (28, V), occasionally at the right end of the hooks of those letters. Sometimes, especially in Mansehra, a curve open above, as in *thra* (21, IV), is substituted for the straight stroke. The stroke and the curves, of course, are cursive substitutes for a full *ra*, attached to the foot of the combined consonants.

(3) In *vru* (39, II) the two consonants have been pushed the one into the other, so that the vertical does duty both for the *va* and the *ra*. The same principle is followed in the formation of the ligature *sta* (which consists only in Shāhbāzgarhī edict I, l. 2, *srestamati*, of *sa* with a *ta* hooked into the vertical, 39, IV). At the same time *sa* is mutilated, the middle of its top remaining open and the hook on the left being omitted. This is clearly visible in *sti* (39, V) and *strī* (39, IX), while *sta* (39, III), *sti* (39, VI), *stu* (39, VII), and *stri* (39, VIII) are made more negligently. The ligature of *sa* and *pa* is formed according to [28] the same principles, but the *sa* is mutilated still more and merely indicated by a little hook at the top of the vertical of *pa* in *spa* (39, X) and *spi* (39, XII).[1] In *spa* (39, XI) the hook stands on the side-limb of *pa*.

(4) The ligature in 38, VII, seems to have two different meanings. In Shāhbāzgarhī edict X, l. 21, the sign appears in the representative of the Sanskrit *tadātvāya*, which in the dialect of the Aśoka edicts might be either *tadatvaye* or *tadattaye*, and in Mansehra it occurs frequently in the representative of the Sanskrit *ātman*. As the Kuṣana inscriptions offer a similar sign (31, XIII) in the representative of the Sanskrit *satvānām*, we have probably to read *tva* in Shāhbāzgarhī edict X, l. 21, and to assume that the curve at the foot of *ta* represents a *va*, just as it stands in *thra* (21, IV) for the similar *ra*. This explanation is confirmed by the ligatures 30, XIII, and 37, XIII, which most probably are equivalent to *śva* (*iśvara*) and *sva* (*visharasvamini*). In Mansehra (especially edict XII) the sign 38, VII, has to be read *tma*.[2]

§ 12. — Changes in the later varieties.[3]

A. — The radical signs.

(1) The meaningless upward stroke connected with the foot of the verticals occurs only occasionally on the Indo-Grecian coins (7, VI; 20, VI; 36, VI). More frequently it appears detached to the left of the signs, as in *A* (1, VI), and even with *ha* (37, VI). A cursive substitute is the very common dot, as in *ha* (37, VII); compare also *ma* (29, VII). Finally, various letters, like *ta* (20, VII) and *na* (24, VII), receive on the Indo-Grecian coins a horizontal base-line (see above, § 11, A, 1). In the variety of the Śaka period, the ends of the verticals show sometimes a meaningless hook, as in *ca* (10, VIII) and in *sa* (36, IX), or a straight stroke on the right, as in *ṣi* (35, VIII). The same hook appears also in the cursive script of the Kuṣana period (*ṣa*, 35, X), or a horizontal stroke to the left, as in *A* (1, XI), *ka* (6, X), *dha* (23, XI), *na* (24, XII), *bi* (27, XI), *ya* (30, X), as well as curves both to the right and left, as in *kha* (7, X), *ca* (10, XII), *dhi* (16, XI), *ghi* (9, X), *ba* (27, X), *mi* (29, XI), where the curve has been added to the vowel-stroke.

(2) In the Śaka and Kuṣana varieties, the head of *ka* is commonly converted into a curve (6, VIII), and in the Kuṣana variety this curve is connected with the side-limb of *ka*

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[1] O. Franke, Nachr. Gott. Ges. d. Wiss., 1895, 540, and ZDMG. 50, 603, proposes to read *fa* and *fi* for the signs which I read *spa* and *spi*.

[2] The MS. of the Dhammapada shews this same sign both in the terminations of the absolutives in *tva* (*tvā*) and in *atma* (*ātman*), and thus further confirms the explanation proposed.

[3] Regarding the characters on the Indo-Grecian coins, see WZKM. 8, 193 f.; regarding the script of the Śaka and Kuṣana inscriptions, see J.RAS. 1863, 238, pl. 4 (where, however, in l. 1 the second *ch* must be deleted, in l. 2 *sa* must be substituted for *si*, and *ṭha* for *ṭṭ*, and in l. 3 *rya* for *rś*, and the signs for *sy* in l. 4 are doubtful), and O. Franke, ZDMG. 50, 602 ff.

§ 14. — Common characteristics of the ancient inscriptions.

The forms of the Brāhmī and Drāviḍī, used during the first 600 years, are known at present only from inscriptions on stones, copper-plates, coins, seals and rings,[1] and there is only one instance of the use of ink from the third or second century B. C.[2] The view of the development of the characters during this period is, therefore, not complete. For, in accordance with the results of all paleographic research, the epigraphic alphabets are mostly more archaic than those used in daily life, as the very natural desire to employ monumental forms prevents the adoption of modern letters, and as, in the case of coins, the imitation of older specimens not rarely makes the alphabet retrograde. The occurrence of numerous cursive forms together with very archaic ones, both in the Aśoka edicts (see above, § 3) and also in later inscriptions, clearly proves[3] that Indian writing makes no exception to the general rule. And it will be possible to use the numerous cursive letters for the reconstruction of the more advanced alphabets, which were employed for manuscripts and for business purposes.

The full recognition of the actual condition of the Indian writing is obscured also by the fact that the inscriptions of the earliest period, with two exceptions, are either in Prākrit or in a mixed language (Gāthā dialect), and that the originals, from which they were transferred to stone or copper, were drafted by clerks and monks who possessed little or no education. In [31] writing Prākrit these persons adopted nearly throughout — (in writing the mixed dialect less constantly) — the practically convenient popular orthography, in which the notation of long vowels, especially of *ī* and *ū*, and of the Anusvāra, is occasionally neglected as a matter of small importance, and in which double consonants are mostly represented by single ones, non-aspirates are omitted before aspirates, and the Anusvāra is put for all vowelless medial nasals.[4] This mode of spelling continues in the Prākrit inscriptions with great constancy until the second century A. D. The constant doubling of the consonants appears first in a Pāli inscription of *Hāritīputta Sātakaṇṇi*, king of Banavāsī, which has been recently found by L. Rice.[5] The longer known inscription of the same prince (IA. 14, 331) does not show it. Besides, we find in some other, partly much older, Prākrit documents, faint traces of the phonetical and grammatical spelling of the Pandits. Thus, the Aśoka edicts of Shāhbāzgarhī offer some instances of *mma* (see above, § 9, B, 4), the Nāsik inscriptions Nos. 14, 15, and Kuḍā No. 5, have the word *siddha*, and Kaṇheri No. 14 *āyyakena*.[6] Such deviations from the rule indicate that the writers had learned a little Sanskrit, which fact is proved also for the writer who drafted the Kālsī edicts by the, for the Pāli absurd, form *baṃhmane* for *baṃbhane* (Kālsī edict XIII, l. 39).

With the exception of the Ghasundī (Nagarī) inscription, which contains no word with a double consonant, all the documents in the mixed dialect offer instances of double consonants which sometimes even are not absolutely necessary. Pabhosa No. 1 has *Bahasatimittrasa* and *Kaśśapīyānaṃ*, No. 2 has *Tevaṇīputtrasya*, Nāsik No. 5 has *siddham*, and Kārle No. 21 has *Setapharaṇaputtasya*.[7] And the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā furnish numerous analogous cases.[8] The only known Sanskrit inscriptions of this period, the Girnār Praśasti from the reign of Rudradāman and Kaṇheri No. 11,[9] in general show the orthography approved by the phonologists and grammarians, with a few irregularities in the use of the Anusvāra, *e. g.*, *pratānaṃ ā* (Girnār Praśasti, l. 2), *saṃbaṃdhā°* (l. 12), which have been caused by the influence of the popular orthography, but are found in the best MSS. written by Pandits. The orthographic pecularities, just discussed, have therefore nothing to do with the development of the alphabet, but merely show that in ancient, as in modern, India the spelling of the clerks differed from that of the learned Brahmans, and that both methods, then as now, mutually influenced each other and caused irregularities.

1 J.BBRAS. 10, XXIII.
2 See above, § 2, B (end).
3 B.IS. III², 40—43.
4 See above, § 7.
5 According to an impression and a photograph kindly sent by Mr. L. Rice.
6 B.ASRWI. 4, pl. 45 and 52; 5, pl. 51.
7 EI. 2, 242; B.ASRWI. 4, pl. 52 and 54.
8 EI. 1, 371 ff.; 2, 195 ff.
9 B.ASRWI. 2, pl. 14; 5, pl. 51.

A second peculiarity,[1] found in many inscriptions in Prākrit and in the mixed dialect, is the frequent erroneous employment of the signs for the sibilants. In the Aśoka edicts of Kālsī, of Siddāpura, and of Bairāt No. II,[2] on the Bhaṭṭiprolu vases, in the cave inscriptions of Nāgārjunī and of Rāmnāth,[3] and in the Mathurā inscriptions of the Kuṣana period, nay even in the two oldest Ceylonese inscriptions, *ṣa* or *śa* are used often for *sa*, and *śa* for *sa*, and *sa* for *śa* and *ṣa*. The reasons for this promiscuous use of the sibilants are, first, the circumstance that the school alphabet, which the clerks learned, was originally intended for Sanskrit and contained more sibilants than the ancient vernaculars possessed, and secondly, the negligent pronunciation of the classes destitute of grammatical training. The western and southern Prākrits very probably possessed, then as now, both the palatal and the dental sibilants, and it was probably the custom, as is done also in our days, to exchange the two sounds in the same words. The natural consequence was that the feeling for the real value of the signs for *śa* and *sa* disappeared among the Prākrit-speaking classes, while the *ṣa* of their school-alphabet, for which there was no corresponding sound in their vernaculars, must have appealed to them as a sign suitable to express sibilance. The Sanskrit inscriptions of all centuries, especially the land-grants which were drafted by common clerks, the MSS. of works written in the modern Prākrits, and the documents from [32] the offices of modern India, with their countless mistakes in the use of the sibilants, offer abundant proof for the correctness of this explanation of the errors in the old inscriptions. The explanation is also confirmed by the occasional occurrence of *ṇa*[4] for *na*, — once in the separate edicts of Dhauli and once of Jaugada, — though *na* alone is permissible for their dialect. In these cases, too, the error seems to have been caused by the fact that the school alphabet contained both *ṇa* and *na*. The clerks, who had learned it, each made once a slip, and put in the, for them, redundant sign. The different opinion,[5] according to which the exchange of the sibilants in the Aśoka edicts indicates that the values of the Brāhma signs were not completely settled in the third century B. C., rests on the, now untenable, assumption that the Brāhmī was elaborated, not for writing Sanskrit, but for the Prākrit dialects.

§ 15. — The varieties of the Brāhmī and Drāviḍī in Plates II. and III.[6]

Plates II. and III. show the following fifteen scripts of the first period: —

(1) The variety of the Eraṇ coin, running from the right to the left (pl. II, col. I), which probably dates from the 4th century B. C.

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1 B.IS. III², 43, note 3.
2 C IA(CII. 1), pl. 14.
3 CIA (CII 1), pl 15.
4 B.ASRSI. 1, 128, note 45 ; 129, note 33.
5 S.IP. 1, 33 ff. ; B.ESIP. 2, note 1.
6 Preparation of the Plates :—

PLATE II.

Col. I; drawn according to a caste of the Eraṇ coin; compare C.CAI. pl. 11, No. 18: *A* from Patnā seal, C.ASR. 15, pl. 2.

Cols. II, III ; cuttings from facsimile of Kālsī, EI. 2, 447 ff.

Cols. IV, V ; cuttings from facsimile of Delhi-Sivālik, IA. 13, 306 ff.

Cols. VI, VII ; cuttings from facsimiles of Jaugada, B.ASRSI. 1, pl. 67, 68, 69 · 20, VI, from Radhia, EI. 2, 245 ff. ; and 44, VII, drawn according to impression of Sahasrām.

Cols. VIII—X ; cuttings from facsimiles of Girnār, EI. 2, 447 ff.: 34, *ra*, between VII, VIII, from Rūpnāth, IA. 6, 156.

Cols. XI, XII; cuttings from facsimiles of Siddāpura, EI. 3, 134 ff.: 44, XII, drawn according to impression of Bairāt, No. I; 45, XI, according to facsimile of Bharahut, ZDMG. 40, 58 ff.

Cols. XIII—XV ; cuttings from facsimiles in EI. 2, 323 ff.

Col. XVI ; traced from the facsimile in J.ASB. 56, 77, pl. 5 *a*.

Col. XVII ; cuttings from facsimile in IA. 20, 361 ff.

Col. XVIII ; traced from the facsimile in IA. 14, 139: 6 from facsimile of Bharahut, No. 98, ZDMG. 40, 58: and 41 from impression of Sāñci Stūpa I, No. 199.

Col. XIX ; cuttings from facsimile in EI. 2, 240 ff.

Col. XX ; cuttings from facsimiles in EI. 1, 395, No. 33, and EI. 2, 195, No. 1.

Cols. XXI, XXII; drawn according to CUNNINGHAM's photograph of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela.

Cols. XXIII, XXIV ; cuttings from facsimiles in B.ASRWI. 5, pl. 51, Nos. 1, 2.

PLATE III.

Cols. I, II; cuttings from facsimiles in EI. 2, 199, Nos. 2 and 5, and CUNNINGHAM's photograph of the ora well inscription: compare C.ASR. 20, pl. 5, No. 4. — (*Note continued on the next page.*)

(2) The older Maurya alphabet of the Aśoka edicts[1] (pl. II, cols. II—XII), which occurs also with local variations on the Persian *sigloi*[2] and the old coins from Taxila, &c.,[3] in the majority of the inscriptions on the Bharahut Stūpa (pl. II, 6, XVIII; 45, XI), in Gayā,[4] Sāñci,[5] and Parkham,[6] on the Patnā seals, on the Sohgaura copper-plate,[7] and on the stone of Ghasundi or Nagarī (pl. II, col. XVI), and probably prevailed at least in the latter half of the 4th and in the 3rd century B. C.

(3) The Drāviḍī of Bhaṭṭiprolu (pl. II, cols. XIII—XV), which is connected with the southern variety of the Maurya type, but includes many very archaic signs; about B. C. 200.

(4) The later Maurya alphabet of Daśaratha's inscription (pl. II, col. XVII), closely related to the characters on the coins of the Indo-Grecian kings Agathocles and Pantaleon;[8] about B. C. 200 to 180.

(5) The Suṅga alphabet of the Toraṇa of Bharahut (pl. II, col. XVIII), which agrees with that of the Pabhosa inscriptions (pl. II, col. XIX), of the later votive inscriptions on the rails of the Bharahut and Sāñci Stūpas,[9] of the oldest Mathurā inscriptions[10] (pl. II, col. XX), of the Riwā inscription,[11] and so forth;[12] 2nd to 1st centuries B. C.

(6) The older Kaliṅga alphabet of the Katak (Hāthigumphā) caves (pl. II, cols. XXI, XXII); about B. C. 150.

(7) The archaic alphabet of the western Dekhaṇ in the Nānāghāṭ inscription (pl. II, cols. XXIII, XXIV), which is found also in Nāsik No. 1, in Pitalkhorā, and in Ajaṇṭā Nos. 1, 2;[13] from about B. C. 150 to the 1st century A. D.

(8, 9) The precursors of the later northern alphabets, the alphabet of the inscriptions of the Northern Kṣatrapa Śodāsa and of the archaic votive inscriptions from Mathurā (pl. III, cols. I, II), 1st century B. C. to 1st century A. D. (?), and the Kuṣana alphabet of the reigns of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva (pl. III, cols. III—V), 1st and 2nd (?) centuries A. D.

(10—15) The precursors of the later southern alphabets, the alphabet of Kāthiāvāḍ from the time of the Western Kṣatrapa Rudradāman (pl. III, col. VI), about A. D. 150; the archaistic type of the western Dekhaṇ from the time of the Kṣatrapa Nahapāna (pl. III, col. VII), beginning of the 2nd century A. D. (?); the more modern-looking alphabet of the same district (occasionally with only faint traces of southern peculiarities) from the time of Nahapāna (pl. III, cols. VIII, IX), of the Andhra king Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi (col. X), of the Andhra king Puḷumāyi (col. XI), of the Andhra king Gotamīputa Siriyaña Sātakaṇi (col. XII), of Nāsik No. 20 (col. XIII), and of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena (col. XIV), 2nd century A. D.;

Cols. III—V; cuttings from facsimiles of dated Kuṣana inscriptions in EI. 1, 371 ff., and 2, 195 ff.

Col. VI; drawn according to facsimile in B.ASRWI. 2, 128, pl. 14.

Cols. VII—XVI; cuttings from facsimiles in B.ASRWI. 4, pl. 51, No. 19; pl. 52, Nos. 5, 9, 10, 18, 19; pl. 53, Nos. 13, 14; pl. 55, No. 22; pl. 48, No. 3; and tracings for col. XV, from pl. 45, Nos. 5, 6, 11.

Cols. XVII, XVIII; cuttings from facsimiles in B.ASRSI. 1, pl. 62, 63.

Cols. XIX, XX; cuttings from facsimile in EI. 1, 1 ff.

The backgrounds of all the cuttings, and indistinct strokes, have been touched up.

Scale of Plate II. = 0·5 of the cuttings; except 13, II, and the signs in cols. VI, VII, XXIII, XXIV, which have the same size as in the facsimiles. Scale of Plate III. = 0·7.

[1] Compare the following trustworthy facsimiles of Aśoka edicts not mentioned in note 6 on page 31 above: — B.ASRWI. 2, 98 ff., Girnār; IA. 13, 306 ff., Allahabad; IA. 19, 122 ff., Delhi-Mirat, Allahabad Queen's edict, Allahabad Kosambi edict; IA. 20, 354, Barābar caves; IA. 22, 299, Sahasrām and Rūpnāth; EI. 2, 245 ff., Mathia and Rāmpūrvā; EI 2, 366, Sāñci; JA. 1887, I, 498, Bairāṭ No. I; and the table of letters in B.ASRWI. 4, pl. 5.

[2] J.RAS. 1895, 865 (pl.).

[3] C.CAI. pl. 2, 3; pl. 8, No. 1; pl. 10, No. 20.

[4] C.MG. pl. 10, Nos. 2, 3.

[5] Facsimiles in EI. 2, 366 ff.

[6] C.ASR. 20, pl. 6.

[7] Proc. ASB. May-June, 1894, pl. 1.

[8] P. Gardner, Cat. of Ind. Coins Br. Mus., pls. 3, 4.

[9] Pl. in ZDMG. 40, 58 ff.; EI. 2, 366 (facsimiles of Stūpa I, Nos. 288, 377, 378).

[10] Compare plate in Sixth Oriental Congress, 3, 2, 142.

[11] IA. 9, 121.

[12] Compare also C.CAI. pl. 4, Nos. 8—15; pl. 5; pl. 8, No. 2 ff.; pl. 9, Nos. 1—5; C.MG. pl. 10, No. 4; B.ASRWI. 4, pl. 44, Bhājā, Nos. 1—6, Koṇḍāṇe.

[13] B.ASRWI. 4, pl. 44, Pitalkhorā, Nos. 1—7; pl. 51, Nāsik, No. 1.

the ornamental variety of the same district with more fully developed southern peculiarities, from the Kuḍā and [33] Junnar inscriptions (cols. XV, XVI), 2nd century A. D.; the highly ornamental variety of the eastern Dekhaṇ from Jaggayyapeṭa (cols. XVII, XVIII), 3rd century A. D. (?); and the ancient cursive alphabet of the Prākrit grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman (cols. XIX, XX), 4th century A. D. (?).

§ 16. — The older Maurya alphabet; Plate II.

A. — Geographical extension and duration of use.[1]

The older Maurya alphabet was used over the whole of India, and it seems to have found its way into Ceylon at the latest about B. C. 250. For, the two oldest Ceylonese inscriptions,[2] from the time of the king Abaya Gāmini, which probably belong to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st century B. C., show characters which appear to have been developed from those of the Aśoka edicts. And the close relations between Aśoka and Tissa of Ceylon, reported by the Southern Buddhists, make an importation of the Brāhmī from Magadha into Ceylon not improbable. It is, however, possible that the Brāhmī alphabet was introduced even earlier into Ceylon by Indian colonists.[3]

The upper limit of the use of the older Maurya alphabet cannot be fixed with any certainty. But the shape of some of the characters on the Persian *sigloi* (above § 15, 1) makes it probable that even its more advanced forms existed before the end of the Akhaemenian rule in India (B. C. 331). Its oldest primary forms, no doubt, go back to much earlier times, as also the statements of the tradition, discussed above, tend to show. [34] The lower limit of the use of this type cannot be very distant from the end of Aśoka's reign (about B. C. 221), and must fall about B. C. 200. This estimate is supported by the character of the writing in the inscriptions of Aśoka's grandson Daśaratha,[4] which were incised "immediately after his coronation" (*ānamtaliyaṃ abhiṣitena*), *i. e.*, probably just about the end of the 3rd century B. C., and of the legends on the coins of the Indo-Grecian kings Pantaleon and Agathocles, who ruled in the beginning of the 2nd century B. C.[5] The letters of the Nāgārjunī cave inscriptions (pl. II, col. XVII) are sharply distinguished from those of the Aśoka edicts, partly by the far advanced forms of *ja*, *ta*, *da*, *la*, and partly by the invariable and considerable reduction of the vertical strokes. The second peculiarity re-occurs on the coins of the two Indo-Grecian kings, which show also a further development of the northern *ja* of pl. II, 15, III. Though the shortened letters were by no means unknown to the writers of the Aśoka edicts (see table on p. 7), their constant use for epigraphic documents is, to judge from the available materials, a characteristic of the types of the second and subsequent centuries. And I believe that all inscriptions showing long verticals must be assigned to the third century B. C., and those with short ones to later times.

B. — Local varieties.

The peculiar circumstances, under which the Aśoka edicts were incised, were most unfavourable to a full expression of the existing local varieties. First, the fact that all of them were first drawn up in the imperial secretariate at Pāṭaliputra and then forwarded to the governors of the provinces, must have proved a serious obstacle. As the differences in the grammatical forms and small alterations in the text indicate, the edicts were copied by the provincial clerks before they came into the hands of the stone-masons. It is a matter of course that the scribes of the Rājukas, in copying them, were influenced by the forms of the letters in the originals, and that they imitated them, be it involuntarily or out of respect for the head office. Further, it is probable that the provincial clerks were not always natives of those districts in which they

[1] Compare B.IS. III², 49 ff.
[2] E. Müller, Anc. Inscrs. from Ceylon, pl. 1.
[3] Compare M. De Zilva Wickremasinghe in J.RAS., 1895, 895 ff.
[4] I.IA. II², 257 ff.
[5] Von Sallet, Nachfolger Alex. d. Gr., 31; P. Gardner, Cat. of Ind. Coins Br. Mus., XXVI.

served; and this circumstance must have contributed to efface or to modify the use of the local varieties. Most of Aśoka's governors will, no doubt, have been sent from Magadha, the home of the Maurya race, and many will have been transferred in the course of their service from one province to another. Those acquainted with the conditions of the Civil Service in the Native States of India, which still preserve the ancient forms common to the whole of Asia, will regard it as probable that the governors, on taking charge of their posts, imported their subordinates, or at least some of them, be it from their native country or from the districts which they formerly governed. The case of Paḍa, the writer of the Siddāpura edicts, confirms this inference. As he knew the Kharoṣṭhī, he probably had immigrated, or been transferred, to Maisūr from the north of India.

In spite of these unfavourable conditions it is possible to distinguish in the writing of the Aśoka edicts at least two, perhaps three, local varieties. First, there is a northern and a southern one, for which, as in the case of the later alphabets, the Vindhya or, as the Hindus say, the Narmadā, forms the dividing line. The southern variety is most strongly expressed in the Girnār and Siddāpura edicts, less clearly in the Dhauli and Jaugada edicts, by differences in the signs for *A*, *Ā*, *kha*, *ja*, *ma*, *ra*, *sa*, the medial *i*, and the ligatures with *ra* (see below, under C, D). A comparison of the characters of the most closely allied northern and southern inscriptions confirms the assumption that the differences are not accidental. If the characters of the Siddāpura edicts do not always agree with those of Girnār, [35] the discrepancies will have to be ascribed to the northern descent of the writer Paḍa or to his service in a northern office.

Even the writing in the northern versions is not quite homogeneous. The pillar edicts of Allahabad, Mathia, Nīglīva, Paḍeria, Radhia, and Rāmpūrvā, form one very closely connected set, in which only occasionally minute differences can be traced, and the edicts of Bairāt No. I., Sahasrām, Barābar, and Sāñci, do not much differ. A little further off stand the Dhauli separate edicts (where edict VII. has been written by a different hand from the rest), the Delhi-Mirat edicts, and the Allahabad Queen's edict, as these show the angular *da*. Very peculiar and altogether different is the writing of the rock edicts of Kālsī, with which some letters on the coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon (but also some in the Jaugada separate edicts) agree. Perhaps it is possible to speak also of a north-western variety of the older Maurya alphabet.[1]

C. — The radical signs or Mātṛkās.

Signs beginning with verticals show already in the Aśoka edicts occasionally a thickening or a very short stroke (*Serif*) at the upper end, as in *cha* (pl. II, 14, II), *pa* (28, VII); compare the cases noted EI. 2, 448, and B.ASRSI. 1, 115.

(1, 2)[2] In addition to the eight forms of *A*, *Ā*, given on page 6 above, the plate shows a ninth in col. XI. with an open square at the top (compare *ma*, 32, XI, XII); a tenth, with the angle separated from the vertical, occurs in No. 1 of the Siddāpura inscriptions, edict I, line 2, 3. The forms with the bent vertical (cols. VII, XI), have been caused by writing the upper and lower halves of the letter separately. The addition of the stroke, marking the length of the vowel, to the right top of the vertical (cols. VIII, IX), is a peculiarity of Girnār.

(3) The forms of *I* in cols. III, IV, are the common ones; that in col. X, which agrees with the *I* of the Gupta period and later types, is rare. (4) The rare *Ī*, which, as may be inferred from the Gayā alphabet of the masons, existed already in the 3rd century B. C., occurs also in the Mahābodhi-Gayā inscriptions, pl. 10, Nos. 9, 10, where Cunningham reads *Iṃ*, because it appears in the representative of the Sanskrit *Indra*. Though this reading is possible, I consider it improbable, as it would be necessary to assume for *I* a not traceable form,

[1] Compare B.IS. III², 36 ff.

[2] The bracketed Arabic figures of section C. correspond with those of plate II; for § 16, C to E, compare also B.IS. III², 58 ff.

consisting of two dots side by side with a third dot above on the left, thus∴. In later times (see pl. VI, 4, V, VII) the angles of the square are turned towards the top and the bottom lines.

(5, 6) HULTZSCH (ZDMG. 40, 71) admits that the sign 6, XVIII, looks like *Ū*, but prefers to read *O* for linguistic reasons, which seems to be unnecessary according to E. MULLER, Simplified Pāli Grammar, 12 f. The existence of *Ū* in the 3rd century may be inferred from the Gayā alphabet of the masons.

(7) Add the horseshoe-form of *E* (Kālsī edict V, 16, &c.) from the comparative table on page 11 above, No. 16, col. V, *b*. The half-round *E* of col. XXII. occurs also in Sāñci Stūpa I, No. 173. The *AI*, which has been placed in this row (col. XXI), existed in the 3rd century, as may be inferred from the Gayā alphabet of the masons. — (8) Regarding the *O* of Dhauli and Jaugada in col. VI, see above, § 4, B, 4, *a*.

(9) The dagger-shaped *ka* occurs occasionally in all versions of the Aśoka edicts, most rarely in Girnār. — (10) The oldest among the seven forms of *kha* is that in col. II (Kālsī) and col. VI (Jaugada separate edicts and Bharahut Stūpa inscription). Hence come first the northern *kha*, with the loop on the right, col. III (Kālsī and Bharahut), and a form, nearly identical with that of col. XVIII, in Jaugada separate edict I, l. 4. The next derivative from this is the *kha* with a bent vertical and a dot at the foot, in cols. IV, V. Likewise of northern origin is the *kha* with the triangle at the foot, in *khya*, 43,V ; compare Mahābodhi-Gayā, pl. 10, No. 3, and Bharahut. Another derivative from the primary form in col. III. is the *kha* of cols. VII, IX—XII, with a point at the foot of the perfectly straight vertical, and it occurs both in the south in Girnār, Siddāpura, Dhauli, and Jaugada, and in the north in Allahabad, Delhi-Mirat, Mathia, Radhia, Rāmpūrvā, and Bairāt No. I. The *kha*, consisting of a simple hook with the omission of the dot, in col. VIII, is confined to the southern versions and is particularly common in Girnār. — (11) The *ga*, which is originally pointed at the top, is sometimes slightly rounded, in cols. IV, VI, X—XII. — (12) The primary angular *gha* appears occasionally in Kālsī (col. III) and in the Jaugada separate edicts. — I add here the figure of *ṅa* from the Gayā alphabet of the masons, which has been discovered after the preparation of the plates; compare my Indian Studies, III², pp. 31, 76.

(13) The primary *ca* with tail (see above, § 4, A, 18) occurs also in Sāñci Stūpa I, Nos. 269 and 284 (EI. 2, 368). — (14) The primary *cha* with unequal [36] halves in cols. VI, VII, becomes first a circle, bisected by the vertical, cols. III, IV, and hence is derived the later usual form with two loops in col. II, and in the Gayā alphabet. — (15) The forms of *ja*, all of which have been derived from the *j* of the Drāviḍī (cols. XIII—XVI) may be divided (*a*) into essentially northern forms with a loop in col. III (Kālsī and Mathia), or with a dot in cols. IV, V (Allahabad, Delhi-Sivālik, Delhi-Mirat, Bairāt No. I, Niglīva, Paḍeria, Dhauli, Jaugada, and Siddāpura), or with a short central stroke in col. II (Kālsī, Jaugada separate edicts, Sahasrām, and Rūpnāth), and (*b*) into southern forms, those in cols. VIII, X, XI, XVI (Girnār, Dhauli, Jaugada, and Ghasundi), and that in col. IX (Girnār).

(18) In addition to the semicircular *ṭa*, we often find secondary forms, flattened above or below or at both ends, as in cols. II, XI, XVI. — (20) With the round-backed *ḍa* of Kālsī in col. III, compare also the similar *ḍi* in the Allahabad Queen's edict, line 3.

(23) From the primary *ta* in col. III, and 43, III (*tu*), which is often turned sideways (see comparative table at page 11 above No. 22, V, *b*), comes (*a*) the form with the round side-limb in cols. IV, V, XVI, as well as that in col. VI, and 43, col. II (*ti*), and (*b*) the very common *ta* with the angle just below the vertical in col. XI, from which finally the tertiary form with the semicircle for the angle in col. XII (common in later times) appears to be derived. — (25) From the primary rounded *da* in cols. II, III, comes (*a*) the angular form in cols. IV, V (Delhi-

Mirat, Delhi-Sivālik, Allahabad Kosambī edict, and Allahabad Queen's edict), and (*b*) the cursive *da* in cols. VII, IX (Girnār, Jaugada, &c., rarely). — (26) The original *dha* of cols. V—VII appears only in Delhi-Sivālik (rarely) and in the Jaugada separate edicts (constantly).

(28, 29) The angular *pa* and *pha* of col. XII. and col. VI. occurs here and there in various versions. — (30) Add the *ba* of the comparative table, page 11 above, No. 2, V, *a*, which is not rare in Kālsī and other versions. — (31) The secondary *bha* with the straight stroke on the right, col. XVI, and that with the rounded back, col. VI (Jaugada separate edicts), appear also in Bharahut (constantly), Sāñci (often), Barābar, and Kālsī. — (32) The secondary *ma* with the semicircle at the top occurs throughout in the northern inscriptions, except in the Sohgaura copper-plate, which offers a *ma* with an open square, similar to that of Śiddāpura, cols. XI, XII. The older *ma* with the angle above the circle, cols. VIII—X, is a southern form, and is confined to Girnār (exclusively) and Dhauli and Jaugada (rarely).

(33) The notched *ya* in cols. IV, V, VII, XI, is used either constantly or chiefly in Delhi-Sivālik, Delhi-Mirat, Mathia, Radhia, Rāmpūrvā, Niglīva, Paḍeria, and Kālsī. It is also very common in Dhauli, Jaugada, and Śiddāpura. But in Girnār the *ya* with the curve below is the usual one, cols. VIII, X, XII, besides which that with the angle, col. IX, is found occasionally. In writing the notched *ya*, the left half of the sign has been made first, and the right half has been added afterwards. In the *ya* with the curve below, the vertical and the curve have been drawn separately, as may be seen from *iyaṃ* in No. 1 of the Śiddāpura inscriptions, edict I, line 4. — (34) Add the forms of *ra* from Girnār given in the comparative table on page 11 above, No. 20, V, *a* and *c*. The corkscrew-like *ra* of Ghasundi, col. XVI, and the tertiary, almost straight-lined, form of Rūpnāth (between cols. VII, VIII), seem to be northern cursive forms of the letter. — (35) The angular *la* of cols. III, V, appears occasionally in most versions, whereas the highly cursive form in col. VII. is confined to the Jaugada separate edicts. — (36) Add the modern-looking *va* of the comparative table on page 7 above, No. 19 (Kālsī). The *va* of Śiddāpura in col. XII, flattened below, and the triangular one of Ghasundi in col. XVI, appear occasionally in other versions. The *va* of col. IX, which resembles a *cā* turned round from right to left, is found also in *Vesagame*, Sohgaura, line 2.

(37) Add the broad-backed *śa* of the comparative table on page 11, No. 21, V, *c*; and compare the *śa* in Kālsī edict XIII, 1, lines 35, 37, 38; 2, lines 17, 19. — (38) The conjectural reading of the signs of Kālsī in cols. II, III, is based on Senart's Inscriptions de Piyadasi, 1, 33 f. The *ṣa* from which the later forms have been derived is that of col. XVI. — (39) The primary *sa* with the straight side-limb has been preserved only in the south (Girnār and Śiddāpura). The cursive form in col. VII. occurs also in Kālsī.

(40) Add the probably primary *ha* of Śiddāpura in the comparative table on page 11 above, No. 5, V, *a*, which [37] is found also in Kālsī. The cursive *ha* of col. VII. is confined to the Jaugada separate edicts; a somewhat different cursive occurs in *mahamāta*, Allahabad Kosambī edict, line 1.

(41) A certain *ḷa* is not found in the known inscriptions of the 3rd century, as the *ḷī* of Sāñci, in col. XVIII, belongs without doubt to the 2nd century B. C. But it is possible that the *ḍa* with the dot, 20, col. VI (Radhia), has to be read *ḷa*. The sign appears in Delhi-Sivālik, Mathia, and Radhia (edict V) in the representative of the Sanskrit *duḍī* or *duḷī*, and in Mathia and Radhia in the representative of *dvādaśa*, which in Pāli usually becomes *duvāḍasa*. The dot may be, as in *kha* and *ja*, a substitute for a circle. If such a modification of *ḍa* was really used for *ḷa*, the sign must have been derived from the angular *ḍa* nearly in the same manner as the later *ḷa* was framed out of the round-backed *ḍa* (see above, § 4, B, 6).

D. — Medial vowels and Anusvāra.

(1) The originally straight stroke for *ā* is often turned upwards in Kālsī (see, for instance, *śā*, 37, III) and occasionally in other versions, after the manner prevalent in later times. In *khā* (10, V, VI), *jā* (15, VI, &c.), *ṭā* (18, II), *ṭhā* (19, II), *thā* (24, II), the *ā*-stroke is added to the middle of the letter. Bharahut offers also a *jā* like that of 15, XXI.

(2) The angular *i* (see, for instance, *khi*, 10, II becomes, regularly in Girnār (see *dhi*, 21, IX) and rarely in the Jaugada separate edicts (see *khi*, 10, VII), a shallow curve, which in *khi* (10, VIII), in *ni* (27, IX), and other letters ending in verticals, may be attached to the middle of the consonant, and which frequently is very much like *ā*. In Kālsī edict XIII, 2, 10, the medial *i* of *ti* (43, II, stands twice to the left of its consonant, likewise in *ti* in Allahabad edict I (end), and in *hi* in the Sohgaura copper-plate, line 4. — (3) The medial *ī* of Girnār usually consists of a shallow curve bisected by a vertical (*dī*, 25, IX); but in *ṭī* (18, IX) it is marked by two vertical strokes, and in *thī* (24, IX) by two slanting ones.

(4) The full *u* which is identical with *U* occurs in the *dhu* (26, III) of Kālsī several times. It is also recognisable in *ku* (9, V), *gu* (11, IX), *ḍu* (20, VII), and other letters ending in verticals, which latter have to do double duty as parts of the consonants and of the vowel; see below, the remarks on some ligatures under E, 1. Elsewhere we have secondary forms: (*a*) such as omit the horizontal, in *dhu* (26, II), *pu* (28, III), &c.; (*b*) such as omit the vertical, in *tu* (23, V), &c. In *tu* the *u*-stroke is occasionally turned upwards, as in 23, VIII and 43, III; compare the later *tū* of pl. III, 21, XIX. — (5) The identity of medial *ū* with *Ū* is still recognisable in letters ending in verticals, as in *bhū* (31, X), &c., where the vertical again does double duty. But mostly the vowel is expressed by two strokes, either parallel as in *dhū* (26, X) and in *yū* (33, VII) or placed otherwise as in *pū* (28, VIII, XVI).

(6) Signs like *ye* (11, IV) perhaps offer still remnants of the hook-form of medial *e*, into which the originally super-imposed triangle no doubt was reduced at first (see above, § , C, 1); and the *e*-strokes of *khe* (10, III), *ge* (11, III), and *gye* (42, VII), which slant downwards from the left to the right, may have to be interpreted in the same way. In *je* (15, VII), *ṭe* (18, V), *ṭhe* (19, XII), and *the* (24, XII), the vowel stands opposite to the middle of the consonant; in *khe* it is often attached to the left end of the hook. — (7) Medial *ai* occurs only in *trai* (23, IX) and *thai* (24, X), both in Girnār, and in *mai* (32, XII; Siddāpura)

(8) Medial *o* preserves mostly the original shape of *O* very faithfully (see above, § 4, C, 1). The later cursive *o* with the two bars at the same height appears however in *go* (11, V; Delhi-Sivālik) and *ho* (40, V; Delhi Sivālik), as well as in the *yo* of the Persian *sigloi*. In *mo* (32, VII, X; Jaugada separate edicts, Mathia, Radhia, and Girnār), the *o* has been formed in a similar manner. In the second form, the bars stand opposite the middle, and indicate that analogous *mā* and *me* existed already in the 3rd century B. C., just as later; see pl. III, 30, X, XVII. In the *no* of Kālsī edict V, line 14 we have a looped *o*, similar to that in *lo* of pl III, 33, XX, and in later signs.

(9) The Anusvāra mostly stands opposite the middle of the preceding Mātṛkā, as in *maṃ* (32, VIII) But in connection with *i* it is placed regularly in [33] Delhi-Sivālik, Delhi-Mirat, Mathia, Radhia, Jaugada, and Dhauli, inside the angle of the vowel, as in *ṭiṃ* (18, VI). There are also other cases in which it occasionally appears, as in the later scripts, above its Mātṛkā, and sometimes, as in *maṃ* (32, II), it sinks to the foot of the latter; see above, § 4, B, 2 *e*.

E. — Ligatures.

(1) In the ordinary ligatures of the Aśoka edicts (42, II—VII, X—XII; 43, V—VIII, XI, XII; 44, III—VII, XI, XII; 45, IV, V, X), in those of Bharahut (45, XI) and of Ghasundi (42, 43, XVI), the consonants are placed below each other in their natural order and

suffer no material changes. Occasionally, however, as in *kyā* (42, II, IV), *kye* (42, III), *gyā* (42, VI), and *gye* (42, VII), a single vertical stroke does duty both for the upper and the lower consonant, just as in the modern ligatures क्‍, क्त, and so forth; compare also the Kharoṣṭhī ligatures, § 11 above, C, 3.

(2) But there are cases of greater irregularities, especially in Girnār, where (*a*) the second sign is sometimes greatly mutilated or made cursive, as in *vya* (44, II), *mya* (44, VIII), *sti* and *stu* (45, VIII, IX); (*b*) the sign for the second consonant is sometimes placed first (Girnār and Siddāpura) for convenience sake,[1] as in *stā*, *sṭi* (42, VIII. IX), *tpa*, *tpā* (43, IX, X), *vyā* (44, X, ?); and (*c*) in ligatures with *ra*, this sign is either (both in Girnār and Siddāpura) inserted in the vertical lines of the other consonant (*kra*, 9, X; *tram*, 23, X; *dra*, 25, XII; *brā*, 30, X; *vra*, 36, X; *sru*, 39, X), or (in Girnār alone) is indicated by a small hook at the top of the combined sign (*trai*, 23, IX; *pra*, *prā*, 28, IX, X; &c.). The position of *ra* always remains the same, whether it is to be pronounced before or after the combined consonant, and thus 36, X, has the value both of *rva* and of *vra*. The insertion of *ra* in the left vertical of *ba* in *brā* (30, X) probably goes back to the period when the writing went from the right to the left. Otherwise it ought to stand in the right vertical.

§ 17. — The Drāviḍī of Bhaṭṭiprolu; Plate II.

To the remarks on the value of the Drāviḍī of Bhaṭṭiprolu for the history of writing in India (above, page 8), and to the explanations of its peculiar signs (above, § 6, A, 3, 7, 12, 15, 18; B, 4 *c*, 5; and C, 2), I have now to add the reasons for the assumed reading of the sign in pl. II, 38, XIII—XV. It seems to me certain that originally it had the value of *ṣ*. For there can be no doubt that it expresses a sibilant, and that the Drāviḍī is, like the Brāhmī, an alphabet invented in order to write Sanskrit (see above, § 6, C, 2). As signs for two of the three Sanskrit sibilants are easily recognisable, — the palatal in 37, XIII, XIV, and the dental in 39, XIII, XIV, XV,— the third sign can only have been intended to express the lingual sibilant. But it is a different question, whether in the words of the Prākrit Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions, in which the sign occurs, the lingual sibilant was actually pronounced, or whether, owing to the negligent orthography of the clerks, the sign has been put where the pronunciation was *ś* or *s*. A certain answer to this question is for the present impossible. It could be given only if we knew more about the ancient Prākrit of the Kistna districts [39] than is actually the case. But the correct use of *śa* in *samaṇudeśānaṃ* (Bhaṭṭiprolu, No. X) indicates that the dialect possessed two sibilants; and it can only be doubted, whether *ṣ* has been put erroneously for *ś*, as often happens in the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā (compare EI 1, 376), or whether it was still the lingual sibilant. Another point in the character of the Drāviḍī, which requires special mention, is, that its signs, which agree with those of the Brāhmī, in several cases present characteristic peculiarities of the southern variety. This may be seen (1) in the angular *A*, *Ā*; (2) in the *kh* (10, XIII, XV) consisting, like that of Girnār, merely of a vertical, with a hook at the top; (3) in the *dh*, which has the same position as that of the Jaugada separate edicts and the Nānāghāt inscriptions; (4) in *m*, which, though turned topsy-turvy, retains the angle of the *ma* of Girnār; and (5) in *s*, which mostly has the straight side-limb, as in Girnār and Siddāpura.

As the inscription on the crystal prism (No. X), found with the stone vessels, shows the ordinary Brāhmī except in the *ḍa* opening to the right, it follows that the Drāviḍī was not used exclusively even in the Kistna districts, but together with the common old Indian alphabet. The small number of the inscriptions hitherto found, makes it impossible to say anything definite regarding the spread of this alphabet. And it is equally difficult to fix with certainty the time and the duration of its use. As king Kubiraka or Khubiraka (Kubera) is not known from other sources, we can only fall back on the never absolutely certain paleographic indications.

[1] O. FRANKE, Gurupūjākaumudī 26, thinks that these groups should be read *tsā*, *tsi*, as the are written.

The signs, which agree with the Brāhmī, point to the time immediately after Aśoka, or about B. C. 200. In favour of this estimate is particularly the occurrence of the long verticals, the invariably round *g*, and the *r*, which is always represented by a straight line.

§ 18. — The last four alphabets of Plate II.

In addition to the inscriptions of Daśaratha (col. XVII), which very probably belong just to the end of the 3rd century B. C. (see above, § 16, A), only those of the Ceta king Khāravela of Kaliṅga (cols. XXI, XXII) and those of the Andhra queen Nāyanikā in the Nānāghāṭ cave (cols. XXIII, XXIV) can be dated approximately. Khāravela's inscription must have been incised between B. C. 157 and 147, as the king's thirteenth year is said to correspond to the year 165 of "the time of the Muriya (Mauriya) kings,"[1] and it fixes also the time of the Nānāghāṭ inscription. For, according to line 4, Khāravela assisted in the second year of his reign a western king called Sātakaṇi. This Sātakaṇi probably is identical with the first Andhra prince of that name mentioned in the Purāṇas, whose inscribed image is found in the Nānāghāṭ cave. Hence the date of the large inscription, which was incised during the regency of Sātakaṇi's widow Nāyanikā, cannot be much later than B. C. 150.[2]

Paleographic evidence is almost the only help for fixing the time of Dhanabhūti's inscription on the *toraṇa* of the Bharahut Stūpa (col. XVIII), which was incised "during the rule of the Suṅgas," as well as that of the Pabhosa cave inscriptions (col. XIX) and of the oldest votive documents from Mathurā (col. XX), all of which offer (see above, § 15, 5) the Suṅga type of the ancient Brāhmī. To judge from the evidently close connection of their characters, partly with the younger Maurya alphabet and partly with the Kaliṅga script, the signs of cols. XVIII, XIX, probably belong to the second century B. C. Those of col. XX. may date from the first century B. C., as the elongation of the lower parts of the verticals of *A*, *Ā* (1, 2), the broad back of *śa* (37), the cursive *ḷa* (41) and the subscribed *ra* in *dra* (42), which is twisted to the left, point to a later time.

The tendency to shorten the upper vertical lines, mentioned already above (§ 16, A), is, though here and there not fully carried through, common to all the four scripts. The broadening of the letter or of the lower parts of *ga*, *ta*, *pa*, *bha*, *ya*, *la*, *sa* and *ha*, is found only in the last [40] three alphabets; and the thickening of the tops of the upper verticals, and the use of the so-called *Serif*, are particularly remarkable only in the Suṅga and Kaliṅga alphabets. Tendencies in the direction of later developments are found, not only in the letters of col. XX, already mentioned, but also in the round *ḍa* (20, XXII, XXIII), so characteristic for the later southern alphabets, in *ṭa* with the curved upper horizontal line (22, XVIII, XIX) in the partly or entirely angular *ma* (32, XIX, XXII) in the semicircular medial *i* of *ki* (9, XXII), *bi* (30, XXII), and *vi* (36, XXIV), as well as in the detached *o* of *yo* (11, XXII), *ṭho* (19, XXIV) and *tho* (24, XXIV). The single medial *au* of the plate, in *pau* (28, XVIII), deserves to be noted.

As regards the geographical distribution of these types, the younger Maurya alphabet belongs not only to the north-east (Bihār), but also to the north-west, where its *ja* and *ṣa* are found on the coins of the two Indo-Grecian kings, mentioned above (§ 15, 4). The Kaliṅga alphabet is of course that of the south-eastern coast, and the type of the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions that of the western Dekhaṇ. Finally, the Suṅga type probably represents the script of the centre of India. It, however, extends also to the west, as the same or very similar characters are found in the caves of the Marāṭhā country; compare § 15 above, 5, note 3.

Very little can be said regarding the duration of the use of these scripts. The Indo-Grecian coins show that the younger Maurya characters were used in the first half of the 2nd

[1] Sixth Oriental Congress, 3, 2, 149; compare Östreichische Monatsschr für d. Or., 1884, 231 ff.

[2] Sixth Oriental Congress, 3, 2, 146; differently Bhaṇḍārkar, Early Hist. of the Dakkan[2], 34, who assigns Sātakaṇi to the period B. C. 40 to A. D. 16.

century B. C.[1] The Kaliṅga script is visible also in the inscriptions of Khāravela's next descendants[2] If Burgess has correctly fixed the time of the Pitalkhorā caves,[3] it would follow that the script of the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions continued to be used in the first century A. D.

§ 19. — The precursors of the northern alphabets.

A. — The alphabet of the Northern Kṣatrapas; Plate III.

Immediately connected with the latest forms of the Śuṅga type in the oldest Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā (pl. II, col. XX) is the alphabet of the Northern Kṣatrapas on the coins and in the inscriptions of the Mahākṣatrapa Rājuvula or Ra jubula and of his son Soḍāsa or Sudasa, who ruled in the first century B. C. or A. D. (?) over the same town.[4] And some "archaic" votive inscriptions from Mathurā, as well as legends on certain Indian coins, exhibit the early letters of the same type.[5]

The characteristics of this type (plate III, cols. I, II) are the equalisation of all the upper verticals, except in *la* (33 I); the constant use of the *Serif*, occasionally replaced, as in *bha* (29, I), by a nail-head or wedge; and the constant use of angular forms for *gha* (10, I), *ja* (13, I, II), *pa* (26, I, II), *pha* (27, I), *ma* (30, I, II), *la* (33, I), *sa* (36, I), and *ha* (38, I, II). Other, mostly cursive, innovations are found in the peculiar *ca* (11, I); in the slanting angular *ḍa* (18, I); in *da* (23, I), in the broadened *bha* (29, I, II), in *ra* with the curve at the end (32, I, II), which occasionally reappears also later (see pl. IV, 33, IV) in northern inscriptions; in the medial vowels *ā* (which in *hā*, 38, II, rises upwards, but in *rā*, 32, I, keeps its ancient form), *i* (in *di*, 23, I), *o* (in *gho*, 10, I, and *śo*, 35, II); and in the position of the Anusvāra above the line (in *ṇāṃ*, 20, I). The *ka* shows, besides the old form in 7, I, II, the later one with the bent bars in *kṣa* (40, I). The upper part of the abnormal *va* (34, II) with two triangles, which sometimes is found also in the Kuṣana inscriptions[6] and elsewhere, [41] probably represents a hollow wedge. The inscriptions of this class for the first time show[7] the medial *ṛ* which consists, exactly like that of the Kuṣana inscriptions in *vṛ* (34, III), of a straight line slanting towards the left.

B. — The alphabet of the Kuṣana inscriptions; Plate III.

The next step in the development of the Brāhmī of Northern India is illustrated by the inscriptions from the time of the Kuṣana kings Kaniṣka Huviṣka and Vāsuṣka or Vāsudeva (plate III, cols. III – V), the first among whom made an end of the rule of the older Śakas in the eastern and southern Pañjāb. The inscriptions with the names of these kings, which run from the year 4 to the year 98 (according to the usually accepted opinions, of the Śaka era of A. D. 77-78, or of the 4th century of the Seleucid era),[8] are very numerous in Mathurā and its neighbourhood, and are found also in eastern Rājputāna and in the Central Indian Agency (Sāñci).[9] In spite of great variations in the single letters, which occasionally exhibit the more modern forms in the older inscriptions and the earlier forms of the Northern Kṣatrapa type in the later documents, the alphabet possesses a very characteristic appearance, and nobody who once has seen the squat and broad letters of the Kuṣana period will ever make a mistake by assigning them to other times.

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1 Compare above, § 16, note 4. 2 Sixth Oriental Congress, 3, 2, 179, Udayagiri inscription Nos. 3, 4.

3 Buddhist Cave Temples, 243. 4 See above, § 10.

5 Comp. also facsimiles in C.ASR. 3, pl. 13, No. 1: EI. 1, 392, No. 17; C.CAI. pl. 3, No. 14; pl. 6; pl. 8, No. 2 ff.

6 EI. 2, 201, No 12; 207, No. 32; hollow wedges are found also in the facsimiles in C.ASR. 10, pl. 23, No. 1; F.GI (CII. 3), No. 23.

7 In *vṛṣṇīnāṃ*, C.ASR. 20, pl. 5, line 2.

8 IA. 10, 213; C.CIS. 51 ff., 57; Bhaṇḍārkar, Early Hist. of the Dekkan[2], 23, note 1, thinks that Kaniṣka ruled later; but S. Lévi, J.A. 1897, I, 5 ff., places even Vāsudeva in the first century A. D.; the years 4 and 5 of this era occur in EI. 2, 201, Nos. 11, 12; Kaniṣka, the year 7, EI. 1, 391, No. 19.

9 See facsimile, EI. 2, 369.

As regards the details, the following innovations deserve special mention:[1] — (1) Side by side with more ancient signs, the *A* of col. IV. shows a form leading up to the modern *A* of the Nāgarī of Western India; compare also pl. IV, 1, IX, XI ff. (2) The bar denoting the length of *Ā* is attached low down (2, III, IV); compare pl. IV, 2, VII ff. (3) Three strokes, one of which is set up vertically, take the place of the three dots of *I* (3, III). (4) The horizontal stroke of *U* occasionally shows a curve at the left end (4. IV). (5) The base of the triangular *E* (5, IV, V) is mostly at the top; compare pl. IV, 5, X ff. (6) The *kha* (8, III—V) is mostly triangular below, and its hook is often small. (7) One of the two originally horizontal strokes of *ṇa* is always turned into a curve notched in the middle, and sometimes both are changed in this manner, as in 20, III, IV; occasionally the vertical is split up into two lines, which are attached to the ends of the left horizontal line, each bearing a portion of the curved top-bar (20, V). (8) The *ta* shows sometimes, but rarely, a loop, as in *sti* (43, IV). (9) The lower end of *da* (23, III—V) is drawn further to the right, and the bulge on the right becomes larger. (10) The *dha* (24, III, IV) becomes narrower and pointed at the ends. (11) The horizontal stroke of *na* is curved (25, III) or looped (25, IV), whereby the still more modern looking form in 25, V, is developed. (12) The *ya* (31, III—V) mostly has a hook or circle on the left limb, and in ligatures is either looped as in *ryya* (42, III), or bipartite as in *ryya* (41, V). (13) The *va* is occasionally rounded on the left (34, V), or becomes similar to *ca*, as in *rva* (42, IV). (14) The *śa* (35, III—V) becomes narrower, and its middle stroke lies horizontally across the interior; sometimes the left down-stroke bears a *Serif* at the end, or the right one is made longer, just as in *ga* (9, V); compare pl. IV, 36, I ff. (15) The central bar of *ṣa* (36, III—V) goes straight across the interior of the letter. (16) The left limb of *sa* is occasionally, but rarely, turned into a loop (37, IV); compare plate IV, 38, I ff.

All these peculiarities, as well as the advanced forms of the medial vowels, of *ā* in *rā* (32, IV), of *u* in *ku* (7, IV, V) and in *stu* (43, V),[2] and of *o* in *to* (21, IV), reappear constantly in the northern alphabets of the next period, those of the Gupta inscriptions (pl. IV, cols I—VII) and of the Bower MS (pl. VI, cols. I—III), or are precursors of the forms of those documents. The literary alphabets used in Mathurā during the first two centuries A. D., very likely were identical with or closely similar to the later ones, and the admixture of older forms, observable in the inscriptions of the Kuṣana period, may be due purely to an imitation of older votive inscriptions.

Attention must be called to the medial *r* in *tr* (21, IV) and [42] in *vṛ* (34, III), for which we have also once[3] the form of pl. IV, 3, III; likewise to the rather common final *m*, which resembles that in *ddham* (41, VIII), and to the Visarga, which looks exactly like the modern one (compare 40, 41, IX) and first appears in these inscriptions.[4] The broad strokes of the letters and their thick tops indicate that they imitate an alphabet written with ink.

§ 20. — The precursors of the southern alphabets.

A. — The alphabet of the Kṣatrapas of Mālva and Gujarāt; Plate III.

While the inscriptions of Northern India thus show in the first and second centuries A. D. the beginning of the development of a new local variety of the Brāhmī, we find in the documents from Western and Central India, as well as from the Dekhaṇ, the first steps leading up to the later southern alphabets. The inscriptions and coins of the Kṣatrapa dynasty of Mālva and Gujarāt, descended from Caṣṭana or Tiastanes, illustrate the western writing, and col. VI, taken from the Girnār Praśasti of the reign of Rudradāman (about A. D. 160)[5] gives a specimen of it. This script agrees with the later southern alphabets (§ 27, below) in the following characteristic points: — (1) in the curves at the ends of *A* and *Ā* (1, 2), *ka* (7),

[1] Compare my remarks, EI. 1, 371 ff.; 2, 197.

[2] Compare the *tu* of plate II, 43, III.

[3] EI. 1, 389, No. 13.

[4] Compare, for instance. *naḥ*, EI. 1, 382, No. 3.

[5] BHĀṆḌĀRKAR, Early Hist. of the Dekkan², 26 ff., C.CMI. 3—5; BHAGVĀNLĀL, J.RAS. 1890, 642; BÜHLER, Die ind. Inschr. u das. Alter d. ind. Kunstpoesie, 46 ff.

ña (15) *ra* (32), and of medial *u* and *ū* (not in the plate); (2) in the round-backed *ḍa* (18); (3) in the *ba* 28), notched on the left; (4) in the *la* (33) with the vertical bent to the left; and (5) in the medial *ṛ* (see *sṛ*, 37), which is difficult to distinguish from *ra*. Its other letters, for instance, *śa* (35) and the tripartite subscribed *ya* of *lya* (42), partly agree with those of the inscriptions of Śoḍīsa, and partly, — for instance, *kha* (8), *na* (25) with the bent base-line, *pa* (26) with the notch in the left vertical, *ya* (31) with the curve on the left, and the frequently rounded *va* (34), — with the types of the Kuṣana period. Peculiar is its *ṭa* (16). Its cursive medial *ū*, which is used only in *nū* (25) and in *rū* (compare pl. VII, 33, III), and the *au* in *yau* (31), besides which the older form of pl. II, 28, XVIII, is used, appear here for the first time.

The letters on the somewhat older coins[1] of Rudradāman's grandfather Caṣṭana and of his father Jayadāman, which probably were struck in Ujjain, exhibit no material differences. Among the later Kṣatrapa inscriptions,[2] that from Junāgaḍh, incised during the reign of Rudradāman's son Rudrasiṃha, fully agrees with the Girnār Praśasti. The Gunda inscription of the same prince from the year 103 (or, according to the usual assumption, from A. D. 180), and the Jasdan inscription of Rudrasiṃha's son Rudrasena from the year 127 (?) or A. D. 204-205, show a few more advanced characters. Both these documents offer the bipartite subscribed *ya*; and the second has several times the northern *ma* of the Gupta period (pl. IV, 31, I ff), as well as the *e* standing above the line (compare, for instance, *ne*, pl. VII, 27, V). The same *ma*, or a similar sign with a straight base-stroke, appears also frequently on the coins of the later Kṣatrapas.[3] Its occurrence probably indicates a northern influence, perhaps that a northern alphabet was used at the same time; compare § 28 below, A.

B. — The alphabets of the cave-inscriptions of the western Dekhaṇ and the Koṅkaṇ; Plate III.

[43] The writing of the western Dekhaṇ and the Koṅkaṇ in the caves of Nāsik, Junnar, Kārle, Kaṇheri Kuḍā, &c, shows three varieties, an "archaistic" or retrograde type, a more advanced one with mostly faint traces of southern peculiarities, and an ornamental one. The first two appear in the oldest dated inscriptions of the Śaka Uṣavadāta or Usabhadāta (Ṛṣabhadatta),[4] the son-in-law of the Kṣaharāta king and Kṣatrapa Nahapāna from the years 41 to 45 of, according to the usual assumption, the Śaka era,[5] or from A. D. 118 to 122. The Kārle inscription No. 19 (col. VII) offers the "archaistic" or retrograde type, among the letters of which *gha* (10), *ja* (13), *da* (23), *bha* (29), *ya* (31), *la* (33), *sa* (37) and *ha* (38) come close to the forms in the older alphabets of pl. II, especially to those of the oldest Andhra inscriptions in cols. XXIII, XXIV. The same variety is found in some other, partly older, inscriptions of the same caves,[6] and must be regarded as a direct development from the ancient Andhra type. It shows only very faint traces of the southern peculiarities enumerated above. The curves at the ends of the verticals are only rudimentary. The vertical of *la* is curved, but to the right. The triangular *dha* (24), which appears here for the first time, is found also in other alphabets of this plate (see col. XI ff.); the abnormal *kha* (8) is confined to Kārle No. 19.

Against this rather clumsy alphabet, we find in Uṣavadāta's inscriptions from Nāsik (cols. VIII, IX) very neatly made letters, the *ductus* of which resembles that of Śoḍāsa's inscriptions (col. I) and of the Girnār Praśasti (col. VI). They show no trace of archaic forms, and the traces of the southern peculiarities are faint or entirely wanting. Only the southern *ḍa* (18) is distinct and constant. Noteworthy are *śa* (35, 42, VIII), which agrees with that of col. VI, the final *m* in *ddham* (41, VIII), and the tripartite subscribed *ya* in *bhyaḥ* (41, IX).

[1] C.CMI. pl. 1; J.RAS. 1890, pl at p. 638, B.ASRWI. 2, pl 7.

[2] Compare facsimiles in B.ASRWI. 2, pl. 20; J.BBRAS. 8, 234; Sanskr. and Prākr. Inscrs. Bhaunagar, pl. 17—19 (unreliable).

[3] See the plates cited in note 1 above.

[4] Usabhadāta only in Kārle No. 19, B.ASRWI. 4, pl. 51.

[5] Thus Bhāṇḍārkar, Early Hist. of the Dekkan², 23, and Bhagvānlāl, J.RAS, 1890, 642; see also Bühler, Die ind. Inschr. u. das Alter der ind. Kunstpoesie, 57 f.; while Cunningham, CMI. 3 f., refers Nahapāna's dates to the Mālava era of B. C. 57-56, and Oldenberg, IA. 10, 227, places Nahapāna between A. D. 55 and 100.

[6] Kārle, Nos. 1—14, B.ASRWI. 4, pl. 47, 48; Nāsik, No. 4, op. cit., pl. 51.

Very similar to this script is that of the Nāsik inscriptions (No. 11, *a*, *b*, = col. X) of the Andhra king Gotamiputa Sātakaṇi, who destroyed the Kṣaharāta dynasty, — possibly just Nahapāna and Usavadāta, — and of his son Siri-Puḷumāyi, Puḷumāi or Pulumāvi (Nāsik No. 14, = col XI), who is mentioned by Ptolemy as Siri-Polemaios or Polemios.[1] The only material difference occurs in the triangular *dha* (24, XI ; compare col. VII), which however is by no means constant. Nearly of the same type are the alphabets shewn in col. XII. from the Nāsik inscription of the somewhat later Andhra king Gotamiputa Siriyaña Sātakaṇi, in col. XIII. from the undated inscription Nāsik No. 20, and in col XIV. from Nāsik No. 12, incised during the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena.[2] In col. XII, however, we have a peculiar form of *ta* (21) developed from a looped form, a looped *na* (25) somewhat differing from the northern form in col. IV, a *ra* (32) with a stronger curve, and a *la* (33) with the vertical bent towards the left ; further, in col. XIII. a looped *ta* (21), and in col. XIV. a *ta* (21) and a *na* (25) derived from looped forms, a *ya* (31) with a curve on the left, a *la* (33) bent towards the left, a cursive subscribed *ña* in *jñaḥ* (40), and a peculiar, *ṛ*-like, medial *u* in *du* (23), which reappears in later southern inscriptions ; compare, for instance, *bhu*, pl. VII, 30, XII, and the *ū* in *tū*, pl. III, 21, XVII, XIX.

Cols. XV, XVI, give two somewhat differing specimens of the ornamental variety of this period according to the undated inscriptions of Kuḍā (Nos. 1—6, 11, 20) and of Junnar (No. 3). Both agree in the ornamental treatment of medial *i* and *ī*. But the Kuḍā inscriptions extend it to the curves at the ends of all verticals, and show notches in the left [44] strokes of *pu* (26) and *ba* (28 ; compare col. VI). In col. XVI. there are two other noteworthy signs, the bipartite subscript *ya* in *yya* (40), and the *śa* with the horizontal bar in *śri* (41 : compare 35, III—V). Ornamental forms, resembling those of cols. XV XVI, are found also in the approximately datable inscriptions of Puḷumāyi in Kārle Nos. 20, 22, and of the minister of the queen of his successor Vāsithīputa Sātakaṇi in Kaṇheri No. 11. The first two of these documents show a looped *ta* and a *ṇa* like that of col. XVII ; the third exhibits the neat characters of Western Kṣatrapa inscriptions. It is, therefore, certain that during the 2nd century A. D. all these three varieties were used promiscuously in the western Dekhaṇ and the Koṅkaṇ,[3] and the inscriptions from the Amarāvatī Stūpa[4] prove that they occurred also on the eastern coast of India. The contemporaneous employment of more advanced types and of more archaic ones with an admixture of more modern signs will have to be explained in this, as in other cases, by a desire to select archaic and monumental forms for epigraphic purposes and a failure to completely carry out this intention.

C. — The alphabet of the Jaggayyapeṭa inscriptions ; Plate III.

In the Kistna districts of the eastern coast, a still more ornamental alphabet, found in the Jaggayyapeṭa inscriptions from the time of the Ikṣvāku king Sirivīra Purisadatta (cols. XVII, XVIII), as well as in some Amarāvatī inscriptions,[5] was developed out of the ornamental variety just discussed, probably somewhat later, in the 3rd century A. D. One of its most prominent characteristics is the very considerable elongation of the verticals of *A*, *Ā*, *ka*, *ña*, *ra* and *la*, as well as of the medial *i*, *ī* and *u*. To a later time point the cursive forms of *tha* and *ha*, which latter agrees with the northern Gupta form (pl. IV, 39, I, VI), and the medial *e* of *me* (30), which, with its downward curve, agrees with the *e* of the later southern inscriptions (compare 30, XIX, XX, and pl. VII, 35, XII), and the medial *ū* in *tū* (21 ; compare col. XIX, and pl. VII, 30, XX). The medial *ū* of *tū* (40), in which the stroke expressing the length of the vowel has been attached to the head of the consonant, is entirely abnormal.

[1] See the works quoted in note 5 on page 12 above.

[2] According to BHAGVĀNLĀL's estimate, J RAS 1894, 657, "somewhat later than Nahapāna."

[3] Compare facsimiles in B.ASRWI. Vol. 4, pl. 45, Kuḍā Nos. 12—18 ; pl. 46, Kuḍā Nos. 22—28 ; Mahād Nos. 1—4 ; Kol Nos. 3, 5 ; pl. 47, Beḍsā Nos. 1—3 ; pl. 48, Kārle Nos. 15—18 ; Śailarvādi No 19 ; Junnar Nos. 1, 2 ; pl. 49—51, Junnar Nos. 4—34 ; pl. 52, Nāsik No. 6 *a* ; pl. 54, Junnar No. 32 ; Kārle No. 20 ; pl. 55, Nāsik Nos. 17—19, 21—24 . and Vol. 5, pl 51, Kaṇheri Nos. 2—5, 10, 12—14.

[4] B.ASRSI. 1, pl 53, 57 ; pl. 58, Nos. 28—34, 37 ; pl 59, Nos. 39, 43 ; pl. 60, Nos. 44, 45, 47—50 ; pl. 61, Nos. 51—53, 55, 56 ; and the autotypes of the Andhra coins, C.CAI. pl. 12, and J.BBRAS. 13, pl. 3.

[5] B.ASRSI. 1, pl. 58, Nos. 35, 36 ; pl. 59, Nos. 38, 40—42 ; pl. 60, No. 46 ; pl. 61, No. 54 ; pl. 62.

D. — The alphabet of the Pallava Prākrit land-grants; Plate III.

The highly cursive writing of the Prākrit land-grants of the Pallava kings Vijayabuddhavarman and Śivaskandavarman from Kāñcī (Conjeveram) in the Tamil districts,[1] shows in its *ductus* a certain relationship to the Jaggayyapeṭa inscriptions. But it is not doubtful that these documents are much later, though it is for the present impossible to fix their dates exactly. The use of Prākrit for official purposes perhaps indicates that they are not later than the first half of the 4th century A. D. The broad *E* (5, XX) with the rudimentary vertical to the right (compare pl. VII, 6, XI ff.), the *ḍa* with a tail in *ṛḍam* (40, XX; compare pl. VII, 19, IV f.), the subscribed *tha* open on the right in *ttha* (41, XIX; compare pl. VII, 45, XX), and the constantly looped *o* in *lo* (33, XX; compare pl. VII, 34, III f., XIII, XVII) point to the later period.

IV. THE NORTHERN ALPHABETS FROM ABOUT A. D. 350.[2]

§ 21. — Definition and varieties.

[45] By the term "northern alphabets" I understand with BURGESS, FLEET,[3] and others, that large group of epigraphic and literary scripts, which from about A. D. 350 conquers the whole

[1] Compare facsimiles in IA. 9, 100; EI. 1, 1 ff.

[2] Preparation of Plates IV, V, and VI: —

PLATE IV.

Cuttings from facsimiles.

Cols. I, II, III; from FLEET, Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3), pl 1.
Col. IV; from F.GI (CII. 3), pl 5.
Cols. V, VI; from F.GI (CII. 3), pl. 9, A.
Col. VII; from F.GI (CII. 3), pl. 9, B.
Col. VIII; from plate at EI. 1, 238.
Col. IX; from F.GI (CII. 3), pl 13.
Col. X; from F.GI (CII. 3), pl. 22.
Cols. XI, XII; from F.GI (CII. 3), pl. 30 B, and 31, A, B.
Cols. XIII, XIV; from F GI (CII. 3), pl. 41, A.
Cols. XV, XVI; from plate at EI. 1, 10.
Col. XVII; from plate at IA. 9, 172, Nos. 7, 8, 9.
Cols XVIII, XIX; from F.GI (CII. 3), pl. 28.
Col. XX; from plate at IA. 1c, 234.
Col. XXI; from plate at IA. 15, 112.
Co. XXII; from plate at IA. 11, 168.
Col. XXIII; from plate at IA. 15, 140.

PLATE V.

Col. I; from photolithograph of impressions of EI. 1, 97.
The other columns cut from facsimiles: —
Col. II; from plate at EI. 1, 160.
Col. III: from plate at EI. 1, 242.
Col. IV; from plates at IA 6, 65, and 11, 158.
Col. V; from unpublished facsimiles of IA. 13, 134.
Col. VI; from plate at IA. 17, 310.
Col. VII; from unpublished facsimiles of EI. 1, 162.
Col. VIII; from plate at EI. 1, 77.
Col. IX; from plate at EI. 2, 120.
Col. X; from plate at IA. 6, 50.
Col. XI; from plate at IA. 6, 192.
Col. XII; from plate at IA. 18, 11.
Col. XIII; from plate at EI. 1, 234.
Col. XIV; from plate at IA. 16, 205.
Col. XV. from plate at EI. 2, 297.
Col. XVI; from Bhaunagar Sankr. and Prākr. Inscriptions, plates 40, 41.
Col. XVII; from plate at IA. 16, 22.
Col. XVIII; from plate at EI. 1, 308.
Col. XIX; from plate at EI. 2, 350.
Col. XX; from plate at IA. 18, 130.
Col. XXI; from plates at IA. 11, 71, 337.
Col. XXII; from plate at IA. 16, 254.
Col. XXIII; from plate at EI. 1, 34.

PLATE VI.

Cuttings from facsimiles.

Cols. I, II, III, IV, from plates in HOERNLE's Bower MS., parts 1, 2.
Cols. V, VI, VII, and IX; from Anecd. Oxon., Ar. Ser., 1, 3, plate 6, cols. 1, 2, 3.
Col. VIII; from plate at Vienna Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, 127 ff.
Col. IX; see above, with cols. V, VI, and VII.
Col. X; from BENDALL, Cat. Buddh. MSS., pl. 2, 4, and Berlin Oriental Congress, Indian Section, pl. 2, 1.
Col. XI; from BENDALL, op. cit., pl. 3, 1.
Col XII; from Berlin Oriental Congress, Indian Section, pl. 2, 2, 3.
Col. XIII; from BENDALL, op. cit., pl. 1, 3.
Col. XIV; from Anecd. Oxon., Ar. Series, 1, 1, pl. 4.
Cols. XV, XVI, XVII; from LEUMANN, photogr. of Deccan College Collection, 1880-81, No. 57: 7, XV, XVI; 14 and 16, XV; 18, XV, XVI, XVII; 19 and 23, XV, XVI; 24, XV; 27, XV, XVI: 35, 37, and 41, XVII, added from LEUMANN's Viśesāvaśyaka, pl. 35; 7, XVII, and 8, 9, 10, XV, and 12, 14, 13, XVI, added from photogr. of the Royal Asiatic Society's Gaṇaratnamahodadhi.
Cols. XVIII, XIX; from plates at Vienna Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, 111 ff.

Scale of the three plates = two-thirds of the facsimiles.

[3] F.GI (CII. 3), 3 f., and passim.

wide territory north of the Narmadā, with the exception of Kāthiāvāḍ and northern Gujarāt, and which, spreading in the course of time more and more, finally is used in a number of varieties for nearly all the Aryan languages of India. Their origin is to be found in the cursive forms, which first appear in the addition to the Aśoka edict VI. of Dhauli, and in a number of signs of the Kālsī version (see above, page 6 f.), and later are found, occasionally or constantly, in some of the Jaina votive inscriptions of the Kuṣana period (see above, § 19, A). Their general type is that of a cursive alphabet with signs reduced at the top to the same height, and made throughout, as much as possible, equal in breadth. As the occurrence of ancient MSS. and various peculiarities of the letters, such as the formation of wedges out of the *Serifs* at the ends of the verticals, clearly prove, they were always written with a pen or a brush and ink. Their most important common characteristics are: — (1) The absence of curves at the lower ends of the verticals of *A*, *Ā*, *ka*, *ña*, &c. (with occasional exceptions for *ra*); (2) the use of the *Serif* at the left down-strokes of *kha*, *ga*, and *śa*; (3) the division of the original vertical of *ṇa* and of its upper bar; (4) the use of a looped *na* and of a *ta* without a loop; (5) the transformation of the lower portion of *ma* into a small knob or loop attached to the left of the letter; (6) the shortening of the vertical of *la*; (7) the turn of the medial *i* to the left, which is soon followed by the twist of medial *ī* to the right; (8) the development of curves, open to the left, at the end of the originally horizontal medial *u*; and (9) the use of a curve, open to the right, for medial *ṛ*.

While all the alphabets represented in plates IV, V, VI, show these common characteristics or further developments from them, they may be divided, acccording to other peculiarities, into seven larger groups, most of which again comprise several varieties: —

(1) The epigraphic North-Indian alphabet of the 4th and 5th centuries, commonly called the Gupta alphabet, which, according to HOERNLE's researches,[1] has an eastern and a western variety, among which the second again has two branches, and with the western variety of which the literary alphabet of the Bower MS. and of some other documents from Kashgar is closely connected.

(2) The acute-angled or Siddhamātṛkā (?) alphabet with wedges at the verticals of the letters, which is first found in the palm-leaves of Horiuzi, and towards the end of the 6th century in the Mahānāman inscription from Gayā and in the Lakkhāmaṇḍal Praśasti.

(3) The Nāgarī with its long-drawn, tailed, letters, and long top-strokes, the first certain traces of which occur in the 7th century.

(4) The Śāradā alphabet, a northern variety of the western Gupta type, first found about A. D. 800.

(5) The eastern Proto-Bengālī alphabet with much rounded, cursive letters, and with hooks or hollow triangles at the tops of the verticals, first traceable in the 11th century.

(6) The hooked alphabet of Nepāl, [46] which is closely connected with the Proto-Bengālī and occurs in MSS. from the 11th century onwards.

During the 4th and 5th centuries, the rule of these alphabets to the north of the Narmadā is by no means undisputed. In the west we find, as far north as Bijayagaḍh (Bhartpur), inscriptions in southern characters, or with an admixture of southern letters (see below, § 27). In the 6th and 7th centuries this mixture no longer occurs. Only the so-called "arrow-head" type (see below, § 26, C), the seventh variety on plates IV—VI, which appears in rather late times in Bengal and Nepāl, offers an instance of the importation of a southern script into Northern India.

[1] J.ASB. 60, 80 ff.; and IA. 21, 29 ff.

On the other hand, we meet, from the 7th century, with inscriptions in northern characters first on the coast, in the west in Gujarāt,[1] and in the east even beyond Madras.[2] Documents of this kind appear from the middle of the 8th century also in the central Dekhaṇ, and during the 12th and 13th centuries they penetrate as far as Vijayanagara in the Kanarese country (see below, § 23). But they never come into sole use beyond the northern limit of the Dravidian districts.

The ancient MSS. hitherto found in Kashgar, Japan and Nepāl, the oldest of which probably were written in the 4th century,[3] show only northern letters. The palm-leaf MSS. of Western India, which begin in the 10th century, agree with the inscriptions of the period, and prove that the northern Nāgarī was generally used in Rājputāna, Gujarāt,[4] and in the northern Dekhaṇ as far as Devagiri (Daulatābād).[5] The gradual advance of the northern characters towards the south probably is explained by the predilection of many southern kings for northern customs, and by the immigration of northern Brahmans, castes of scribes, and Buddhist and Jaina monks, to which facts the statements in various inscriptions and the historical tradition bear witness.[6]

§ 22.—The so-called Gupta alphabet of the 4th and 5th centuries A. D.; Plate IV.

A.—Varieties.

The differences between the eastern and western varieties of the so-called Gupta [47] alphabet appear in the signs for *la*, *ṣa* and *ha*.[7] In the eastern variety the left limb of *la* (plate IV, 34, I—III, V, VI) is turned sharply downwards; compare the *la* of the Jaugada separate edicts (see above, § 16, C, 35). Further, the base-stroke of *ṣa* (IV, 37, I—III, V, VI) is made round and attached as a loop to the slanting central bar. Finally, the base-stroke of *ha* (IV, 39, I—III, V, VI) is suppressed, and its hook, attached to the vertical, is turned sharply to the left, exactly as in the Jaggayyapeṭa inscriptions (see above, § 20, C). In the western variety these three letters have the older and fuller forms.

The specimens of the eastern variety in plate IV. have been taken from the oldest Gupta inscription, Hariṣeṇa's Allahabad Praśasti (cols. I—III), which certainly was incised during the reign of Samudragupta,[8] probably between A. D. 370 and 390, and from the Kahāuṃ Praśasti of A. D. 460 (cols. V, VI) of the time of Skandagupta. It appears, besides, in FLEET's Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3) Nos. 6—9, 15, 64, 65, 77; in BHAGVĀNLĀL's inscriptions from Nepāl, Nos. 1—3;[9] and in CUNNINGHAM's Gayā inscription of Saṃvat 64.[10] The fact that FLEET's No. 6 is found far west, near Bhilsa in Mālva, may be explained by its having been incised, during an expedition of Candragupta II. to Mālva, at the command of his minister, who calls himself an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra. Nothing is known regarding the origin of FLEET's No. 77, which is incised on a seal, purchased in Lahore, but possibly manufactured in Eastern India.

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[1] Fragments of inscriptions with northern characters of this period, from Valabhī, are preserved in the Museums of Bombay (the Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society) and Rājkoṭ. Compare also the sign-manuals on the Gurjara land-grants, J.RAS., 1895, 247 ff.

[2] B.ESIP. 53, and plate 22 *a*; IA. 18, 161, 172.

[3] I agree with HOERNLE, who considers certain portions of the new Godfrey collection from Kashgar to be older than the Bower MS.; J.ASB. 66, 258.

[4] KIELHORN, Report on Sanskrit MSS., 1880-81, 1 ff.; PETERSON, Second Report, Appendix I, and Third Report, Appendix I.

[5] J.RAS. 1895, 247.

[6] Compare B.EISP. 20, 53 ff.; FLEET in EI. 3, 2.

[7] Compare HOERNLE, J.ASB. 60, 81, who mentions *ṣa* alone, because his remarks refer also to the type discussed below in § 23.

[8] SB.WA. 122, XI, 32 ff.

[9] IA. 9, 163 ff.; in my opinion the era is not, as FLEET holds in Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3), Introduction, 95, 177 ff., that of A. D. 318-19, but one peculiar to the Nepalese, the exact beginning of which has still to be determined.

[10] C.MG. pl. 25; the era may be that of the Guptas.

The western variety of the Gupta alphabet again appears in two forms, a cursive round-hand and an angular, monumental, type. The second form, which shews very characteristic thick top-lines and a hooked *ra* (33), is represented in plate IV, col. IV, by the alphabet of the Bilsaḍ Praśasti of A. D. 415. Another fine example is found in Fleet's No. 32, from the Meharaulī iron pillar near Delhi. Specimens of the cursive form are given in col VII. from the Indor copper-plate of A. D. 465, in col. VIII. from Toramāṇa's Kura inscription, probably of the second half of the 5th century,[1] and in col. IX. from the Kāritalāī copper-plate of Jayanātha of Uccakalpa, dated the year 174 or probably A. D. 423.[2] The same type is found in Fleet's Nos. 4, 13, 16, 19, 22—31, 36, 61, 63, 66, 67, 69, 74, 76, and in the Jaina votive inscriptions from Mathurā, new series, Nos. 38, 39.[3] It deserves to be noted that Fleet's No. 13 from Bhitarī is found in a district where one would expect the eastern variety. Fleet's No. 61, the Jaina inscription from Udayagiri in Mālva, shows a mixture of the northern characters with southern ones, as it offers throughout *A*, *Ā*, with a curve, and once a southern *ṛ*. Perhaps the same may be said of Fleet's No. 59, the Bijayagaḍh inscription from Bhartpur in Rājputāna, where *ra* shows a curve at the end and medial *i* and *ī* resemble those in plate III, col. XVI. The characters on the Gupta coins[4] are frequently retrograde, and offer, *e. g.*, the angular *ma* of the Kuṣana period.

B. — Characteristics of the epigraphic Gupta alphabet.

The following particularly important or characteristic peculiarities of the Gupta inscriptions deserve to be noticed in detail: —

(1) The lower parts of the right-hand verticals of *A*, *Ā*, *ga*, *ḍa*, *ta*, *bha* and *śa* are so much elongated, and those of *ka* and *ra* remain so long, that these eight signs have about double the length of those without verticals. This is particularly visible in the older stone inscriptions; on the copper-plates they are often shortened.

(2) The right-hand portion of *gha*, *pa*, *pha*, *ṣa* and *sa* shows an [illegible] angle, whereby later the development of tails or verticals on the right of these signs has been caused.

(3) Since the middle of the 5th century, the lower portion of the left limb of *A* (1, IX, XI) shows the curve, open to the left, which appears in all the later forms of the letter; the sign of the length of *Ā* (2, VII—IX) [48] is attached to the foot of the right vertical.

(4) In addition to the *I* of the Kuṣana period (3, I, V), there occur, owing to the predilection for letters flattened at the top, the also later frequent *I* with two dots above (3, VII), and that consisting of a short horizontal line with two dots below (3, IX), which latter is the parent of the later southern *I* (plates VII, VIII, and § 28 below) and of that of the Nāgarī (below, § 24, A, 4).

(5) The rudimentary curves at the left end of *U*, *Ū* and *O* are more fully developed in the 5th century; compare above, § 19, B, 4.

(6) The guttural *ṅa* begins to appear instead of the Anusvāra before *śa* and *ha* (11, VII), perhaps in consequence of the faulty pronunciation, blamed in the Śikṣās.[5]

(7) The third horizontal line of *ja* (14, I—III, VII, VIII) begins to slant downwards, and occasionally shows a curve at the end, whereby later the new forms of cols. XXI—XXIII. are caused.

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[1] IA. 18, 225.

[2] According to Fleet, IA. 19, 227 f., the kings of Uccakalpa probably dated according to the Cedi or Kalacuri era of A. D. 249.

[3] EI. 2, 210.

[4] J.ASB. 53, pl. 2—4; J.RAS., 1889, pl. 1—4, and p. 34 ff., and 1893, pl. 2.

[5] Haug, Wedischer Accent, 64.

(8) The palatal *ña* (16, I, II; 42, I, VI, VII, XI) is frequently made cursive and round, and is occasionally laid on the side in order to save space, compare also *jñaḥ*, plate III, 40, XIV. But older, angular, forms likewise occur (42, V).

(9) The *ṭa* (17, I—III, IX) is often flattened down at the top.

(10) The *ṇa* of 21, I, II, shows a little stroke at the right end, caused by an inexact formation of the hook on the right, and in the second sign a cursive loop on the left; in 21, III, the letter has been laid on the side and somewhat resembles the Nāgarī *ṇa*.

(11) The *tha* (23, I, V—IX) is mostly elliptical or flattened on the right, and a cross-bar often replaces the dot in the centre: but the old form likewise survives (23, II, III).[1]

(12) The *ya* (32, I—IX) is mostly tripartite, but sometimes, particularly in *ye*, *yai* and *yo*, transitional forms with the loop, like the later ones in 32, XIII, XVI, appear, which lead up to the bipartitite *ya*.[2] The oldest instance of the independent looped *ya* is found in FLEET's No. 59 of A. D. 371, but the Kuṣana inscriptions show the looped subscript *ya* even earlier (see above, § 19, B, 12).

(13) The left limb of *sa* (38, I—III, V, VI, VIII) often becomes a loop, as happens already in some Kuṣana inscriptions (§ 19, B, 16). A substitute for the loop is the triangle (probably giving the outlines of a wedge), which occurs in the three most ancient inscriptions from Nepāl; compare the later *sa* of 38, XII. But the older hook is equally common.

(14) The rare *ḷa* (40, I—III) is found also in FLEET's No. 67, line 1.

(15) The signs for the medial vowels agree in many particulars with those of the Kuṣana period. But the open semicircle for *ā* in *ṭā* (17, II), which is found also in *ṛā*, is an innovation. Further, the medial *i*, for instance, of *khi* (8, III, VI, IX), is drawn further to the left than in the earlier inscriptions. In some inscriptions like Mathurā, new series, Nos. 38, 39, the medial *ī* consists merely of a curve, going to the right, though the form with two horns (as in *dī*, 24, I), and a looped one (as in *bhī*, 30, IV), are more common. Medial *u* is mostly represented by the still used curve, which in *ru* (33, III, VI) appears abnormally at the end of *ra*; but in *gu* (8, II, VI), *tu*, *bhu* (30, I) and *śu* (36, III) the vowel rises upwards. For medial *ū* there are, besides an old form in *gū* (9, IV), other combinations in *bhū* (30, II, VI) and *ṭṭū* (42, II) and a later very common, cursive form in *dhū* (25, II, VI). One of the Mātrās of *ai* and *o* is often placed vertically, as in *gai*, 32, III; in *go*, 9, III; and in *ṇo*, 21, III.

(16) The desire to save space causes the cursive *ña*, *ṭa* (see *ṣṭa*, 45, IX) and *tha* (see *sthā*, 45, V; *stha*, 46, IX) to be laid on the side, in case they form the second elements of ligatures. From the 5th century, *rya* (45, VII) is expressed by a full *ra* with a subscript *ya*.

(17) The first certain Virāma (see *ddham*, 43, VII), consisting of a horizontal stroke above the small final, dates likewise from the 5th century; the northern Jihvāmūlīya (*ḫka*, 46, II) and the Upadhmānīya (*ḫpā*, 46, III) occur already in the 4th century.

C.—The Gupta alphabet in manuscripts.

Among the types of the Bower MS., which belongs, according to HOERNLE's and my own opinion,[3] to the 5th century, I have given [49] in plate VI, cols. I—IV, only the alphabet of the portion which HOERNLE marks *A*, since the published parts of his *B*. and *C*. are not sufficiently extensive for a paleographic enquiry. Its characters differ very little from those of the epigraphic documents of the Gupta period, especially from the copper-plates. The *Serifs* at the tops of the vertical strokes, however, are made more carefully and nearly throughout worked

[1] Compare facsimile in FLEET's Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3), No. 61.

[2] J.ASB. 60, 83 ff.

[3] J.ASB. 60, 92 f.; WZKM. 5, 104 f. The discovery of an inscription of the 7th century with mostly tripartite *ya*, EI. 4, 29, makes a modification of HOERNLE's argumentation necessary, but does not invalidate his final result.

up with the latter into real wedges. If a letter like *gha* (plate VI, 18, I—IV) has several upstrokes, the *Serifs* are added regularly to all of them. Similarly, the lower ends of vertical strokes more regularly bear *Serifs* or are converted into wedges or little buttons. The greater regularity of the writing is what may be expected in a good MS., the material of which offers fewer difficulties than stone or copper. The invariable use of the *Serifs* has led to the formation of the *ka* (15, IV) with the loop on the left[1] (compare 15, I, III), which appears occasionally in the Bower MS., but is noticeable only later, since A. D. 588-89 (see plate IV, 7, XIII), in the inscriptions. Further, the Bower MS. offers in rare cases, *e. g.* in *prayojayet* (fol. 31*a*, 11), an archaic form of the bipartite *ya*. Finally, it makes us acquainted with some signs which, owing to the rarity of the sounds expressed by them, cannot occur frequently in the inscriptions and hitherto have not been traced in those of the 4th and 5th centuries. To these belong the long *Ī* (4, I), in which the upper and lower dots of the ancient sign (compare plate VI, 4, V, VII) have been converted into a straight stroke, and further the short *Ṛ*, which clearly consists of a *ra* and a medial *ṛ* (compare above, § 1; and below, § 24, A, 7), also the *AU* (14, I, II), which fully agrees with the epigraphic character of A. D. 532 (plate IV, 6, X), and the subscript *ṛ* of *nṛ* (34, III) which consists of two *ṛ*, placed horizontally side by side.

§ 23. —The acute-angled and Nāgarī types; Plates IV, V, VI.

About the beginning of the sixth century we find in the northern inscriptions, both of Eastern and Western India (plate IV, cols. X—XII),[2] distinct beginnings of a new development, which first leads to the forms of the Gayā inscription of A. D. 588-89 (plate IV, cols. XIII, XIV) and of the probably not much later Lakkhāmaṇḍal Praśasti (plate IV, cols. XV, XVI).[3] Their chief characteristic is that the letters slope from the right to the left, and show acute angles at the lower or at the right ends, as well as that the tops of the vertical or slanting lines invariably bear small wedges, and their ends either show the same ornaments or protuberances on the right. These peculiarities are observable in a large number of inscriptions of the next four centuries, and it seems to me advisable to class the characters of the whole group as those of the "acute-angled alphabet." Formerly[4] the term "nail-headed" was frequently applied to them. Of late this has been given up and no new generic name has been proposed. Thus FLEET says, in his edition of the Gayā inscription,[5] only that the letters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Possibly the Indian name may have been Siddhamātṛkā (*lipi*). For Berūnī[6] states that an alphabet [50] of this name was used in his time (about A. D. 1030) in Kashmīr and in Benares, while the Nāgarī was current in Mālva. If the usual writing of Benares resembled that of Kashmīr, it cannot have had the long horizontal top-strokes which always characterise the Nāgarī. Berūnī's note is, however, too brief and vague for a definite settlement of the question.

The two inscriptions, mentioned above, which, like the other contemporaneous cognate documents, are connected with the western Gupta alphabet, mark the first step in the development of the acute angled alphabet during the sixth century. And to the same subdivision belong, among the MSS., the Horiuzi palm-leaves, which according to the Japanese tradition certainly existed in the second half of the 6th century.[7] If fourteen years ago, when I wrote my paleographical essay on these leaves in the Anecdota Oxoniensia, the facsimiles of the Gayā and Lakkhāmaṇḍal inscriptions had been accessible, it would have sufficed to compare their letters in order to prove the correctness of the statements of the Japanese.

1 Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, 1, 3, 76.

2 Compare also the facsimiles in FLEET's Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3), Nos. 20, 24, 33, 34, 33, 37, 47, 51, 70, 75, and of the seal of Kumāragupta II., J.ASB. 58, 84.

3 Compare also the facsimiles in Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3), Nos. 72, 76, 78, 79, 80.

4 See, *e. g.*, TOD, Annals of Rajasthan, 1, 700 ff., Madras edition.

5 Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3), 274.

6 India, 1, 173 (SACHAU).

7 Anec. Oxon., Ary. Series, 1, 3, 64.

The characters of Aṃśuvarman's inscription of A. D. 635 (plate IV, col. XVII) and of the nearly contemporaneous Aphsaḍ Praśasti of Ādityasena (plate IV, cols. XVIII, XIX) show the further progress of the acute-angled alphabet during the 7th century. It must, however, be noted that Aṃśuvarman's inscriptions and other Nepalese documents of the same time have the round *ṣa* and thus are allied with the eastern Gupta character, while the Aphsaḍ Praśasti and its allies from India proper are connected with the western variety of the old northern alphabet.[1] FLEET calls this second variety, on account of the more marked twist of the lower ends of the strokes, "the Kuṭila variety of the Magadha alphabet of the 7th century."[2] I feel disinclined to adopt the term "Kuṭila," which was first used by PRINSEP,[3] and since has been employed by many other writers, because it is based on an erroneous rendering of the expression *kuṭila akṣara* in the Deval Praśasti.[4] I would remove it from the paleographic terminology. KIELHORN likewise avoids it in his paleographic remarks on various inscriptions of this period.[5]

During the 8th—10th centuries, the development of the acute-angled or Siddhamātṛkā alphabet progresses more and more in the direction of its successor, the Nāgarī alphabet, which latter in its old North-Indian form is distinguished merely by the substitution of straight top-strokes for the wedges on the verticals. Documents with a mixture of wedges and straight top-strokes are also found; and occasionally it becomes difficult to decide how a particular inscription is to be classed.

To this third and last variety[6] of the acute-angled alphabet belong the characters of the Multāī copper-plates (plate IV, col. XX) of A. D. 708-709,[7] of the Dighvā-Dubaulī plate, probably of A. D. 761 (plate IV, col. XXI),[8] of the Gwalior inscription of A. D. 876 (plate V, col. II), and of the Ghosrāva inscription of the 9th or 10th century (plate V, col. VI),[9] as well as, among the MSS., those of the Cambridge MS. No. 1049 (plate VI, col. VII), dated in the year 252,[10] probably of Aṃśuvarman's era of A. D. 594,[11] or in A. D. 846. An intermediate position between the acute-angled and the Nāgarī alphabets, is occupied by the letters of the Pehoa Praśasti of about A. D. 900 (plate V, col. III), of the Deval Praśasti of A. D. 992 or 993 (plate V, col. VIII) and of the copper-plates of the Paramāra king Vākpati II. of A. D. 974 (plate V, col. X).[12] They, no doubt, show the wedges; but these are so broad that they produce the same effect as the long straight top-strokes, and that, *e. g.*, the open tops of *A*, *Ā*, *gha*, *pa*, &c., are closed, just as in the Nāgarī inscriptions. Specimens of the mixture of wedges and straight top-strokes, mentioned above, are found in the Rādhanpur and Vaṇī-Diṇḍorī copper-plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king [51] Govinda III. of A. D. 807-808 (plate V, col. IV),[13] and the Harṣa inscription of the Cāhamāna Vigraha II. of A. D. 973 (plate V, col. IX).[14]

[1] Compare also the facsimiles in IA. 9, 163 ff., Nos. 4—10, 12; BENDALL, Journey in Nepāl, 72, Nos. 1, 2; and HOERNLE's remarks in J.ASB. 60, 85.

[2] Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3), 201, 284; EI. 3, 328, note 1.

[3] J.ASB. 6, 778, pl. 41.

[4] EI. 1, 76. In confirmation of my explanation of the phrase *kuṭilānyakṣarāṇi viduṣā*, "by him who knows crooked letters," *i. e.*, letters difficult to read, I would point to Vikramāṅkacarita, 18, 42, where we have the statement that queen Sūryamatī did not allow herself to be cheated *kāyasthaiḥ kuṭila-lipibhiḥ*, "by writers using crooked alphabets."

[5] Compare his remarks on inscriptions of this class, IA. 17, 308; 19, 55; 20, 123; 21, 169; EI. 1, 179, 2, 117, 160.

[6] Compare, for this and the preceding varieties, the facsimiles at IA. 2, 258; 5, 180; 9, 174 ff., Nos. 11, 13, 14, 15; 10, 31; 17, 310; 19, 58; BENDALL, Journey in Nepāl, pl. 10, 11, 13; EI. 1, 179; 4, 29; C.ASR. 17, pl. 9; and the autotypes of coins in C.CMI. pl. 3, Nos. 7—14; pl. 6, No 20; and pl. 7.

[7] According to FLEET, IA. 18, 231, "transitional type from which the North-Indian Nāgarī alphabet was soon after developed."

[8] According to FLEET, IA. 15, 106, "North-Indian Nāgarī."

[9] Compare IA. 17, 308.

[10] BENDALL, Cat. Cambr. Buddh. MSS. from Nepāl, XLI. ff.; Anec. Oxon., Ary. Series, 3, 71 ff.

[11] S. LÉVI, JA. 1894, II, 55 ff.

[12] EI. 1, 76; IA. 6, 48.

[13] IA. 6, 59; 11, 158; compare also facsimiles in EI. 3, 103, and IA. 14, 200.

[14] Compare also facsimile, IA. 16, 174.

The last-mentioned two inscriptions are, however, by no means the oldest documents, in which Nāgarī letters occur. The first undoubtedly genuine specimens[1] are found in the signatures of the Gurjara princes on the copper-plates of Kaira (of A. D. 628 and 633), of Dabhoī (A. D. 642), of Nausārī (A. D. 705), and of Kāvī (A. D. 736),[2] the texts of which are written in a southern alphabet. In the first-mentioned three signatures, the Nāgarī letters are in the minority, as most of the signs show either more archaic northern or southern forms. Only in the fourth signature the Nāgarī is used throughout and is fully developed. But the most ancient document, written throughout in Nāgarī, is the Sāmāngaḍ grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga of A. D. 754 (plate IV, col. XXII).[3] Much of the same type are the characters of the Kaṇheri inscriptions Nos. 15 and 43 (plate V, col. V),[4] which were respectively incised in A. D. 851 and 877 during the reigns of the Śilāhāra princes Pullaśakti and Kapardin II.

The Sāmāngaḍ and Kaṇheri inscriptions, together with some others of the 9th century,[5] show the archaic variety of the southern Nāgarī, the fully developed form of which is exhibited in the copper-plates of Kauṭhem (plate V, col. XVII),[6] which were incised during the reign of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya V. in A. D. 1009-10. The southern Nāgarī, of the 8th—11th centuries, which differs from its northern sister of the same period chiefly by the want of the small tails slanting to the right from the ends of the verticals, and in general by stiffer forms, besides occurs in numerous inscriptions of the Śilāhāras and Yādavas from the Marāṭhā country and the Koṅkaṇ, as well as of a Raṭṭa prince from the Belgaum collectorate.[7] Its latest development during the 13th—16th centuries is found in the inscriptions of the kings of Vijayanagara or Vidyānagara in the Kanarese country.[8] It still survives in the Bālbodh or Devanāgarī of the Marāṭhā districts, and in Southern India it has produced the so-called Nandināgarī which is still used for MSS.[9]

In Northern and Central India, the Nāgarī appears first on the copper-plate of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāla of Mahodaya (plate IV, col. XXIII),[10] probably of A. D. 794, which however exhibits some archaisms and peculiarities in the signs for *kha*, *ga*, and *na*, found also in later inscriptions from Eastern India. The fact that an earlier inscription from the Kanarese country, the incision of which is due to a Brahman from Northern India (see EI. 3, 1 ff.), shows a mixture of Nāgarī and acute-angled letters, makes it probable that the northern Nāgarī was in use at least since the beginning of the 8th century. From the next century, we have only a few inscriptions in northern Nāgarī.[11] But after A. D. 950 their number increases, and in the 11th century the script becomes paramount in nearly all the districts north of the Narmadā.

The characters of the Sīyaḍoṇī inscriptions from Central India (plate V, col. VII), the dates of which run from A. D. 968, and those of the copper-plate of the first Caulukya of Gujarāt, incised in A. D. 987 (plate V, col. XI),[12] show the forms of the northern Nāgarī of the 10th century. The copper-plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa (Gāhaḍavāla) king Madanapāla of Kanauj in Northern India, dated A. D. 1097 (plate V, col. XII), the Udaypur Praśasti of the Paramāras of Mālva (probable date about A. D. 1060) in the west of Central India (plate V, col. XIII), the Nanyaurā plates of the Cāndella Devavarman of A. D. 1050 (plate V, col. XIV) and of

1 The genuineness of the earlier Umetā and Bagumrā plates (IA. 7, 63, 17, 199) is disputed (IA. 18, 91 ff.), their Nāgarī letters have been given in Anec. Oxon., Ary. Series, 1, 3, pl. 6.

2 See the facsimiles, J RAS. 1835, 247 ff.; EI 5, 40; IA. 5, 113; 13, 78; and the remarks in SB.WA. 135, 8, 2.

3 IA. 11, 105.

4 IA. 13, 255; 20, 421.

5 Compare, *e. g.*, the Ambarnāth inscription, J.BBRAS. 9, 219; 12, 334; IA. 19, 242.

6 IA. 16, 15 ff.

7 Compare also the facsimiles, IA. 7, 304; 9, 32; 14, 141; 17, 122; J.BBRAS. 13, 1; 15, 386; EI. 3, 272, 300 f., 306 f.

8 Compare the facsimiles, EI. 3, 38 f., 152 ff.; B.ESIP. pl. 30, and the alphabet, pl. 20.

9 B.ESIP. 52 (where the Nandināgarī is derived erroneously from the Siddhamātṛkā), and pl. 21.

10 IA. 15, 140.

11 See the facsimile, IA. 13, 64.

12 See above, § 21, p. 44, note 2; compare also the facsimiles at IA. 12, 250, 263; 16, 202; EI. 1, 122; J.BBRAS. 18, 239.

the Kalacuri Karṇa of Tripura, dated A. D. 1042 (plate V, col. XV), both from the eastern part of Central India, and the plates of the Caulukya Bhīma I. of Gujarāt, dated A. D. 1029 (plate V, col. XVI), give specimens of the northern Nāgarī of the 11th century.[1] Finally, the northern Nāgarī of A. D. 1100—1207 is illustrated by the alphabets of a plate of Jayaccandra, the last Rāṣṭrakūṭa (Gāhadavāla) king of Kanauj, dated A. D. 1175 (plate V, col. XX), of the plates of the last Caulukya of Gujarāt, Bhīma II., dated A. D. 1199 and 1207 [52] (plate V, col. XXI), of the plate of the Paramāra Udayavarman of Mālva, dated A. D. 1200 (plate V, col. XXII), and of the Ratnapur stone inscription from the reign of the Kalacuri Jājalla of Tripura, dated A. D. 1114 (plate V, col. XXIII).[2]

With the characters of these Nāgarī inscriptions, agree those of the now numerous ancient palm-leaf MSS. from Gujarāt, Rājputāna and the northern Dekhan, the dates of which run certainly from the 11th, and possibly from the 10th century. Cols. XV—XVII. of plate VI. exhibit their alphabet chiefly according to LEUMANN's photographs and tracings of the Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣyaṭīkā, dated A. D. 1081, together with some supplements from the Royal Asiatic Society's Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, of A. D. 1229.[3] But a number of MSS. from Nepāl, belonging to the 11th and 12th centuries, show the northern Nāgarī of the preceding century. And col. XIII. of plate VI. offers a specimen from No. 866, the oldest Cambridge MS. of this class, which is dated A. D. 1008.[4] Of the same type is the alphabet of plate VI, col. XIV, taken from the reproduction of col. 1 of WYLIE's copy of the Vajracchedikā in Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, 1, 1, plate 4.

§ 24. — Details of the changes in the acute-angled and the Nāgarī alphabets.[5]

A. — The Mātṛkās.

Among the numerous changes, which the letters of the acute-angled and Nāgarī scripts undergo in course of time, the following more important ones, affecting the Mātṛkās or radical signs, deserve special mention : —

(1) The signs for *E*, *gha*, *ca*, *tha*, *dha*, *pa*, *ba*, *ma*, *ya*, *la*, *va*, *ṣa* and *sa*, develop gradually, — the later the more distinctly, — shorter or longer tails, which first slant off towards the right below the bottom-line of the letters, but later, in the Nāgarī, become vertical strokes, except in the case of *E*. [53] From the 10th century similar pendent lines appear in the middle of *cha* (plate V, 16, II, III, &c.), and of *ḍha* (plate V, 23, II), of *pha* (plate V, III, &c.) and of *ha* (plate V, 42, II—IV, &c.), which the Nāgarī, too, retains in *cha* and *ha* and converts into a medial vertical in the case of *pha*. In the acute-angled script, *kha*, *ga*, *tha*, *dha*, and *śa* frequently show on the right a small horn-like protuberance or an elongation of the vertical, which, owing to the flattening of the tops, the Nāgarī again discards except in the case of *dha*. Both the last-mentioned peculiarities are due to the circumstance that the writers drew the left and right portions of the letters separately and neglected to join carefully the two halves.[6] In course of time these irregularities became characteristic features of most of the letters.

1 See above, § 21, p. 44, note 2 ; compare also the facsimiles at IA. 6, 53, 54 ; 8, 40 ; 12, 126, 202 ; 15, 36 ; 16, 208 ; 18, 34 ; EI. 1, 2 6, 316 ; 3, 50.

2 See above, § 21 p. 44, note 2 ; compare, *e. g.*, the facsimiles at IA. 11, 72 ; 17, 226 ; 18, 130.

3 KIELHORN, Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1880-81, pp. VII, 37 ; J.RAS. 1895, 247, 504 ; compare also the facsimiles, Pal. Soc., Or. Series, pl. 1, 2, 3, 58 ; Cat. Berlin Sanskr. und Prākr. Hdschft., Band 2, 3, pl. 1. In the marginal glosses of the Viśeṣāvaśyaka and other MSS., frequently appear other cursive alphabets ; see LEUMANN's edition, pl. 35.

4 BENDALL, Cat. Buddh. Sanskrit MSS. from Nepāl, pp. XXIV f., 1 f. ; compare also the facsimile, Pal. Soc., Or. Series, pl. 13. According to S. v. OLDENBURG (letter of 7th April, 1897), the alphabet of these Nepalese MSS. is the so-called Lañjā script, in which is written a complete MS. of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, preserved in St. Petersburg.

5 Compare, for this paragraph, BENDALL, Cat. Cambridge Buddhist MSS. from Nepāl, XLIII—LI ; Anec. Oxon., Aryan Series, 1, 3, 73—87.

6 Anec. Oxon., Aryan Series, 1, 3, 70.

(2) In consequence of the elongation of the ends of the wedges and of the use of long straight top-strokes, the heads of *A*, *Ā*, *gha*, *pa*, *pha*, *ma*, *ya*, *ṣa*, and *sa* are gradually closed, both in the acute-angled and the Nāgarī scripts.[1]

(3) The lower portion of the left half of *A* and *Ā* almost invariably consists of a curve, open towards the left, which first appears occasionally in the Kuṣana inscriptions (see above, § 19, B, 1) and later regularly on the Uccakalpa plates (plate IV, 1, IX). It is preserved in the Bālbodh of the Marāṭhās and is common in the Bombay editions of Sanskrit works. In other late specimens of the Nāgarī, it is replaced by two slanting strokes (plate V, 1, 2, XVI), to which a third, a remnant of an earlier wedge at the foot of the vertical, is added lower down. This form is the parent of the *A*, *Ā*, used in the Benares and Calcutta prints. Up to the 8th century, the long *Ā* is invariably differentiated by the addition of a curve to the right end of *A*. Later, its mark is a downward stroke, which is attached either to the right of the top (*e. g.*, plate IV, 2, XXI) or to the middle (plate IV, 2, XXII) and thus reoccupies the same positions which the corresponding horizontal bar has in the Aśoka edicts.[2] In the MSS., the downstroke at the top is found even earlier (plate VI, 2, VI).

(4) The sign for *I* is mostly derived from the Gupta form of Indor (plate IV, 3, VII) by the substitution of a curve for the third dot (plate IV, 3, XI—XXIII ; V, 3, II—IV, &c.; VI, 3, V—IX). But in addition there is (plate V, 3, V, XII, XIII, &c. ; VI, 3, XII—XV) a derivative from the *I* of the Uccakalpa plates (IV. 3, IX), in which the upper dot is replaced by a straight line ; and this *I* is the parent of the modern Devanāgarī *I*, in which the two lower dots have been changed into curves and finally have been connected. In Jaina MSS., the *I* with two dots above and a curve below occurs occasionally as late as the 15th and 16th centuries. The unique early forms of the long *Ī* (plate VI, 4, V, VII), as well as their later development (plate VI, 4, XV), which has followed the analogy of *I*, deserve attention.

(5) *U* and *Ū* invariably show at the lower end a tail, drawn towards the left, which in course of time is developed more and more fully.

(6) The curve of *Ṛ*, attached to the right of the *ra*, becomes very shallow and long in the Horiuzi palm-leaves (plate VI, 7, V), and this shallow curve is the precursor of the vertical line of the later palm-leaf MSS. of Western India (plate VI, 7, XV—XVII). In the Cambridge MS. No. 1049 (plate VI, 7, VII) and in No. 1691, the *ṛ*-curve is attached to the lower end of the *ra*.

(7) Among the signs for *Ṝ*, *Ḷ* and *Ḹ*, which are first traceable in the MSS. of this period (plate VI, 8—10, V, VII, X), the long *Ṝ* is clearly formed by the addition of a second *ṛ*-curve to the short *Ṛ*. In the Cambridge MSS. Nos. 1049 and 1691, *Ḷ* is represented by a cursive southern *la* (see plate VII, 34, VI—IX), just as the oldest medial *ḷ* in *kḷ* (VII, 42, XIV) is identical with another form of *la* ; and the long *Ḹ* is derived from the short vowel by the addition of a second *la*, turned in the opposite direction. In the *Ḷ* and *Ḹ* of the Horiuzi palm-leaves (plate VI, 9, 10, V), the *la* has been turned round towards the left, and respectively one and two *ṛ*-curves have been attached to the foot. And the combination *l(a)-ṛ* remains [54] also in the Nāgarī both of the palm-leaves from Western India (plate VI, 9, 10, XV) and of our days, the reason being no doubt the pronunciation *lṛ*, which is customary both there and in other parts of India. These paleographical facts agree with the tradition of the Chinese Buddhists, who, as S. Lévi has discovered,[3] ascribe the invention of the signs for the liquid vowels to a South-Indian, either to Sarvavarman, the minister of the Andhra king Sātavāhana, or to the great Buddhist teacher Nāgārjuna.

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[1] See above, § 23, page 50.

[2] See above, § 16, D, 1, 2 ; and plate II, 2, II—X.

[3] Communication by letter.

(8) *E* and *AI* invariably turn the base of the triangle upwards, and this innovation is found already in the inscriptions with transitional forms (plate IV, 5, X, XI).

(9) *Ka* shows almost invariably[1] on the left a loop, caused by the connection of the end of the bent cross-bar with the *Serif* or wedge at the foot of the vertical, except in combinations with the subscribed vowels *u* and *ṛ* (see, *e. g.*, plate IV, 7, XIV; V, 10, III; VI, 15, XVI, XVII) or with other consonants (see, *e. g.*, plate IV, 41, XVI; V, 43, II, III; VI, 49, V, XV, XVII). In the Nāgarī inscriptions, the looped form occurs, however, not rarely also in the latter cases (see, *e. g.*, plate IV, 7, XX, XXII; V, 43, VII, X—XIII).

(10) The loop or triangle of *kha*, which represents the ancient circle (plate II, 10, VI, and above, § 3, A, 19), stands, in all the greatly varying forms of the letters, at the left of the verticals. The very considerable differences in the shape of the left limb are partly due to the flattening of the top of the letter and still more to the various ornamental changes of the wedge, which first was added to the lower end of the ancient hook.

(11) The dot to the right of *ṅa*, which is so characteristic in the modern Devanāgarī letter, appears already on the Benares copper-plate of Karṇa of A. D. 1042 in the word *jaṅgama* (line 11, end),[2] while our plates offer only an example from a much later document (see plate V, 14, XIX). The dot may possibly have been derived from the protuberance, which is often found at the end of the top-stroke of the letter (see, *e. g.*, plate V, 14, V, VI, VIII).

(12) The central bar of *ja* first is made to slant downwards (plate IV, 14, XXI—XXIII, &c.) and then changed into a vertical (V, 17, XIII, &c.; VI, 22, XII, &c.). At the same time, the upper bar becomes the top-stroke of the letter, and the lowest is gradually converted into a double curve.

(13) The right limb of the independent *ña* of the Horiuzi palm-leaves (VI, 24, V) is turned upwards, and the same form occurs occasionally in ligatures. But in the latter the sign is usually laid on its side, its angles are converted into curves and the right limb is attached to the end of the greatly shortened vertical. Hence it often looks like *ṇa* (see plate IV, 16, XI, &c.; V, 19, IV, V, &c.). In the Nāgarī of the 11th and later centuries, the subscript *ña* is attached to the left limb of *ja* (plate V, 19, XII—XIV; VI, 24, XVI), and the cursive *jña* of the modern Devanāgarī, which the Hindus now consider to be a Mātṛkā, is due to a simplification of this form.

(14) Since the 6th century, a wedge is often placed above the lingual *ṭa* (plate IV, 17, XVII; V, 20, II, VI; VI, 25, VI); and in the Nāgarī a horizontal line with a short vertical or slanting stroke appears in the place of the wedge (plate IV, 17, XXI, XXII; V, 20, XIII, &c.; VI, 25, XV).

(15) Similar additions appear above the lingual *ṭha* since the 10th century (plate V, 21, X, &c.; VI, 26, XV).

(16) Since the 9th century, the round-backed lingual *ḍa* of the southern alphabets, ending with a curve open to the left, comes into use (plate V, 22, II, VIII, &c.).

(17) The suppression of the original base-stroke of the lingual *ṇa* occurs in ligatures (*ṇḍa*, plate IV, 21, XIX) since the 7th century, and in the uncombined sign since the 8th century (plate V, 24, III); compare also above, § 22, B, 10, and plate IV, 21, III. The sign soon after assumes the modern form and consists of a straight top-stroke with three lines hanging down from it (plate V, 24, VII, &c.; VI, 29, XV, &c.).

[1] An exception is, *e. g.*, the Jhālrāpāṭan inscription, IA. V, 180, which shows throughout the old dagger-shaped form.

[2] EI. 2, 297.

(18) The modern form of *ta* with the vertical on the right, which occurs already in the Aśoka edicts, reappears in the 8th century (plate IV, 22, XXI) and becomes the regular one in the 10th century.

(19) The modern form of *tha*, which has been derived from the notched one of the 7th century (plate IV, 23, XVII), is found already in the inscriptions of the same period (plate IV, 23, XVIII, &c.).

(20) [55] In the 7th century, the lower end of *da* is more clearly defined by a *Serif* (plate IV, 24, XVII, &c.), which soon after is changed into the characteristic tail of the modern letter.

(21) Already in the 7th century, the right side of *na* becomes occasionally a vertical, to the left of which the loop is attached (plate IV, 26, XVIII, XIX) ; compare also below, § 30.

(22) On the transformation of *pha* by the development of a central vertical (see above, under 1), the curve of aspiration is attached first to the top of the new sign (plate IV, 28, XXII ; V, 31, III, &c.). But in the 11th century it sinks lower down (plate V, 31, XII), and it occupies already in the 12th century the position which it has in the modern Devanāgarī letter (plate V, 31, XX—XXIII). Retrograde archaic forms, like those in plate V, 31, II, XIV, are, however, not rare. Their occurrence has probably to be explained by the influence of the popular cursive alphabets.

(23) As *va* was very generally pronounced *ba*, the ancient sign for *ba* was lost in Northern, Central and Western India, and it was replaced by *va* in the inscriptions of the 7th and later centuries (plate IV, 29, XX ; V, 32, II, &c.). In the MSS. the substitution occurs even earlier (plate VI, 37, V, VI). A new *ba*, consisting of *va* with a dot in the centre of the loop, occurs since the 11th century (plate V, 32, XVI), and this form is the parent of the modern Devanāgarī letter.

(24) The left limb of *bha*, mostly an inverted wedge with the point towards the right, is frequently changed into a triangle, open at the apex, from which the lower portion of the original vertical hangs down (plate IV, 30, XIX, &c. ; V, 33, II, &c.). The modern Devanāgarī *bha* appears in the 12th century (plate V, 33, XX, &c.) and seems to be derived from the form with the wedge, for which latter a *Serif* was substituted.

(25) Since the 8th century, *ma* usually has on the left a cursive loop (plate IV, 31, XX, XXI), which in the MSS. is mostly filled in with ink (plate VI, 39, XV—XVII).

(26) Both the MSS., and most inscriptions, with the exception of one from Udaypur (above, page 48, note 3) and some from Nepāl (page 50), offer exclusively the looped or the bipartite *ya*, which latter occurs already in the inscriptions of the Kuṣana period,[1] and has been derived from the looped form.[2] In the Nepalese inscriptions of the 7th century, which show the eastern *ṣa*,[3] we find a tripartite *ya* with a small circle at the top of the first upstroke (plate IV, 32, XVII) ; the Udaypur inscription has both the ordinary tripartite *ya* of the Gupta period, and also the bipartite letter.

(27) The right extremity of the wedge at the lower end of *ra* is often greatly elongated in the inscriptions of the 7th and later centuries (plate IV, 33, XVIII—XXI, &c.), and sometimes only the outlines of the wedge are marked. These forms are the precursors of the modern tailed *ra*.

(28) Since the 7th century, we find a cursive *śa* (plate IV, 36, XVIII ; 42, XIX ; V, 39, II, III, &c. ; VI, 44, XV—XVII), the left half of which has been turned into a loop with a little tail on the right.

[1] See above, § 19, B, 12.
[2] J.ASB. 60, 87.
[3] J.ASB. 60, 85.

B. — Medial vowels and so forth.

(1) Medial *ā*, *e*, *o*. *au*. as well as one of the Mātrās of *ai*, are placed very frequently above the line, and are then, particularly in the stone inscriptions, treated more or less ornamentally (see, *e. g.*, plate IV, cols. XIII—XVIII). More rarely, medial *i* and *ī* are treated in the same way.

(2) The tails of the curves of medial *i* and *ī* are regularly drawn down low, respectively to the left and the right of the Mātṛkā, while the differences in the curves at the top disappear. These forms lead up to the *i* and *ī* of the modern Devanāgarī.

(3) Medial *ū* is expressed very frequently by the initial *Ū* of the period (plate IV, 30, XII, XIV, XVI, XX; VI, 44, VI). [56] But an older form, found, *e. g.*, in *pū* (IV, 27, VI), is also common and appears to be the parent of the modern *ū*, which occurs already in the western palm-leaf MSS. (see *pū*, plate VI, 35, XVI).

(4) Since the 7th century,[1] — first on the Banskherā plate of Harṣa, — the Jihvāmūlīya is occasionally expressed by a cursive sign, consisting of a loop under the wedge of *ka* (plate V, 47, III).

(5) Since the 7th century, the Upadhmānīya is occasionally expressed by a curve open above, with curled ends and sometimes with a dot in the centre. This sign is attached to the left side of the Mātṛkā (plate IV, 46, XXIII; V, 48, VII). It seems to be derived from a form like that in plate VII, 46, IV.

(6) In the older inscriptions, the Virāma is still frequently placed above the vowelless consonant, for which invariably a final form is used; and it receives a tail, which is drawn downwards to the right of the Mātṛkā (see, *e. g.*, plate IV, 22, XIV). But even more commonly it stands below the consonant, and it occurs in this position already in the inscriptions with transitional forms (plate IV, 22, XI).[2]

C. — The ligatures.

(1) Both in the inscriptions and in the MSS. of the 6th and later centuries, we find occasionally ligatures, in which the second consonant is placed to the right of the first, instead of below it (see, *e. g.*, plate IV, 45, XI; V, 47, II; VI, 51, VI).[3]

(2) For the stone inscriptions of the acute-angled alphabet, the subscript *ya* frequently is made ornamental and drawn far to the left. Since the 7th century, and occasionally even earlier, the right-hand upstroke of *ya* is drawn up as far as the upper line of the whole sign (see, *e. g.*, plate IV, 46, VIII, XIX; 43, 45, XIII; VI, 51, VI).

(3) *Ra*, being the first part of a compound consonant, usually stands above the line and is expressed by a wedge, or by an angle or a curve open to the right. But in *rma* the left side of *ma* is shortened, and the top of the wedge, which is placed on this shortened line, does not protrude above the upper line (plate VI, 49, VI). Similar depressions of the superscribed *ra* are found in connection with other consonants in the Aphsaḍ inscription,[4] on Harṣa's copper-plates, and in some MSS. (plate VI, 51, XIII, XIV). Until the 9th century, *rya* is often expressed by a full *ra* with a subscribed *ya* (see, *e. g.*, plate IV, 44, XVIII; 45, VII; and compare EI, 3, 103).

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[1] Compare the facsimile of the Jhālrāpāṭan inscription, IA. 5, 180; see also IA. 13, 162.

[2] This is the regular form since the 9th-century.

[3] Anec. Oxon., Aryan Series, 1, 3, 87.

[4] FLEET, Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3), 202; KIELHORN, EI. 1, 179 f.

§ 25. — The Śāradā alphabet; Plates V. and VI.

A. — The Śāradā script,[1] which is easily recognised as a descendant of the western Gupta alphabet, appears since about A. D. 800 in Kashmīr and in the north-eastern Pañjāb (Kāngra and Chambā). The oldest known Śāradā inscriptions are the two Baijnāth Praśastis from Kīragrāma (Kāngra), dated A. D. 804; see plate V, col. I. Not much later are the coins of the Varma dynasty of Kashmīr, where the Śāradā forms are likewise fully developed.[2] And it is not improbable that the Bakhshāli MS., found in the Yusufzai district (plate VI, col. VIII), belongs to the same or even a somewhat earlier period.[3] The third specimen of the Śāradā in plate VI, col. IX, which ultimately is derived from Burkhard's plate I. in his edition of the Kashmīrian Śākuntala,[4] dates perhaps only from the 16th or 17th century; it has been given merely because at present no reproductions of more ancient MSS. are accessible.[5] In consequence of the frequent emigrations of the travel-loving Kashmīrian Pandits, Śāradā MSS. are found in many towns of North-Western India and further east in Benares, and marginal glosses in Śāradā characters are found even in ancient Nāgarī MSS. from Western India.[6] A [57] modern cursive variety of the Śāradā is the so-called Ṭakkarī or Ṭākarī[7] of the Dogrās in Jammū and the neighbourhood, which of late has been imported also into Kashmīr.

B. — A general characteristic of the Śāradā of all periods is found in the stiff, thick, strokes, which give the characters an uncouth appearance and a certain resemblance to those of the Kuṣana period. The following signs show, already in the earliest period, peculiar developments :—

(1) The *Ī*, which consists of two dots, placed side by side, and (compare the *Ī* of the Bower MS.) a *ra*-like figure below, which represents the other two dots (plate V, 4, I; VI, 4, IX).

(2) The quadrangular *ca* (plate V, 15, I; VI, 20, VIII, IX).

(3) The lingual *ḍa*, which shows in the middle a loop, instead of an acute angle, and a wedge at the end (plate V, 22, I; VI, 27, VIII, IX).

(4) The dental *ta*, which, being derived from a looped form, has lost its left half, while the right has been converted into a curve (plate V, 25, I; VI, 30, VIII, IX).

(5) The dental *dha*, which is flattened at the top and is below so broad that it resembles a Devanāgarī *pa*.

(6) The *va*, which, owing to the connection of the left side of the curve with the top-stroke, closely resembles *dha* (plate V, 38, I; VI, 43, VIII, IX).

(7) The quadrangular *śa*, which exactly resembles a Nāgarī *sa* (plate V, 39, I; VI, 44, VIII, IX).

(8) The angular medial *ṛ* (plate V, 43, I; VI, 43, VIII), and the detached *o*, which stands by itself above the line (plate V, 24, I; VI, 31, IX), and without doubt is derived from the Gupta *o* (plate IV, 34, IV).

(9) The *ra*, which, as a first part of ligatures, is inserted into the left side of the second letter, just as in the Aphsaḍ inscription.[8]

The other letters of the earlier documents differ very little from those of the western Gupta alphabet, and the changes, which are found, all occur also in the acute-angled script.

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1 Compare, for this paragraph, Kashmīr Report (J.BBRAS 12), 31; J.ASB. 60, 83.
2 C.CMI. pl. 4, 5.
3 Seventh Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, 133; IA. 17, 33, 275.
4 SB.WA. CVII.
5 A good facsimile from a Śāradā MS. of the same period is found in the Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit and Prākrit MSS., Vol. 2, 3, pl. 2; an inferior one, from the India Office MS. 3176, together with a table of the letters and ligatures, in Pal. Soc., Or. Ser., pl. 44.
6 SB.WA. CXVI, 534.
7 Kashmīr Report (J.BBRAS. 12), 32; for the alphabet, see J.RAS. 1891, 362.
8 See above, § 24, C, 3.

The constant use of the bipartite *ya*, of the *ṇa* with the suppressed base-stroke (see above, § 24, A, 17), of the *i* and *ī*, drawn down respectively to the left and the right of the consonant (§ 24, B, 2), and of the simplified Jihvāmūlīya (plate V, 47, I), indicates that the separation of the Śāradā from the Gupta alphabet did not take place before the 7th century.

In the later Śāradā (plate VI, col. IX), further abnormal developments are noticeable in *Ū*, *E*, *AI*, *O*, *AU*, *ja*, *ña*, *bha*, *rtha* (which latter occurs also in plate VI, col. VIII), and owing to the use of long top-strokes the heads of several letters, such as *A*, *Ā* and *ya*, are closed.

§ 26. — Eastern varieties of the Nāgarī alphabet and the arrow-head script.

A. — Proto-Bengālī; Plates V. and VI.

Towards the end of the 11th century, the Nāgarī inscriptions of Eastern India shew such distinct traces of changes leading up to the modern Bengālī writing, and these changes become so numerous in the 12th century, that it is possible to class their alphabets as Proto-Bengālī. An approximate idea of the development of the Proto-Bengālī may be obtained by comparing the characters of the following documents, represented in our plates: — (1) of the Deopārā Praśasti[1] of about A. D. 1080-90 (plate V, col. XVIII), which includes the Bengālī *E*, *kha*, *ña*, *ta*, *tha*, *ma*, *ra*, *la*, and *sa*; (2) of Vaidyadeva's land-grant[2] of A. D. 1142 (plate V, col. XIX), with the Bengālī *Ṛ*, *E*, *AI*, *kha*, *ga*, *ña*, *ta*, *tha*, *dha*, *ra*, and *va*; and (3) of the Cambridge MSS. No. 1699, 1, 2,[3] of A. D. 1198-99 (plate VI, col. X), which offers the Bengālī *A*, *Ā*, *Ū*, *Ṛ*, *Ṝ*, *Ḷ*, *Ḹ*, *E*, *AI*, *AU*, *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *ta*, *tha*, *na*, *ma*, *ya*, *ra*, *va* and *sa*, as well as transitional forms of *gha*, *ña*, *ṇa* and *śa*.

Only a few among the Proto-Bengālī letters are new local formations. The great majority occurs already in other older scripts, be it in exactly the same or in similar shape. [58] Thus, its *Ṛ*, *Ṝ*, *Ḷ* and *Ḹ* agree closely with the corresponding characters of the Horiuzi MS. (plate VI, 7—10, V), its *Ū* with that of the oldest MS. from Nepāl (plate VI, 6, VII; compare also the Śāradā, VI, 6, IX), and its *AU* with that of the Bower MS. (plate VI, 14, I, II). Its signs for *A*, *Ā*, *ka*, *na*, *ma*, *ya*, *va*, *ṣa*, and *sa* occur repeatedly in various alphabets of the 8th—10th centuries, given in plates IV, V. Its *kha*, opened on the right, finds an analogy in that of the Bower MS. (plate VI, 16, I), and its *tha*, likewise opened on the right, somewhat resembles that of plate V, 26, IX. Finally, the *ga* and *ṇa* with the verticals, rising on the right above the line, have precursors in the letters of the 9th and 10th centuries with horn-like protuberances (plate V, 12, 24, II—IV, VI; compare also above, § 24, A, 1). Even the *ra*, resembling *va* (plate V, 36, XIX; VI, 41, 49, X), may easily be recognised as due to a slightly abnormal development of the wedge at the end of the letter, for which, forms from Western and Central India in plate V, 36, XIII, XIV, offer more or less close analogies. Only the *E* and *AI*, open on the left, and the peculiar *ña* in *ñca* (plate V, 19, XVIII) and in *jñā* (plate VI, 24, X), appear to be purely local new formations. And this may be true also of the *ta* (plate V, 25, XVIII, XIX; VI, 30, X), which, however, does not differ much from the Śāradā sign and from the final *t* of some other alphabets.

The most striking and important among the peculiarities of the Proto-Bengālī, discarded in the modern Bengālī script, are the small triangles with the rounded lower side and the "Nepalese hooks," which are attached to the left of the tops of various letters. The triangle is found in *kṣi* (plate V, 47, XVIII) and in very many letters of plate V, col. XIX; while the hook occurs in the *ka* and *ta* of plate V, 25 and 43, XVIII.[4] If further we compare the Tarpan-Dighī inscription of Lakṣmaṇasena,[5] where the triangles and hooks frequently appear alternately in connection with the same letters, it becomes evident that the "Nepalese hook"

[1] EI. 1, 305 f.

[2] EI. 2, 347.

[3] Compare BENDALL, who slightly differs in Cat. Sanskr. Buddhist MSS. from Nepāl, XXXVI, and letter-press of Pal. Soc., Or. Series, pl. 81.

[4] Both the triangle and the hook are found in the Gayā inscription, IA. 10, 342.

[5] J.ASB. 41, pl. 1, 2.

is a cursive substitute for the triangle. The triangle itself is a modification of the top-stroke with a semi-circle below, occasionally met with in ornamental inscriptions from Northern and Central India, as, *e. g.*, in Vināyakapāla's plate (letters with this peculiarity have not been given in plate IV, col. XXIII) and in the Cāndella inscription in CUNNINGHAM's Archæological Reports, Vol. 10, plate 33, No. 3. This last-mentioned form again is connected with, and gives the outlines of, the thick top-strokes, rounded off at both ends, which are not rare in ornamental MSS. like that figured by BENDALL, Catalogue of Sanskrit Buddhist MSS. from Nepāl, plate 2, Nos. 1, 2, and in the alphabet of plate VI, col. XIV (see particularly lines 5, 7, 15, 30, 34, 37, 49).

Among the abnormal single signs, not received into the modern Bengālī, the following deserve special remarks :—

(1) The forms of *I* in plate V, 3, XVIII, and VI, 3, X, are cursive developments of the ancient *I* in plate IV, 3, IX, &c. But the *I* and *Ī* of plate V, 3, 4, XIX, appear to be southern forms; compare plate VII, 3, IV—VI.

(2) The curious *ṭa* of plate V, 20, XIX, seems to have been produced by an abnormally strong development of a "Nepalese hook" with a *Serif* at the end, placed above the ancient round *ṭa*, which is represented by the second lower curve on the left ; compare the *ṭa* of col. XVIII, and that of the Cambridge MS. No. 1693 (BENDALL, op. cit. plate 4).

(3) The *na* of plate V, 29, XIX, without a connecting stroke between the loop and the vertical, is due to the strongly developed predilection for cursive forms, which is visible also in other letters of Vaidyadeva's inscription, such as *A*, *Ā*, *śa* and the ligature *tkr̥* (plate V, 47, XIX).

(4) The triangular medial *u*, for instance of *ku* (plate V, 10, XIX), which appears also in Lakṣmaṇasena's Tarpan-Dighī grant and other eastern inscriptions, gives the outline of the older wedge-shaped form, found, *e. g.*, in *thu* (plate V, 26, XVIII) and in *ṣu* (plate VI, 45, II).

(5) The Anusvāra of *vaṁ* (plate V, 38, XIX) and of *kaṁ* (plate VI, 15, X) has been placed on the line, as in the Old-Kanarese (see below, § 29, C, 5) and the modern Grantha, and a Virāma stands below it.

(6) In the *Om* of plate V, 9, XVIII, we have the oldest example of the occurrence of the modern Anunāsika. In this case, it shows a little circle instead of the more usual dot, which is found in the *Om* of plate VI, 13, XI. Both forms are rather frequent in the eastern inscriptions of the 12th century,[1] whereas in the west[2] they are more rare and are confined to the word *Om*. The Anunāsika, which I have not found in any Indian inscription older than the 11th century, probably is an intentional modification of the Anusvāra, invented because in Vedic MSS. the Anunāsika must be substituted for an Anusvāra followed by liquid consonants, sibilants and *ha*.

(7) [59] The Visarga of *vaḥ* (plate V, 38, XVIII) carries a wedge at the top, which addition appears also in other ornamental scripts (see, *e. g.*, plate VI, 30, XIV) ; in the *ḥ* of plate VI, 51, X (compare also VI, 41, XI, and the Gayā inscription), it has been changed cursively into a form resembling our figure 8. In the Gayā inscription (IA, 10, 342), as well as in MSS. of this period,[3] it receives also a small tail (compare *tāḥ*, plate VI, 30, XIV).

[1] Compare the Gayā inscriptions in C.ASR. 3, pl. 37, No. 12 ; pl. 38, No. 13.

[2] See the Mahoba inscription, C.ASR. 21, pl. 21.

[3] Compare the facsimiles of Bengālī MSS. in Pal. Soc., Or. Series, pl. 38, 82, 69 ; RĀJENDRALĀL MITRA, Notices of Sanskrit MSS., Vol. 3, pl. 5, 6 ; Vols. 5 and 6 ; and the Proto-Bengālī inscription, J.ASB. 43, 318, pl. 18.

B.—The Nepalese hooked characters; Plate VI.

According to BENDALL's careful examination of the MSS. from Nepāl,[1] the hooked characters first occur in the 12th century and disappear towards the end of the 15th. The facts, stated above, which prove the occurrence of the "Nepalese hooks" in Bengal inscriptions of the 12th century and explain their origin, leave no doubt that the introduction of this modification of the top-strokes is due to the influence of Bengal, which, as BENDALL has recognised,[2] makes itself felt also in other points.

The first of the two specimens of this character in plate VI, col. XI, which is derived from the Cambridge MS. No. 1691, of A. D. 1179,[3] shows in the majority of the letters the forms of the Horiuzi palm-leaves and of the Cambridge MS. No. 1049 (cols. V—VII), with a few small modifications, such as might be expected in a much later document. Irrespective of the hooks, special Bengālī peculiarities are observable only in *I*, *Ī*, *E* and *AI*. Generally speaking, these remarks hold good also for the second specimen in plate VI, col. XII, from the British Museum MS., Oriental No. 1439, of A. D. 1286.[4] But in this script the Bengālī influence is visible in *E*, *ṇa*, *dha* and *śa* (compare the transitional forms of V, 39, XVIII, XIX), while its *I* is very archaic.[5]

Nepāl and Tibet seem to have preserved a number of other, mostly ornamental, alphabets of Eastern India,[6] hand-drawn tables of which have been given by B. HODGSON (Asiatic Researches, Vol. 16) and by SARAT CANDRADĀS (J.ASB., Vol. 57, plates 1 to 7). But up to the present time no reliable materials are available, on which a paleographical examination of these scripts could be based.

C.—The arrow-head alphabet; Plate VI.

The arrow-head alphabet, plate VI, cols. XVIII, XIX, which C. BENDALL, its discoverer,[7] is inclined to identify with Berūnī's *bhaikṣukī lipi*, appears to be confined to Eastern India. It, of course, has no connection with the Nāgarī, but, as BENDALL points out in his very careful description, is the immediate offspring of an ancient form of the Brāhmī. It would seem that the *A*, *Ā*, *ka*, *ña*, *ra* and perhaps also the *jha* of the present alphabet have curves at the lower end. This peculiarity, as well as the peculiar *E*, noted by BENDALL (compare plate VIII, 8, VIII) and the absence of a difference between *ṛ* and *ra*, seem to indicate that the present alphabet belonged to the southern scripts, for which these points are characteristic (compare plate III, cols. X—XX, and plates VII, VIII). Its pointed *kha*, *ga*, and *śa* likewise occur in southern alphabets (see plate III, 8, VII; VII, 9, XI, XIV; VII, 11, XVII; 36, IV, XVI, XX). And the forms of *ṇa*, *ta*, and *na* perhaps point rather to the south-west than to the south (compare plate VII, cols. I, II, &c.). Only in the case of the looped *sa* it is possible to think of northern (Gupta) influence; but the possibility that it is an independent new formation is not excluded. An inscription in the same alphabet, and shewing wedges instead of arrow-heads at the top of the letters, has been discussed by BENDALL in IA. 19, 77 f.

1 BENDALL, Cat. Sanskr. Buddhist MSS. from Nepāl, XXII ff.
2 Op. cit. XXXV, XXXVII.
3 Op. cit. pl. 3, 4; Berlin Oriental Congress, Indian Section, pl. 2, 1.
4 Pal. Soc., Or. Ser., pl. 32; Berlin Oriental Congress, Indian Section, pl. 2, 2, 3.
5 For facsimiles of MSS. with Nepalese "hooked characters," see BENDALL, Cat. Sanskr. Buddhist MSS. from Nepāl, pl. 8; Pal. Soc., Or. Series, pl. 43, 57; COWELL and EGGELING, Cat. Buddhist MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, J.RAS. 1876, 1, ff.; for the alphabet, see BENDALL, op. cit. pl. 4; J. KLATT, de CCC Cāṇakyae sententiis, pl.
6 Compare also FLEET's remarks on ornamental characters, IA. 15, 334.
7 Seventh Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, 111 ff.; and Tenth Oriental Congress, Part II, 151 ff.

V. THE SOUTHERN ALPHABETS.

§ 27. — Definition and varieties.

[60] With BURNELL and FLEET, I understand by the term "southern alphabets" the scripts of plates VII. and VIII,[1] which, developed out of the characters of the Andhra period, have been generally used since about A. D. 350 in the territories south of the Vindhya, and most of which still survive in the modern alphabets of the Dravidian districts.

Their most important common characteristics are: —

(1) The retention of the ancient forms, open at the top, of *gha*, *pa*, *pha*, *ṣa* and *sa*, of the old *ma*, and of the tripartite *ya* which is looped only occasionally, especially in the Grantha.

(2) The retention of the long stroke on the right of *la*, which however is mostly bent towards the left.

(3) The *ḍa* with the round back.

(4) The curves, originally open at the top, at the ends of the long verticals of *A*, *Ā*, *ka*, *ña* and *ra*, as well as of the subscript *ra* and of medial *u* and *ū*.

(5) The medial *ṛ* with a curled curve on the left, with occasional exceptions occurring in *kṛ*.

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[1] Preparation of Plates VII. and VIII: —

PLATE VII.

Cuttings from facsimiles.

Col. I; from FLEET, Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3), No. 5, pl. 3 B; with *E* from No. 62, pl. 38, B.

Cols. II, III; from F.GI (CII. 3), No. 18, pl. 11.

Col. IV; from plate at IA. 7, 66.

Col. V; from plate at IA. 5, 205; with *A*, *Ā*, *U*, *ghā*, *dhau*, *hā*, *kṣa*, *ttā*, from plate at IA. 6, 9, and *nta* from plate at IA. 7, 68.

Col. VI; from F.GI (CII. 3), No. 38, pl. 24.

Col. VII; from F.GI (CII. 3), No. 39, pl. 25.

Col. VIII; from plate at EI. 2, 20, No. 1; with *I*, *ña*, *ba*, *ñca*, *brā*, *lya*, from No. 3, at p. 22.

Col. IX; from plate at IA. 13, 78.

Col. X; from F.GI (CII. 3), No. 55, pl. 34; with *U* and *AU* from No. 41, pl. 27, and *Ū* from Ajaṇṭā No. 3, B.ASRWI. 4, pl. 57.

Col. XI; from F.GI (CII. 3), No. 56, pl. 35.

Col. XII; from plate at IA. 7, 35.

Col. XIII; from plate at IA. 7, 37; with *I*, *ṅśa*, *jye*, *ṇām*, *tsā*, from plate at IA. 6, 24.

Col. XIV; from plate at IA. 10, 58; with *Ā*, *U*, and *ccha* from plates at IA. 7, 161, and *kḷ* from plate at IA. 6, 72, and *ḷa* from plate at IA. 8, 44.

Col. XV; from plate at IA. 10, 104, FLEET's No. 94; with *Ī* (3, XV, *b*), *ṅge*, *śi*, and *ḷi* from FLEET's Nos. 99, 100, plate at IA. 10, 164, and *ḷḷa* from FLEET's No. 95, plate at IA. 10, 104.

Col. XVI; from plates at IA. 8, 24 ff.

Col. XVII; from plate at IA. 13, 137.

Col. XVIII; from plates at IA. 8, 320.

Col. XIX; from plate at IA. 13, 123.

Col. XX; from plates at IA. 5, 50 ff.

Col. XXI; from plates at IA. 5, 154 ff.

Col. XXII; from HULTZSCH's SII. 2, pl. 10.

Col. XXIII; from HULTZSCH's SII. 2, pl. 9.

Col. XXIV; from HULTZSCH's SII. 2, pl. 11.

PLATE VIII.

Cuttings from facsimiles.

Col. I; from plates at IA. 12, 158 ff.

Col. II; from plate at IA. 11, 126, FLEET's No. 123.

Col. III; from plates at IA. 12, 14.

Col. IV; from plates at IA. 13, 186 ff.

Col. V; from plates at IA. 7, 16.

Col. VI; from plates at IA. 14, 50 ff.

Col. VII; from plate at IA. 6, 138; with *A*, *U*, *cā*, and *ṭṭa* from plate at IA. 9, 75.

Col. VIII; from plates at IA. 11, 12 ff.

Col. IX; from plate at EI. 3, 62.

Col. X; from plate at IA. 13, 275.

Col. XI; from plate at IA. 18, 144.

Col. XII; from plate at EI. 3, 18.

Col. XIII; from HULTZSCH's SII. 2, pl. 13.

Col. XIV; from plate at EI. 3, 76.

Col. XV; from plate at EI. 3, 14.

Col. XVI; from HULTZSCH's SII. 2, pl. 12.

Cols. XVII, XVIII; from HULTZSCH's SII. 2, pl. 4.

Cols. XIX, XX; from plate at EI. 3, 72, the lower part.

Cols. XXI, XXII; from plate at EI. 3, 72, the upper part.

According to other peculiarities, the southern alphabets may be divided into the following varieties:[1]—

(1) The western variety, which, being strongly influenced by the northern alphabets, is the ruling script between about A. D. 400 and about A. D. 900 in Kāṭhiāvāḍ, Gujarāt, the western portion of the Marāṭhā districts, *i. e.* the Collectorates of Nāsik, Khāndesh and Sātārā, in the part of Haidarābād (Ajaṇṭā) contiguous to Khāndesh, and in the Koṅkaṇ, and which during the 5th century occasionally occurs also in Rājputāna and the Central Indian Agency, but altogether disappears in the 9th century in consequence of the inroads of the Nāgarī alphabet (see above, § 21).

(2) The Central-Indian script, which in its simplest form closely agrees with the western variety, but in its more developed form, the so-called "box-headed alphabet," shows greater differences, and which from the end of the 4th century is common in northern Haidarābād, the Central Provinces and parts of the Central-Indian Agency (Bundelkhaṇḍ), but appears also occasionally further south in the Bombay Presidency and even in Maisūr.

(3) The script of the Kanarese and Telugu districts of the Dekhaṇ, — *i. e.* of the southern portion of the Bombay Presidency (the Southern Marāṭhā States, Sholāpur, Bijāpur, Belgaum, Dhārwār and Kārwār), of the southern territory of Haidarābād (roughly speaking south of Bidar), of Maisūr, and of the north-east portion of the Mādras Presidency (Vizagapatam, Godāvarī, Kistna, Karnūl, Bellary, Anantpur, Cuddapah, Nellore), — which appears first in the Kadamba inscriptions of the 5th and 6th centuries, and after a long development leads to the very similar and temporarily identical Kanarese and Telugu round-hand.

(4) The later Kaliṅga alphabet of the north-eastern coast of the Madras Presidency between Cicacole and the frontier of Orissa (Gañjām), which is strongly mixed with northern letters and in later times also with Grantha and Kanarese-Telugu characters, and which occurs in inscriptions of the 7th—12th centuries.

(5) The Grantha alphabet of the eastern coast of Madras, south of Pulikat (North and South Arcot, Salem, Trichinopoli, Madura and Tinnevelli), which first appears in the ancient Sanskrit inscriptions of the Pallava dynasties, and survives in the modern Grantha and its varieties, the Malayāḷam and the Tuḷu.

The Tamil alphabet of the same districts and of the western coast of Madras (Malabar) probably is derived from a northern script, imported in the 4th or 5th century, but greatly modified by the influence of the Grantha. A cursive variety of the Tamil alphabet is found in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu (the "round-hand," BURNELL) or Cera-Pāṇḍya (HULTZSCH),[2] which is known through inscriptions from the western coast and the extreme south of the Peninsula, and according to BURNELL [61] has fallen into disuse only in recent times.[3] Though these two alphabets come from a different source, they have been included in this chapter, because they occur in the same districts as the other five.

§ 28. — The western script and the script of Central India; Plates VII. and VIII.

A. — The western script.

The western variety of the southern alphabets is found in the inscriptions of the mperial Guptas and their vassals since the time of Candragupta II.,[4] of the kings of Valabhī,[5] f the Gurjaras of Broach,[6] of some of the Calukyas of Bādāmi (Pulakeśin II. and Vijayabhaṭṭā-

[1] Compare B.ESIP. 14. [2] IA. 20, 286. [3] B.ESIP. 48.

[4] Compare the facsimiles in FLEET's Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3), Nos. 5, 14, and 62, plates 3 B, 8, 38 B, FLEET's remarks.

[5] Compare the facsimiles in F.GI (CII. 3), Nos. 38, 39, plates 24, 25; IA. 1, 17; 5, 204 ff.; 6, 14 ff.; 7, 66 ff.; 302, 9, 238; 14, 328; J.BBRAS. 11, 363; EI. 3, 320.

[6] Compare the facsimiles at J.RAS. 1865, 247; IA. 13, 78; [7, 62; 13, 116; 17, 200; disputed]; EI. 2, 19 ff.

rikā), and of Nāsik and Gujarāt and their vassals,[1] of the Traikūṭakas,[2] of the Aśmakas (?) of Khāndesh,[3] and of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Gujarāt,[4] as well as in numerous votive inscriptions in the caves of Kaṇheri, Nāsik and Ajaṇṭā.[5] Ordinarily, its characters no doubt were written with ink, just like those of the northern alphabets (see above, § 21). This is made highly probable by the use of wedges on the tops of the letters during the Gupta period (see plate VII, cols. I—III) and by the thick, frequently knob-like, heads of the signs of the Valabhī, Gurjara and Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants (plate VII, cols. IV—IX, and plate VIII, col. I), both of which ornaments can only be drawn with ink. Another argument is furnished by the fact that all the copper-plates from Gujarāt have been cut according to the ordinary size of the Bhūrja leaves (BURNELL), on which it is not possible to write with a *stilus*.

The finds of nearly or quite contemporaneous inscriptions with northern characters in Rājputāna, the Central-Indian Agency,[6] and Valabhī, as well as the Nāgarī signatures of the Gurjara princes,[7] prove that northern scripts were being used simultaneously with this southern alphabet. And this circumstance is no doubt the cause of its showing traces of northern peculiarities in the following letters: — (1) in the *kha* with a large loop and a small hook (plate VII, 9, I—IX; VIII, 12, I), instead of which the true southern form appears only very rarely;[8] (2) in the *ca*, rounded off on the right (plate VII, 13, I—IX; VIII, 16, I); (3) in the ancient *ta* without a loop (plate VII, 22, I—IX; VIII, 25, I); (4) in the narrow *dha* (plate VII, 25, I—IX; VIII, 28, I; compare plate IV, 25, I—III); (5) in the looped *na* (plate VII, 26, I—IX; VIII, 29, I), which agrees more exactly with the northern forms of plate IV, 26, than with the southern one of VII, 26, XIII (compare below, § 29, A); (6) in the Mātrās often placed above the line in medial *e* (plate VII, 26, V), *ai* (plate VII, 10, IV) and *ō* (plate VIII, 35, I), which latter, however, has a peculiar looped form in *lō* (plate VII, 34, III, IV); (7) in the medial *au*, consisting of three strokes above the line (VII, 25, V; 36, III); and compare plate IV, 7, IV); (8) in the subscript *ña*, which occasionally, as in plate VII, 42, VII, shows the northern cursive form. The inscriptions Nos. 17 and 62 of FLEET's Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3), plates 10, 38 B, which are not represented in plate VII, show, [62] besides, the northern *A* and *ka* without the curve at the foot. A *ka* of this description occurs also sometimes in the Valabhī inscriptions (plate VII, 8, V).

Irrespective of these northern peculiarities, which throughout remain almost unchanged, the characters of this script show three stages in their development, that of the 5th century (plate VII, cols. I—III), that of the 6th and 7th centuries (cols. IV—VI, VIII), and that of the 8th (col. IX) and 9th centuries (plate VIII, col. I) which last is very markedly cursive.

Among the single letters the following deserve special remarks: —

(1) The *I* (plate VII, 3, IV, ff.; VIII, 3, I), which here, as in most southern alphabets, consists of a curved line with a notch in the centre and of two dots below, and which appears to be a modification of a form like that in plate IV, 3, IX.

(2) The *Ī* (plate VII, 3, I; VIII, 4, I), which, like that of the Bower MS. (plate VI, 4, I), has been developed by the transformation of two dots into a line, but in addition has the curved tail, characteristic of the southern alphabets.

(3) The *E*, which usually consists of a triangle with the apex at the top, and is irregularly broadened on the left (plate VII, 6, I; and compare *AI* in VII, 6, VII), and which fror

[1] Compare the facsimiles at EI 3, 52; IA. 7, 164; 8, 46; 9, 124; J.BBRAS. 16, 1; Seventh Oriental Congre: Aryan Section, 238; IA. 19, 310.

[2] Compare the facsimiles at B.ASRWI. No. 10, 58.

[3] Compare the facsimile at IA. 16, 98.

[4] Compare the facsimiles at IA. 12, 158; J.BBRAS. 16, 105; EI. 3, 56.

[5] Compare the facsimiles at B.ASRWI. 4, pl. 55, 9; pl. 58, 5 and 9; plates 59, 60; vol. 5, pl. 51, 6—9.

[6] Compare the facsimiles in F.GI. (CII. 3), No. 6, 17, 61, plates 4 A, 10, 38 A.

[7] Compare above, § 21 end.

[8] Compare, for instance, *likhitam*, facsimile at IA. 7, 72

the end of the 6th century frequently, especially in Gurjara inscriptions, is opened at the top (plate VII, 6, VI) and finally resembles a northern *la* (plate VIII, 8, I).

(4) The *ḍa*, which in its oldest form (plate VII, 19, II), as mostly in the southern alphabets, is undistinguishable from *da*, but from the 6th century develops a little tail (plate VII, 19, IV—IX), or, in some inscriptions of the 8th and 9th centuries, a loop at the end (plate VII, 43, VII; plate VIII, 22, I).

(5) The *tha* with a ringlet on the base-line (plate VII, 23, III, IV, VI) instead of the cross-bar (plate VII, 23, I, II), developed out of the ancient dot, or since the end of the 6th century with the southern notch in the base (plate VII, 23, VII—IX; plate VIII, 26, I).[1]

(6) The *la* with the diminutive main portion of the original sign and the enormous tail (plate VII, 34, VI, VIII), which latter since the 7th century frequently becomes the sole representative of the letter (plate VII, 34, VII, IX).

(7) The *śa*, which shows regularly in the Gurjara inscriptions (plate VIII, 39, I) and the Nāsik Calukya inscription,[2] and occasionally in the Valabhī inscriptions,[3] a cursive combination of the cross-bar with the vertical on the right, which occurs also in the north.[4]

(8) The *sa*, which occasionally shows (plate VII, 38, V) a cursive combination of the left limb with the *Serif* occurring also in southern scripts (plate VIII, 41, XI).

(9) A number of cursive forms in ligatures, thus: — (*a*) The prefixed *ña* which often loses the hook on the right and looks like *ṇa* (compare also plate V, 19, V, VII. (*b*) The prefixed *na*, which especially before *ta*, *tha*, *dha* and *na* (see the *nta* of *anumantavyaḥ*, plate VII, 42, V) consists of a horizontal or bent stroke and looks like *ta*.[16] (*c*) The subscript *ka*, which occasionally, as in *ṣka* (plate VII, 46, VIII), is looped on the left (compare IA. 11, 305). (*d*) The subscript *ca* of *ñca* (plate VII, 41, VIII, IX), which since the 6th century remains open on the right and bears the hook of *ña* on its base. (*e*) The subscript *ṇa*, which already since early times is merely indicated by a loop (see *rṇṇa*, plate VII, 41, IV). (*f*) The subscript *tha*, which, as in other southern alphabets (compare, *e. g.*, plate VII, 45, XX), is changed to a double curve open on the right (plate VII, 45, IV; plate VIII, 49, I).

B. — The script of Central India.

The Central-Indian script is found fully developed in the inscriptions of Samudragupta at Eraṇ and of Candragupta II. at Udayagiri,[6] on the copper-plates of the kings of Śarabhapura,[7] of the Vākāṭakas,[8] and of Tīvara king of Kosala,[9] and in two early Kadamba inscriptions.[10] In all these documents, the heads of the letters bear small squares, which are either hollow (plate VII, col. XI) or filled in (plate VII, col. X). These squares, to which on account of their resemblances to small boxes the script owes the name "box-headed," are, like the wedges, artificial developments of the *Serifs*. The solid, filled in, squares probably have been invented by writers who [63] used ink, and the hollow ones by persons writing with a *stilus*, who feared to tear their palm-leaves. Both varieties of "box-heads" occur occasionally or constantly in other districts and in connection with other alphabets (see, *e. g.*, the Valabhī

[1] Transitional forms occur in the Calukya inscriptions.
[2] Compare facsimile at IA. 9, 124.
[3] Compare IA. 6, 10, and facsimile at 14, 328.
[4] Compare facsimile at J.ASB. 64, 1, plate 9, No. 2.
[5] See also my remarks in IA. 6, 110, and below, § 28, B.
[6] F.GI (CII. 3), Nos. 2, 3, pl. 2, A, B.
[7] Op. cit., Nos. 40, 41, plates 26, 27.
[8] Op. cit., Nos. 53—56, plates 33, A, to 35; IA. 12, 239; B.ASRWI. 4, pl. 56, No. 4; pl. 57, No. 3; EI. 3, 260; the earliest of them belong in BHAGVANLAL INDRAJI's and my opinion to the 5th, according to FLEET to the 7th, century.
[9] F.GI (CII. 3), No. 81, pl. 45; according to FLEET from the 8th or 9th century; according to KIELHORN, EI. 4, 258, undoubtedly from the 8th.
[10] See FLEET, IA. 21, 93; of the same type is, according to an impression presented to me by L. RICE, the Tāḷguṇḍ (Sthānakundūra) Praśasti of Kubja from the reign of Śāntivarman, Ep. Carn. 7, Sk. 176 (and EI. 8).

inscription of plate VII, col. V, the archaic Kadamba inscription of plate VII, col. XII, the Pallava inscription of plate VII, col. XX), and even in Nos. 21 and 21, A, of the Campā inscriptions from Further India.[1] But the very peculiar appearance of the Central-Indian inscriptions of this class is due to the more or less rigorous modification of the letters by the contraction of their breadth and the conversion of all curves into angular strokes. This is best visible in the grants, figured in EI. 3, 260, and in FLEET's Gupta Inscriptions (CII. 3), Nos. 40, 41, 56, 81, plates 26, 27, 35, 45, among which No. 56 is represented in col. XI. of our plate VII, while col. X. offers the less carefully modified characters of F.GI (CII. 3), No. 55, plate 34. Both these inscriptions were issued in the same year from the *Dharmādhikaraṇa* of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II.

Traces of the influence of the northern alphabets are visible in this script just as in the western variety, and particularly in the letters *ta*, *dha*, *na*, and in the Mātrās of medial *e*, *ai* and *o*, which in F.GI (CII. 3), No. 81, plate 45 (not in our plate), shew the peculiar tailed northern form of the 7th and 8th centuries. But in the ligatures (see, for instance, *nta*, plate VII, 43, X), we meet repeatedly with the looped *ta* and with the *na* without the loop, and even an independent looped *ta* appears exceptionally[2] in the word *snātānām* (No. 55, line 7; No. 56, line 6). Medial *au* has the tripartite western and northern form in F.GI (CII. 3), Nos. 2, 3, 40, 81, plates 2, A, B, 26, 45, but the southern bipartite form (see *dau*, plate VII, 24, XI) in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions. The *kha*, which has a big hook and small loop, and the oblong *ca* with the vertical on the right, likewise agree with the southern forms. But F.GI (CII. 3), No. 2, line 17, offers once, in *śulkā*, the northern *ka* without the curve at the foot.

The other letters of this script frequently show greater or smaller variations. Our plate offers a few in the case of *Ā*, *ja*, *tha*, *ba* and *la*. More have been pointed out by FLEET and KIELHORN in their editions of the inscriptions in F.GI (CII. 3) and in EI. 3. I may add to FLEET's remarks, that his Nos. 40, 41, and 81 have the angular form of *ma* of the later Kanarese-Telugu alphabet (see below, § 29, B, 6).

§ 29. — The Kanarese and Telugu alphabet; Plates VII. and VIII.

A. — The archaic variety.

[64] The archaic variety of this script is found: — (*a*) In the west, in the inscriptions of the Kadambas of Vaijayantī or Banavāsi (plate VII, cols. XII, XIII), and of the early Calukyas of Vātāpi or Bādāmi, *e.g.* of Kīrtivarman I. and Maṅgaleśa (plate VII, col. XIV), Pulakeśin II., and Vikramāditya I. (sometimes). (*b*) In the east, on the Śālaṅkāyana plates, and on those of the first two Calukyas of Veṅgi, Viṣṇuvardhana I. and Jayasiṁha I. (plate VII, col. XVII).[3] The date of the Śālaṅkāyana plates, which used to be assigned to the 4th century,[4] is uncertain.[5] The Kadamba grants probably belong partly to the 5th and partly to the 6th centuries; for, Kākusthavarman, who issued the oldest known record, was the contemporary of one of the Imperial Guptas, probably of Samudragupta,[6] and his descendants all ruled before the overthrow of the Kadamba kingdom by Kīrtivarman I., between A. D. 566-67 and 596-97. The archaic Calukya inscriptions fall between A. D. 578 and about 660.[7]

During this period, the characters of the western and eastern documents do not differ much. The alphabet of the Śālaṅkāyana plates[8] agrees very closely with that of plate VII,

[1] BERGAIGNE-BARTH, Inscriptions Sanskrit du Campā et du Cambodge, 2, 23; the Campā inscriptions show the northern *ka* and *ra* without curves at the end.

[2] FLEET and KIELHORN assume that the writers by mistake put *na* for *ta* and *vice versâ*.

[3] Compare facsimiles of Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions at B.ESIP. plate 24; IA. 5, 176; EI. 4, 144; of Kadamba inscriptions at IA. 6, 23 ff.; 7, 38 ff.; J.BBRAS. 12, 300; of Western Calukya inscriptions at IA. 6, 72, 75; 8, 44, 237; 9, 100; 10, 58; 19, 58; and of Eastern Calukya inscriptions at B.ESIP. pl. 27.

[4] B.ESIP. 16, pl. 1.

[5] FLEET, IA. 20, 94.

[6] Academy, 1895, 229.

[7] See FLEET's dates of the Calukyas, EI. 3, table at p. 2; IA. 20, 95 ff.

[8] B.ESIP. pl. 1.

col. XIII ; and in the first half of the 7th century the letters of the Calukya inscriptions from Vātāpi and from Veṅgi show an almost perfect resemblance.[1] But the more considerable differences between cols. XII. and XIII, which both are derived from grants of the Kadamba Mṛgeśavarman issued within a period of only five years, have to be explained by the assumption that the letters of col. XIII, with which nearly all the other Kadamba inscriptions agree, imitate writing with ink, and those of col. XII. writing with the *stilus*. This explanation is suggested by the thinness of the signs of col. XII, and by the much greater thickness of those in col. XIII, and by the wedges and solid squares at their heads (compare above, § 28, B).

The letters of the older documents of this period remain very similar to those of the Andhra inscriptions of plate III, the so-called "cave-characters." In the Śālaṅkāyana grant, and in those of the Kadambas Kākusthavarman, Śāntivarman, Mṛgeśavarman and Ravivarman, we find only few, and by no means constant, traces of the development of the later characteristic round forms. Thus, col. XII. no doubt offers rather far advanced signs for *A* and *ra*, but at the same time a more archaic *Ā*, and the facsimile frequently shows even an angular *ra* with a not very long upward stroke. In the grants of the last Kadamba king Harivarman and in those of the Calukyas between A. D. 578 and 660, the *A*, *Ā*, *ka* and *ra*, characteristic of the next stage of development, occur not rarely, but never constantly. Thus col. XIV, derived from the Bādāmi inscription of Kīrtivarman I. and Maṅgaleśa, has the *ka* closed on the left. But this form is the only one used there, and it never appears on Maṅgaleśa's copper-plate, nor on the Haidarābād plates of his successor Pulakeśin II.[2] Further, this *ka*, as well as the closed *ra* of 33, col. XV, occur on the Nerūr plates of Pulakeśin II.[3] Finally, the Aihoḷe stone inscription, of the time of Pulakeśin II.,[4] has exclusively the older *ka* and *ra*, but occasionally the later *A* of col. XV. This vacillation indicates that between A. D. 578 and 660, and perhaps even earlier, the round-hand forms of the middle Kanarese alphabet existed, but that they either had not completely displaced the older ones, or that they were not yet considered as really suitable for inscriptions, though the clerks occasionally introduced them by mistake into the official documents (compare above, § 3, page 8).

Among the other signs, the following may be noted especially : —

(1) The *ṇa* (plate VII, 21, XII—XIV, XVII) which is never looped, but looks as if it were cursively developed from a looped form similar to that of col. I, ff.

(2) The *ta*, which keeps the old form of the western inscriptions without a loop in 22, XIII, but shows in cols. XII, XIV, XVII, a cursive development from the looped *ta* of cols. XX—XXIII, which likewise is not rare in Kadamba and Calukya inscriptions of this period.

(3) The tailed *da* (24, XIV, XVII) agreeing exactly with the western form [65] of *ḍa* (19, IV—IX).

(4) The *na*, which sometimes has the looped form (26, XIII), and more frequently that without the loop (26, XII, XIV—XVII) ; the latter being, however, apparently derived from the looped one.

(5) The very exceptionally looped *ya* (in *yō*, 45, XIV), which thus is identical with the much older northern form.

(6) The medial vowels : — (*a*) *ū* in *pū* (27, XIII), a cursive substitute for the *ū* of *yū* (32, VI), *cū* (13, IV), &c. ; (*b*) the subscript *ṛ* of *kṛ* (8, XII, XVII ; 41, XIV), somewhat resembling a northern *ṛ* (which latter actually occurs once on the seal figured in IA. 6, 24, in *Mṛgeśa*), but probably independently derived from a not uncommon *ṛ* in the shape of an

[1] Compare also the facsimile at IA. 6, 72, and B.ESIP. pl. 27.
[2] IA. 6, 72.
[3] IA. 8, 44.
[4] See the plates at IA. 8, 241 ; EI. 6, 6.

unconnected semicircle before *ka*; (*c*) the exceedingly rare *ḷ* of *kḷ* (42, XIV), which, differing from the northern subscript *ḷ* (plate VI, 35, XVII), but agreeing with the northern initial sign of the Cambridge MS., consists merely of a cursive *la*; (*d*) the Mātrā of *e* (in *ṇe*, 21, XII), of *ai* (in *cai*, 13, XII; and *vai*, 35, XIII), and of *o* and *au* (in *thau*, 23, XII), which, except in connection with *le* (see *le*, 34, XII, and *lo*, 34, XIII, XVII), frequently stands at the foot of the consonant; (*e*) the *au* (in *pau*, 27, XII, XIV), the right-hand portion of which invariably and in all southern alphabets consists of a hook, formed by a cursive combination of the second Mātrā with the *ā*-stroke (compare *yau*, plate III, 31, VI).

B. — The middle variety.

This second variety is found from about A D. 650 to about A. D. 950: — (*a*) In the west, in the inscriptions of the Calukyas of Vātāpi or Bādāmi, of their successors the Rāṣṭrakūtas of Mānyakheṭa (in cases when they did not use the Nāgarī, see above, page 51), of the Gaṅgas of Maisūr, and of some smaller dynasties; (*b*) in the east, on the copper-plates of the Calukyas of Veṅgi and of their vassals. During this period, some marked differences are observable in the *ductus* between the several classes of documents. The copper-plates of the Western Calukyas (plate VII, col. XVI)[1] mostly show carelessly drawn cursive signs sloping towards the right, and their stone inscriptions (plate VII, col. XV) upright, carefully made, letters, which especially in the ligatures are abnormally large. With the characters of the latter agree those of the inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūtas (plate VIII, cols. II, III),[2] with the exception of the sign-manual on the Baroda copper-plate of Dhruva II.[3] In this royal signature and in the inscriptions of the Calukyas of Veṅgi (plate VIII, cols. IV, V), the letters are broader and shorter, and in this respect resemble very closely the Old-Kanarese.[4]

In addition to the above-mentioned rounded forms of *A*, *Ā*, *ka* and *ra*, which become constant during this period, the following letters deserve special remarks: —

(1) The very rare *R* (plate VII, 5, XVI; compare also the earlier letter in the facsimile at IA. 6, 23, end), which seems to be a modification of the northern form of plate VI, 7, I, II.

(2) The strongly cursive *kha* (plate VIII, 12, III—V), which is identical with the Old-Kanarese letter, and which according to FLEET[5] never occurs before about A. D. 800, but actually appears in the cognate Pallava inscriptions (plate VII, 9, XXIII; compare below, § 31, B, 4) already since the 7th century.

(3) The *ca*, which from the 9th century begins to open in *ñca* (plate VII, 41, XIX; plate VIII, 19, III, IV).

(4) The *da* (plate VIII, 27, II, IV, V) the tail of which begins to turn upwards since the 9th century.

(5) The *ba*, opened above (plate VIII, 32, V), which according to FLEET[6] first occurs about A. D. 850.

(6) The *ma* (plate VII, 31, XVII; VIII, 34, II—V), the upper part of which is drawn towards the right and placed nearly on the same level as the lower one, and which thus becomes the precursor of the Old-Kanarese *ma*.

(7) The abnormal cursive *la* (plate VII, 34, XVI), which elsewhere appears only as the second part of ligatures (as in *ślo*, plate VII, 44, XVIII).

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[1] Compare the facsimiles at IA. 6, 86, 88; 7, 300; J.BBRAS. 16, 223 ff.

[2] Compare the facsimiles at IA. 10, 61 ff., 104, 166, 170; 11, 126; 20, 70; Ep. Carn. 3, 80, 87, 92 (for the last of these see also EI. 6, 54).

[3] See the facsimile at IA. 14, 200.

[4] Compare the facsimiles at IA. 12, 92; 13, 214, 248; EI. 3, 194. [5] EI. 3, 162 f. [6] EI. 3, 163.

(8) The Mātrās, which occasionally stand below the consonant (as in *dhe*, plate VIII, 28, V).

(9) The vertical Virāma, above final *m* (plate VII, 41, XVIII ; plate VIII, 46, V) and final *n* (plate VIII, 45, V).

(10) The Dravidian *ṟa* (plate VII, 45, XV, XVIII ; 46, XVI; plate VIII, 47, II, III) [66] and *ḻa* (plate VII, 46, XV, XVIII; plate VIII, 49, II, V), which first appear in the 7th century. The first of them, *ṟa*, may possibly represent two round *ra*, and *ḻa* may be a modification of a *ḷa* like that in plate VII, 40, XIV, XVI. The occurrence of these signs proves that the Kanarese language had a literature already in the 7th century.

C. — The Old-Kanarese alphabet.

The third and last variety of the Kanarese-Telugu alphabet, which BURNELL calls "the transitional" and FLEET more appropriately "Old-Kanarese," does not differ much from the modern Kanarese and Telugu scripts. In the east, it first appears in the Veṅgi inscriptions of the 11th century; in the west, a little earlier, in a Gaṅga inscription of A. D. 978 and in a not much later Calukya inscription.[1] Some of its characteristics, like the opening of the loop of *ma* and of the head of *va*, appear however in the sign-manual of Dhruva II. on the Baroda plates, mentioned above under B. The specimens of this script[2] in plate VIII, among which cols. VI. and VII. date from the 11th century, col. VIII. from the 12th, and col. IX (according to HULTZSCH, Telugu) from the 14th, show the gradual progress very distinctly.

One of the most characteristic marks of the Old-Kanarese consists in the angles over all Mātṛkās which do not bear superscribed vowel-signs. These angles, which in col. VI. resemble those of the modern Telugu and in cols. VII, VIII, those of the modern Kanarese, probably are cursive representatives of wedges, and have been invented because the latter did not suit the writing with the *stilus*. Since the 6th century, they occur more or less frequently in single inscriptions from other districts, such as Guhasena's grant of A. D. 559-60 (plate VII, col. IV) and Ravikīrti's Aihoḷe Praśasti,[3] sometimes together with wedges. But it is only in this alphabet that they become a constant distinctive feature.

The most important among the changes in the several signs are: —

(1) The opening of the heads of *E* (plate VIII, 8, VI, VIII), of *ca* (16, VI—IX), of *bha* (33, VI—IX, which in col. IX. becomes identical with *ba* by the connection of the two base-strokes), and of *va* (38, VII—IX), as well as of the loop of *ma* (34, VI, VIII) and of the right limb of *cha* (17, VI—IX ; compare also col. V).

(2) The cursive looped forms of *A*, *Ā* (1, 2, VII—IX), and of *I*, *Ī* (3, 4, VI—IX ; compare their precursors in 3, II, and 4, III, V), and of *śa* (39, VII—IX), the central cross-bar of which is connected with the curved end of the right side.

(3) The conversion of the long drawn loops of *ka* (11, VI—IX) and of *ra* (36, VI—IX) into much smaller circles.

(4) The cursive rounding off of the angles of *ṇa* (24, VI—IX), *na* (29, VI—IX), and *sa* (41, VI—IX).

(5) The development of new loops or ringlets to the right of the top of *E* (7, IX), *ṅa* (15, VIII, IX) and *ja* (18, VI—IX; compare col. V).

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[1] BURGESS and FLEET, Pāli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese inscriptions, Nos. 271, 214; see also, for the Gaṅga record, IA. 6, 102.

[2] Compare also the facsimiles at IA. 9, 74; 14, 56; EI. 3, 26, 88, 194, 228; Ep. Carn. 3, 116, 121; B.ASWI. No. 10, 100; and J.RAS. 1891, 135 (the original of PRINSEP's Kistna alphabet, which is archaic and retrograed *A*, *ka*, *ra*, *la*).

[3] IA 8, 241; EI. 6, 6.

(6) The exclusive employment of the medial *u* turning upwards on the right (see, for instance, *pu*, 30, IX), which in earlier times is restricted to *gu*, *tu*, *bhu* and *śu*, but later appears also in *su* (plate VIII, 41, II, III).

(7) Finally, the appearance of the Anusvāra on the line (see *raṃ*, 36, VIII), which cannot be a survival from ancient times, but must be an innovation intended to make the lines more equal (compare page 59 above, § 26, A, 5).[1]

§ 30. — The later Kaliṅga script; Plates VII. and VIII.

[67] This script has been found hitherto only on the copper-plates of the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅganagara, the modern Kaliṅgapattanam in Gañjām, which in olden times was the residence of the Ceta king Khāravela and his successors (see page 39 f. above). The dates of these documents run from the year 87 of the Gāṅgeya era. Though its exact beginning has not yet been determined, FLEET has shown that the oldest Gaṅga grants probably belong to the 7th century.[2]

The signs of these documents resemble, up to the Gāṅgeya year 183, partly the letters of the Central-Indian script (above, § 28, B) and partly those of the western variety, which exhibits the medial *au*, of the Ajaṇṭā inscriptions (above, § 28, A), and they show only a few peculiar forms. A specimen of the Kaliṅga script of the latter kind has been given in plate VII, col. XIX, from the Cicacole grant of the Gāṅgeya year 148, in which only the Grantha-like *Ā* (2, XIX), and the *ga* (10, XIX) and *śa* (36, XIX) with curves on the left, differ greatly from the corresponding Valabhī letters. The alphabet of the Acyutapuram plates[3] of the Gāṅgeya year 87, which exhibits angular forms with solid box-heads, closely resembles the Central-Indian writing; but its *na* is identical with that of the modern Nāgarī. The Cicacole plates[4] of the Gāṅgeya year 128 show in general the same type; but they offer the ordinary looped *na* of the north and west, and the looped *ta* of the archaic Grantha (22, XX, ff.). Finally, the Cicacole plates[5] of the Gāṅgeya year 183 come close to the script of plate VII, col. X; but their *na* is again that of the late Nāgarī, and their medial *ā* mostly stands above the line, as in various northern and also Grantha documents of the 7th and 8th centuries.

In the grants of the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Gāṅgeya era, and in a late undated inscription, the mixture of the characters is much greater, and the same letter is often expressed by greatly differing signs. In plate VIII, col. X, from the Cicacole plates of the Gāṅgeya year 51, that is 251,[6] and in col. XI, from the Vizagapatam plates of the year 254, and in col. XII, from the Alamaṇḍa plates of the year 304, we find a northern *A*, *Ā* (1, 2, X—XII), *I* (3, XI), *U* (5, X), *ka* (44, XI, XII), *kha* (12, XI), *ṅga* (15, X), *ṅka* (15, XII), *ja* (18, XII), *ña* (in *jñā*, 19, X), *ḍā* (22, XII), *ṇa* (24, XI, XII), *dha* (28, 45, XI), *na* (48, X), and *pra* (47, XII). The other letters are of southern origin, and belong partly to the middle Kanarese, partly to the middle Grantha, or are peculiar developments. The restricted space available in plate VIII. has made it impossible to enter all the variants for each letter. But the three different forms of *ja* (18, 46, and 47, X) show how very great the variations are.

Still stronger are the mixture and variations in the Cicacole plates of the Gāṅgeya year 351,[7] and in the undated grant of Vajrahasta from the 11th century (KIELHORN),[8] neither of which is represented in our plate. In the first-named document each letter has, according to

[1] Compare for this paragraph B.ESIP 15 ff.
[2] IA. 13, 274; 16, 133.
[3] EI. 3, 128.
[4] IA. 13, 120; compare 16, 131 f.
[5] EI. 3, 132.
[6] The words *śata-dvaya* probably have been left out by mistake after *saṃvatsara*.
[7] IA. 14, 10 f., HULTZSCH's undoubtedly correct reading of the date has been adopted by FLEET in his Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 1, part 2, p. 297, note 8, the printed sheets of which I owe to the author's courtesy. FLEET declares this inscription, as well as those represented in plate VIII, cols. X, XII, to be suspicious, — in my opinion, without sufficient reasons.
[8] EI. 3, 220.

FLEET, at least two, but sometimes three or four forms. The majority of the signs belong to the southern Nāgarī. But Old-Kanarese and late Grantha signs likewise occur. In Vajrahasta's grant there are, according to KIELHORN's calculation, 320 Nāgarī letters and 410 southern ones of different types, and each letter again has at least two and sometimes [68] four or more forms. KIELHORN points out that the writer has shown a certain art in the grouping of the variants; and he is no doubt right in hinting that the mixture is due to the vanity of royal scribes, who wished to show that they were acquainted with a number of alphabets. For the same reason, the writer of the Cicacole plates of the Gāṅgeya year 183 has used three different systems of numeral notation in expressing the date (see below, § 34). The kingdom of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga lay between the districts in which the Nāgarī and the Kanarese-Telugu scripts were used, and it was not far from the territory of the Grantha. Its population was probably mixed, and used all these scripts,[1] as well as, in earlier times, those employed in the older western and Central-Indian inscriptions. The professional clerks and writers of course had to master all the alphabets.

§ 31. — The Grantha alphabet; Plates VII. and VIII.

A. — The archaic variety.

For the history of the Sanskrit alphabets in the Tamil districts during the period after A. D. 350, we have only the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Pallavas, Colas and Pāṇḍyas from the eastern coast, among which only those of the first-named dynasty can lay claim to a higher antiquity. Corresponding inscriptions from the western coast are hitherto wanting. For this reason, and because only a small number of the eastern documents have been published with good facsimiles, it is as yet impossible to give a complete view of the gradual development of the letters.

The most archaic forms of the Sanskrit scripts of the Tamil districts, which usually are classed as "Grantha," are found on the copper-plates of the Pallava kings of Palakkada and (? or) Daśanapura[2] (plate VII, cols. XX, XXI) from the 5th or the 6th century (?), with which the ancient inscriptions, Nos. 1 to 16, of the Dharmarājaratha (plate VII, col. XXII)[3] closely agree. These inscriptions, together with a few others,[4] exhibit what may be called the archaic Grantha, the latest example of which occurs in the Bādāmi inscription, incised, according to FLEET's newest researches,[5] by the Pallava Narasiṃha I., during his expedition against the Calukya Pulakeśin II. (A. D. 609 and about 642) in the second quarter of the 7th century; and it seems to have gone out soon after, as the Kūram plates of Narasiṃha's son Parameśvara I. show letters of a much more advanced type. It is met with also in the stone inscription from Jambu in Java; see IA. 4, 356.

The characters of the archaic Grantha in general agree with those of the archaic Kanarese-Telugu (see above, § 29, A), but shew a few peculiarities which remain constant in the later varieties: thus: —

(1) The *tha*, the central dot of which is converted into a loop, attached to the right side (plate VII, 23, XXI); compare the *tha* of col. XX, where the straight stroke of the Kanarese-Telugu script appears.

[1] The use of northern characters is proved by the Buguḍa plates, EI. 3, 41; compare also B.ESIP. 53, and plate 22 *b*.

[2] IA. 5, 50, 154; compare B.ESIP. 36, note 2.

[3] I owe the facsimiles of this inscription and of those used for pl. VII, col. XXIV, and pl. VIII, col. XIII, to HULTZSCH's kindness; see now his SII. 2, part 3.

[4] IA. 9, 100, No. 82, 102, No. 85; 13, 48; EI. 1, 397.

[5] Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 1, part 2, p. 328.

(2) The *śa* with the cross-bar converted into a curve or loop and attached to the right side (plate VII, 36, XX—XXII, 45, XXII); compare also the cursive *śa* of the western script, mentioned above, § 28, A, 7.

(3) The *ṣa* with the cross-bar treated similarly (plate VII, 37, XX); compare the *ṣa* of col. XXI, which shows the older form.

The characters of plate VII, cols. XX, XXI, show no closer connection with those of the Prākrit inscriptions of the Pallavas, discussed above in § 20, D.

B. — The middle variety.

The earliest inscription of the much more advanced forms of the second variety or the middle Grantha, is found on the Kūram copper-plates (plate VII, col. XXIV) of the reign of Parameśvara I., the adversary of the Western Calukya Vikramāditya I. (A. D. 655—680).[1] [69] Compared with this document, which appears to offer a real clerk's script, the monumental inscription of the Kailāsanātha temple (plate VII, col. XXIII), built according to FLEET[2] by Narasimha II., the son of Parameśvara I., is retrograde, and shows more archaic forms for several paleographically important letters. On the other hand, the Kaśākūḍi copper-plates (plate VIII, col. XIII), incised in the time of Nandivarman who succeeded Mahendra III., the second son of Narasiṃha II., and warred with the Western Calukya Vikramāditya II. (A. D. 733—749),[3] agree more closely with the Kūram plates, and offer, besides some archaic forms, also much more advanced ones.

The most important innovations, either constantly or occasionally observable in this second variety of the Grantha, are: —

(1) The development of a second vertical in *A*, *Ā*, *ka* and *ra* (plate VII, 1, 2, 8, 33, XXIII, XXIV; plate VIII, 1, 2, 11, 36, XIII), as well as in medial *u* and *ū* (plate VII, 31, 38, XXIV; plate VIII, 34, 40, XIII), out of the ancient hook; compare the transitional forms in the facsimiles at IA. 9, 100, 102.

(2) The connection of one of the dots of *I* with the upper curved line (plate VII, 3, XXIII, XXIV; plate VIII, 3, XIII, *a*, *b*).

(3) The opening of the top of *E* (plate VII, 5, XXIV), which however shows closed up forms in col. XXIII, and in plate VIII, 8, XIII.

(4) The development of a loop to the left of the foot of *kha*, and the opening up of the right side of the letter (plate VII, 9, XXIII), as in the Kanarese-Telugu script (see above, § 29, B, 2).

(5) The upward turn of the *Serif* at the left-hand lines of *ga* and *śa* (plate VII, 10, 36, XXIV; plate VIII, 13, 39, XIII; not in plate VII, col. XXIII).

(6) The opening up of the loops of *cha* (plate VIII, 17, XIII), and perhaps also in the indistinct *cha* of the Kūram plates, i, line 5.

(7) The transposition of the vertical of *ja* to the right end of the top-bar, and the conversion of the central bar into a loop connected with the lowest bar (plate VII, 15, XXIV; plate VIII, 18, XIII; not in plate VII, col. XXIII).

(8) The incipient opening up of the tops of *dha* and *tha* (plate VII, 23, 25, XXIII, XXIV; plate VIII, 26, 28, XIII).

(9) The opening up of the top of *ba*, and the transposition of the original top-line to the left of the left-hand vertical (plate VII, 29, XXIV; plate VIII, 32, XIII; not in plate VII, col. XXIII).

[1] HULTZSCH, SII. 1, 144 ff.; FLEET, op. cit. (preceding note), 322 f.
[2] FLEET, op. cit., 329 f.
[3] FLEET, op. cit., 323 ff.

(10) The adoption of the later northern *bha* (see above, § 24, A, 24), or the development of an exactly similar sign (plate VII, 30, XXIV; plate VIII, 33, XIII; not in plate VII, col. XXIII).

(11) The combination of the left-hand vertical of *sa* with the left end of the old side-limb, and of the right end of the side-limb with the base-stroke (plate VII, 38, XXIV; a transitional form in col. XXII, and a different cursive form in plate VIII, 41, XIII).

(12) The frequent separation of medial *ā*, *e*, *ai*, *o*, *au*, from the Mātṛkā (constant in plate VIII, col. XIII), as well as the use of the *ā* standing above the line, as in the northern alphabet of this period and in the Central-Indian script (compare plate VII, 17, 19, 21, 31—33, XXIII; 8, 24, XXIV).

(13) The expression of the Virāma (as in the Kanarese-Telugu script) by a vertical stroke above, or in the Kaśākūḍi plate also to the right of, the final consonant (plate VII, 41, XXIII; plate VIII, 47, XIII; and compare the facsimiles).

(14) The transposition of the Anusvāra to the right of the Mātṛkā (plate VII, 38, XXIV) below the level of the top-line, as in the Kanarese-Telugu script.

(15) The occasional development of small angles, open above, at the tops of the verticals, for the left part of which a dot usually appears in plate VIII, col. XIII.

The fully-developed and very constant characteristics of the alphabet of the Kūram plates make it probable that they have not arisen within the period of twenty to thirty years, which lies between the issue of the Kūram grant and the incision of the much more archaic Bādāmi inscription of Narasiṃha I. (see above, under *A*). Very likely the Kūram alphabet had a longer history.

C.—The transitional Grantha.

The series of the published datable Pallava inscriptions of the 8th century ends for the present with the Kaśākūḍi plates; and facsimiles of documents of the next following centuries [70] are not accessible to me. I am, therefore, unable to exactly fix the time when the third or transitional variety of the Grantha, Burnell's Coḷa or middle Grantha, came into use, which is found in the inscriptions from the reign of the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya[1] about A. D. 1150 (plate VIII, col. XIV) and of Sundara-Pāṇḍya,[2] A. D. 1250 (plate VIII, col. XV), as well as in other documents.[3] It would however appear, both from the Grantha signs occurring in the Gaṅga inscriptions (plate VIII, cols. XI, XII) and from Burnell's Coḷa-Grantha alphabet of A. D. 1080,[4] that the new developments originated partly towards the end of the 8th century and partly in the 9th and 10th, about the same time when the Old-Kanarese script (above, § 29, C) was formed.

The most important changes, which the transitional Grantha shows, are as follows:—

(1) The suppression of the last remaining dot of *I* (plate VIII, 3, XIV, XV; compare 3, XIII, *a*).

(2) The formation of a still more cursive *E* (8, XIV) out of the Kūram letter (plate VII, 6, XXIV).

(3) The formation of a still more cursive *kha* (plate VIII, 12, XIV, XV), closely resembling the later Kanarese-Telugu sign (plate VIII, 12, III, ff.), out of the letter of plate VII, 9, XXIII.

[1] EI. 3, 75.

[2] EI. 3, 8.

[3] Compare facsimiles at IA. 6, 142; 8, 274; 9, 46 (EI. 3, 79 f.); EI. 3, 228; Ep. Carn. 3, 166; SII. 2, pl. 2; the last inscription and the last but two are older than the 11th century.

[4] B.ESIP. plate 13.

(4) The development of a single or double curve to the left of *gha* (plate VIII, 14, XIV, XV).

(5) The opening up of the top of *ca*, and the conversion of its left side into an acute angle (plate VIII, 16, XIV, XV).

(6) The addition of a curve to the right end of *ḍa* (plate VIII, 22, XIV, XV).

(7) The development of an additional loop in *ṇa* (plate VIII, 24, XIV, XV), in accordance with the practice of the Tamil alphabet (see below, § 32, A).

(8) The complete opening up of the tops of *tha* and *dha* (plate VIII, 26, 28, XIV, XV).

(9) The development of a curve at the left side of *pa* (plate VIII, 30, XIV, XV).

(10) The closing up of the top of *ma* (plate VIII, 34, XIV, XV), found already in the Gaṅga inscription of about A. D. 775 (plate VIII, 46, XI).

(11) The suppression of the circle or loop on the right side of *ya* (plate VIII, 35, XIV, XV), whereby the letter obtains a very archaic appearance.

(12) The opening up of the top of *va*, and the addition of a curve to its left side (plate VIII, 38, XVI, XV).

(13) The complete separation of medial *ā, e, ai, o* from the Mātṛkās, and the formation of a separate sign for the second half of *au*, consisting of two small curves with a vertical on the right.

It is worthy of note that the later alphabet of col. XV. has some more archaic signs than the earlier one of col. XIV. The reason no doubt is that the latter imitates the hand of the clerks of the royal office, while the former shows the monumental forms, suited for a public building. All the Grantha inscriptions imitate characters written with a *stilus*.

§ 32. — The Tamil and Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabets; Plate VIII.

A. — The Tamil.

The Tamil, as well as its southern and western cursive variety, the Vaṭṭeḻuttu or "round-hand," differs from the Sanskrit alphabet by the absence not only of the ligatures, but also of the signs for the aspirates, for the *mediae* (expressed by the corresponding *tenues*), for the sibilants (among which the palatal one is expressed by *ca*), for the spirant *ha*, for the Anusvāra and for the Visarga, as well as by the development of new letters for final *ṉ*, and for *ṟa*, *ḷa* and *ḻa*, which latter three characters do not resemble those for the corresponding sounds in the Kanarese-Telugu script. The great simplicity of the alphabet fully agrees with the theories of the Tamil grammarians, and is explained by the peculiar phonetics of the Tamil language. Like all the older Dravidian dialects, the Tamil possesses no aspirates and no spirant. Further, it has no *ja*, and only one sibilant, which, according to CALDWELL, lies between *śa*, *ṣa* and *ca*, and which, if doubled, becomes a distinct *cca*. [71] The use of separate signs for the *tenues* and *mediae* was unnecessary on account of their mutual convertibility. The Tamil uses in the beginning of words only *tenues*, and in the middle only double *tenues* or single *mediae*. Hence, all words and affixes beginning with gutturals, linguals, dentals and labials, have double forms.[1] A knowledge of these simple rules makes mistakes, regarding the real phonetic value of *ka, ṭa, ta* and *pa*, impossible. The use of ligatures probably has been discarded because the Tamil allows even in loan-words no other combinations of consonants but repetitions of the same sound, and because it seemed more convenient to use in these cases the Virāma.[2]

[1] CALDWELL, Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, 21—27.

[2] Differently BURNELL, ESIP. 44, 47 ff., who considers the Vaṭṭeḻuttu as independent of the Brāhmī, but likewise of Semitic origin, and declares the Tamil alphabet to be the result of a Brahmanical adaptation of the Grantha letters to the phonetical system of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu. This view has already been characterised "as hardly in accordance with the facts" by CALDWELL, op. cit., 9.

The occurrence of signs for the Dravidian liquids, which, though the sounds correspond with those of the older Kanarese and Telugu, differ from the characters of the Kanarese-Telugu script, indicates that the Tamil alphabet is independent of the latter and has been derived from a different source. HULTZSCH's important discovery of the Kūram plates,[1] with a large section in the Tamil script and language of the 7th century, confirms this inference. The Tamil alphabet of these plates agrees only in part with their Grantha, and many of its letters offer characteristics of the northern alphabets.

Specific Grantha forms occur in *U* (plate VIII, 5, XVI ; compare plate VII, 4, XXIV); in *O* (plate VIII, 9, XVI; compare col. XV) ; in *ta* (plate VIII, 25—28, XVI ; compare plate VII, 22, XXIV) ; in *na* (plate VIII, 29, XVI; compare plate VII, 26, XXIV) ; in *ya* (plate VIII, 35, XVI ; compare plate VII, 32, XXIV) ; in medial *u* in *ku* (plate VIII, 14, XVI; compare 44, XIII) ; in medial *e* (in *te*, plate VIII, 28, XVI ; compare *khe*, plate VII, 9, XXIV); and in the vertical Virāma, which mostly stands above the vowelless consonant but to the right of *n* and *r* (compare *ṅ*, plate VIII, 15, XVI ; *m*, 34 ; *ḷ*, 43 ; *ṉ*, 49). The Tamil *ai* (for instance, *nai*, plate VIII, 29, XVI) appears to be a peculiar derivative from the Grantha *ai*, the two Mātrās having been placed, not one above the other, but one behind the other.

Unmodified or only slightly modified northern forms appear in *A* and *Ā* (plate VIII, 1, 2, XVI), with the single vertical without a curve at the end (compare plate IV, 1, 2, I ff.), and with the loop on the left, which is found in recently discovered inscriptions from Swāt as well as in the Grantha ; in *ka* (plate VIII, 11—14, XVI; compare plate IV, 7, I ff.); in *ca* (plate VIII, 16—18, XVI; compare plate III, 11, III) ; in *ṭa* (plate VIII, 20—22, XVI ; compare plate IV, 17, VII, VIII); in *pa* (plate VIII, 30—33, XVI; compare plate IV, 27, I ff.); in *ra* (plate VIII, 36, XVI ; compare plate IV, 33, I ff.) ; in *la* (plate VIII, 37, XVI; compare plate IV, 34, VII ff.) ; in the medial *u* of *pu*, *mu*, *yu*, *vu* (plate VIII, 32, 40, XVI; compare plate IV, 27, II), and of *ru* (plate VIII, 36, XVI; compare plate IV, 33, III); and in the medial *ū* of *ḷū* and *ḻū* (plate VIII, 44, 46, XVI ; compare *pū*, plate IV, 27, IV).

The *ṅ* (plate VIII, 15, XVI) is more strongly modified, as it has been formed out of the angular northern *ṅa* (plate IV, 11, I ff.) by the addition of a stroke rising upwards on the right ; and the *ma* (plate VIII, 34, XVI) is probably a cursive derivative from the so-called Gupta *ma* (plate IV, 31, I ff.).

The signs for the Dravidian liquids, too, may be considered as developments of northern signs. The upper portion of the *ḷa* (plate VIII, 43, 44, XVI) looks like a small cursive northern *la*, to which a long vertical, descending downwards, has been added on the right. The *ṟa* (plate VIII, 47, 48, XVI) may consist of a small slanting northern *ra* and a hook added to the top. And the *ḻa* (plate VIII, 45, 46, XVI) is perhaps derived from a northern *ḷa* (plate IV, 40, II), the end of the horizontal line being looped and connected with the little pendent stroke below; compare also the looped *ḷa* (read erroneously *ḍha*) in the Amarāvatī inscription, J.RAS. 1891, plate at p. 142.

The origin of the remaining signs is doubtful. Some, such as *va* (plate VIII, 38—40, XVI) and medial *ā* (see *kā*, plate VIII, 12, XVI), occur both in northern and in southern scripts. Others are modifications of letters common to the north and the south. The final *ṉ* (plate VIII, 49, XVI) is evidently the result of a slight transformation of both the northern and the southern *ṇa* with two hooks [72] (plate III, 20, V, XX ; plate IV, 21, VII f.; plate VII, 21, IV ff.); and from this comes the Tamil *ṉa* (plate VIII, 24, XVI) by the addition of another curve. The parent of the peculiar *E* (plate VIII, 8, XVI) may be either that of plate IV, 5, X ff., or that of plate VII, 5, XXIII. Similarly, the angular medial *u* in *tu* (plate VIII, 27, XVI) and in *ṟu* (plate VIII, 48, XVI) is due to a peculiar modification of the curve, rising upwards on the right, which is found in connection both with northern and with southern letters (see *śu*, plate IV,

[1] SII. 1, 147 ; compare 2, plate 12 ; the characters of the Vallam Cave inscription, op. cit., 2, plate 10, fully agree,

36, III, XVII, and plate VII, 36, II, IV). Finally, the greatly cursive *I* (plate VIII, 3, XVI) appears to be the result of a peculiar combination of three curves, which replaced the ancient dots. But an *I* of this kind has hitherto not been traced.

This analysis of the Tamil alphabet of the 7th century makes it probable that it is derived from a northern alphabet of the 4th or 5th century, which in the course of time was strongly influenced by the Grantha, used in the same districts for writing Sanskrit.

The next oldest specimen of the Tamil script, which is found in the Kaśākūḍi plate[1] of about A. D. 740 (not represented in plate VIII), shows no essential change except in the adoption of the later Tamil *ma*.

But the inscriptions of the 10th, 11th and later centuries[2] (plate VIII, cols. XVII—XX) offer a new variety, which is more strongly modified through the influence of the Grantha. The *ṭa, pa* and *va* have now the peculiar Grantha forms. Besides, in the 11th century begins the development of the little strokes, hanging down on the left of the tops of *ka, ṅa, ca, ta* and *na*. In the 15th century (plate VIII, cols. XIX, XX) these pendants are fully formed, and *ka* shows a loop on the left. It is worthy of note that in the later Tamil inscriptions the use of the Virāma (Pulli) first becomes rarer and finally ceases,[3] while in the quite modern writing the Virāma is again marked by a dot.

B. — The Vaṭṭeḻuttu.

Among the Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions, the Śāsanas of Bhāskara-Ravivarman in favour of the Jews (pl. VIII, cols. XXI, XXII) and of the Syrians of Kocin,[4] as well as the Tirunelli copper-plates of the same king,[5] have been published with facsimiles. Trusting to rather weak arguments, Burnell ascribes the first-named two documents to the 8th century.[6] But the Grantha letters occurring in the Śāsana of the Jews belong to the third and latest variety of that alphabet, and the Nāgarī *śā* or *śi* (probably for *śrīḥ*) at the end of the document, to which Hultzsch has called attention,[7] resembles the northern forms of the 10th and 11th centuries (compare plate V, 39, 47, VIII; 48, X).

From a paleographical point of view, the Vaṭṭeḻuttu may be described as a cursive script, which bears the same relation to the Tamil as the modern northern alphabets of the clerks and merchants to their originals, *e. g.*, the Moḍī of the Marāṭhās to the Bālbodh and the Ṭākarī of the Dogrās to the Śāradā.[8] With the exception of the *Ī*, probably borrowed from the Grantha, all its letters are made with a single stroke from the left to the right, and are mostly inclined towards the left. Several among them, such as the *ṅa* (plate VIII, 15, XXI) with the curve and hook on the left, the *va* with the open top and the hook on the left (plate VIII, 38, XXI, XXII; compare cols. XVII—XX) and the round *ṛa* (plate VIII, 45, 46, XXI, XXII; compare 47, XVII—XX), show the characteristics of the second variety of the Tamil of the 11th and later centuries. And with the usage of the later Tamil inscriptions agrees the constant omission of the Virāma. Some other characters, such as the round *ṭa* (plate VIII, 20—23, XXI, XXII; compare col. XVI), the *ma* with the curve on the right (plate VIII, 34, XXI, XXII; compare col. XVI), and the *ya* with the loop on the left (plate VIII, 35, XXI, XXII; compare col. XVI), seem to go back to the forms of the earlier Tamil. And three, the rounded *U* (plate VIII, 5, XXI), the pointed *E* (plate VIII, 8, XXI) and the *ṇa* with a single notch (plate VIII, 26, XXI, XXII), possibly show characteristics dating from a still earlier period.

1 SII. 2, plates 14, 15.

2 Compare the facsimiles, of 10th and 11th centuries, at EI. 3, 284; SII. 2, plates 2—4; of the 15th century, at SII. 2, plate 5; uncertain, at SII. 2, plate 8; IA. 6, 142; alphabet, B.ESIP. plates 18, 19.

3 Compare Veṅkayya, EI. 3, 278 ff.

4 Madras Journ. Lit. Soc. 13, 2, 1; IA. 3, 333; B.ESIP. pl. 32 *a*; EI. 3, 72; alphabet, IA. 1, 229; B.ESIP. pl. 17.

5 IA. 20, 292.

6 IA. 1, 229; B.ESIP. 49; disputed by Hultzsch, IA. 20, 289.

7 EI. 3, 67.

8 Compare above, § 25, note 8.

Perhaps it may be assumed that the "round-hand" arose already before the 7th century, but was modified in the course of time by the further development of the Tamil and the Grantha scripts. Owing to the small [73] number of the accessible inscriptions, this conjecture is however by no means certain.

The transformation of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu *ka* (plate VIII, 11—14, XXI, XXII), which seems to be derived from a looped form, is analogous to that of the figure 4 in the decimal system of numeral notation (compare plate IX, B, 4, V—VII, and IX). The curious *ta* (plate VIII, 25—28, XXI, XXII) has been developed by the change of the loop of the Tamil letter (compare cols. XVII, XVIII) into a notch and the prolongation of the tail up to the head. The still more extraordinary *na* (plate VIII, 29, XXI) may be explained as a cursive derivative of the later Tamil *na* with the stroke hanging down from the top.

VI. NUMERAL NOTATION.

§ 33. — The numerals of the Kharoṣṭhī; Plate I.[1]

In the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Sakas, of Gondopherres, and of the Kuṣanas, from the 1st century B. C. and the 1st and 2nd centuries A. D., as well as in other probably later documents, we find a system of numeral notation (plate I, col. XIV)[2] which Dowson first explained with the help of the Taxila copper-plate.[3]

Its fundamental signs are: — (*a*) One, two and three vertical strokes for 1, 2, 3. (*b*) An inclined cross for 4. (*c*) A sign, similar to the Kharoṣṭhī *A*, for 10. (*d*) A double curve, looking like a cursive combination of two 10 (Bayley), for 20. (*e*) A sign, resembling a Brāhmī *ta* or *tra*, for 100, to the right of which stands a vertical stroke, whereby the whole becomes equivalent to IC.

The numbers lying between these elements are expressed by groups, in which the additional ones invariably are placed on the left. Thus, for 5 we have 4 (+) 1; for 6, 4 (+) 2; for 8, 4 (+) 4; for 50, 20 (+) 20 (+) 10; for 60, 20 (+) 20 (+) 20; for 70, 20 (+) 20 (+) 20 (+) 10. Groups formed of the signs for 10 (+) 1 to 10 (+) 9, and 20 (+) 1 to 20 (+) 9, and so forth, are used to express the numerals 11 to 19, and 21 to 29, &c.

The higher numerals beyond 100 are expressed according to the same principle; thus, 103 is 100 (+) 3 or IC III. The sign for 200 consists of 100, preceded on the right by two vertical strokes. And the highest known number is IIC XX XX XX X IV, which means 274.[4]

The few numeral signs in the Aśoka edicts of Shāhbāzgarhī and Mansehra (plate I, col. XIII)[5] show that in the 3rd century B. C. the Kharoṣṭhī system of numeral notation differed from the later one at least in one important point. Both in Shāhbāzgarhī, where the signs for 1, 2, 4, 5 occur, and in Mansehra, which offers 1, 2, 5, the inclined cross for 4 is absent, and 4 is expressed by four parallel vertical strokes, and 5 by five. It is as yet not ascertainable, how the other signs looked in the 3rd century B. C.

Burnell and others[6] have stated long ago that the Kharoṣṭhī numerals are of Semitic origin. And it may now be added that probably they have been borrowed from the Aramaeans.

1 Compare E. C. Bayley, the Genealogy of the Modern Numerals, J.RAS, N.S., 14, 335 ff.; 15, 1 ff.

2 The signs of col. XIV. have been drawn according to S.NEI, 8, pl. 1 (JA. 1890, I, pl. 15); J.ASB. 58, pl. 10; Fleet's photograph of the Taxila copper-plate (EI. 4, 56); and a gelatine copy of the Wardak vase, kindly presented by S. von Oldenburg.

3 J.RAS. 20, 228.

4 Thus Cunningham. Senart, op. cit., 17, reads 84, doubting the existence of 200 (which however is plain in the autotype of J.ASB. 58, pl. 10), while Barth reads 284. There is at least one unpublished inscription with 200, and, according to a communication from Bloch, also one with 300.

5 Drawn according to Burgess' impression of Shāhbāzgarhī edicts I—III, XIII.

6 B.ESIP. 64; J.ASB. 32, 150.

and that, with the exception of the cross-shaped 4, they have been introduced together with the Aramaic letters. According to [74] EUTING's table of the ancient Aramaic numerals,[1] 1 to 10 are marked, as in the Aśoka edicts, by vertical strokes, which however, contrary to the Indian practice, are divided into groups of three. The Kharoṣṭhī 10 comes close to that of the Teima inscription, ר, and the 20 resembles the sign of the Satrap coins, 3, which is also found in the papyrus Blacas[2] (5th century B. C.), and somewhat modified in the papyrus Vaticanus. Both the Aramaeans and the Phoenicians used the signs for 10 and 20 in the same manner as the Hindus, in order to express 30, 40, and so forth.

For the Kharoṣṭhī 100, EUTING's table offers no corresponding Aramaic sign, and that given in his edition of the Saqqārah inscription[3] is, as he informs me, not certain. Hence, there remain only the Phoenician symbols |o, þ, which are suitable for comparison. But the close relationship of Phoenician and Aramaic writing makes it not improbable that the latter, too, possessed in earlier times a 100, standing upright. The Kharoṣṭhī practice of prefixing the signs for 1 and 2 to the 100 is found in all the Semitic systems of numeral notation.

The inclined cross, used to express the 4 in the later Kharosthī inscriptions, is found only in Nabataean inscriptions incised after the beginning of our era, and is used there only rarely for the expression of the higher units. The late occurrence of the sign both in Indian and in Semitic inscriptions makes it probable that both the Hindus and the Semites independently invented this cursive combination of the original four strokes.

§ 34. — The numerals of the Brāhmī; Plate IX.

A. — The ancient letter-numerals.[4]

In the Brāhmī inscriptions and coin-legends we find a peculiar system of numeral notation, the explanation of which is chiefly due to J. STEVENSON, E. THOMAS, A. CUNNINGHAM, BHĀU DĀJĪ and BHAGVĀNLĀL INDRĀJĪ.[5] Up to the year A. D. 594-95 it is used exclusively, and later together with the decimal system.[6] It appears also exclusively in the Bower MS. and in the other MSS. from Kashgar,[7] as well as together with the decimal system, — chiefly in the pagination, — in the old MSS. of the Jainas of Western India and of the Bauddhas of Nepāl as late as the 16th century[8] And the Malayāḷam MSS. have preserved it to the present day.[9]

In this system, 1 to 3 are expressed by horizontal strokes or cursive combinations of such; 4 to 9, 10 to 90, 100, and 1000, each by a separate sign (usually a Mātṛkā or a ligature); the intermediate and the higher numbers by groups or ligatures of the fundamental signs. In

1 Nabataische Inschriften, 96 f. 2 Corp. Inscr. Sem., P. Aram. 145 A (pointed out by EUTING).

3 Palaeographical Society, Or. Ser., plate 63

4 Compare BHAGVĀNLĀL, IA. 6, 42 ff., B.ESIP. 59 ff, and pl. 23; E C. BAYLEY, On the Genealogy of the modern Numerals, J.RAS, N.S, 14, 335 ff.; 15, 1 ff

5 J.BBRAS, 5, 35, and pl. 18, P.IA. 2, 80 ff.; C.ASR, 1, XLII, and J.ASB 33, 38, J.BBRAS. 8, 225 ff.; the results of the last article belong chiefly to BHAGVĀNLĀL INDRĀJĪ, though his name is not mentioned.

6 Compare below, § 34, B. The latest epigraphic date in letter-numerals is probably the Nevār year 259 in BENDALL's Journey in Nepāl, 81, No 6; compare also FLEET, GI (CII. 3), 209, note 1.

7 See HOERNLE, "The Bower MS., ' WZKM. 7, 260 ff. The Bower MS. occasionally has the decimal 3.

8 Compare BHAGVĀNLĀL's table, IA. 6, 42 f.; KIELHORN, Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., 1880-81, VIII. ff.; PETERSON, First Report, 57 f, and Third Report, App. I, *passim*; LEUMANN, Śīlāṅka's Commentary on the Viśeṣāvaśyaka (especially table 35): COWELL and EGGELING, Cat. Sanskrit Buddhist MSS., 52 (J.RAS. 1875); BENDALL, Cat. Cambridge Sanskrit Buddhist MSS., LII ff., and table of numerals. In BENDALL's Nos. 1049 and 1161, the letter-numerals are also used for dates. The latest date in letter-numerals from Nepāl (BENDALL's table of numerals) is A. D. 1583. Letter-numerals are usually only found in Jaina palm-leaf MSS. up to about A. D. 1450; but the Berlin paper MS No. 1709 (WEBER, Verzeichniss d. Skt und Prak. Hdschrft., 2, 1, 268; compare D.WA, 37, 250) shows some traces of them.

9 BENDALL, J.RAS 1896, 789 ff.

order to express figures consisting of tens and units, or of hundreds, tens and units, and so forth, the symbols for the smaller numbers are placed either unconnected to the right of, or vertically below, the higher ones. The first principle is followed in all inscriptions and on most coins, the second on a few coins[1] and in the pagination of all manuscripts. In order to express 200 and 2000, one short stroke is added to the right of 100 and 1000. Similarly, 300 and 3000 are formed by the addition of two strokes to the same elements. [75] Ligatures of 100 and 1000 with the signs for 4 to 9 and 4 to 70, stood for 400 to 900 and 4000 to 70000 (the highest known figure), and the smaller figures are connected with the right side of the larger ones.

The Jaina MSS. offer, however, an exception in the case of 400. In the pagination of their MSS., both the Jainas and the Bauddhas use mostly the decimal figures for 1 to 3 (plate IX A, cols. XIX—XXVI), more rarely the Akṣaras *E* (*eka*), *dvi*, *tri*, or *sva* (1), *sti* (2), *śrī* (3),[2] the three syllables of the well-known Maṅgala, with which written documents frequently begin. Occasionally the same documents combine the naught and other figures of the decimal system[3] with the ancient numeral symbols. Similar mixtures occur also in some late inscriptions. Thus, the year 183 of Devendravarman's Cicacole plates is given first in words and next expressed by the symbol for 100, the decimal 8, and the syllable *lo*, *i.e.* *loka* = 3 (see below, § 35, A), while the day of the month, 20, is given only in decimal figures.[4]

In the MSS., the signs of this system are always distinct letters or syllables of that alphabet in which the manuscript is written. They are however not always the same. Very frequently they are slightly differentiated, probably in order to distinguish the signs with numeral values from those with letter values. In other cases there are very considerable variants, which appear to have been caused by misreadings of older signs or dialectic differences in pronunciation. The fact that these symbols really are letters is also acknowledged by the name *akṣarapallī*, which the Jainas occasionally give to this system, in order to distinguish it from the decimal notation, the *aṅkapallī*.[5] A remark of the Jaina commentator Malayagiri[6] (12th century), who calls the sign for 4 the *ṅkaśabda*, "the word *ṅka*," indicates that he really pronounced, not *catuḥ*, but *ṅka*.

The phonetical values of the symbols in plate IX, A, cols. XIX—XXVI,[7] and of some others, given by Bendall (B.), Bhagvānlāl Indrāji (Bh.), Kielhorn (K.), Leumann (L.), and Peterson (P., see note 8 on page 77 above), are :—

4 = *ṅka* (XIX; compare L., p. 1); with intentional differentiation, *rṅka* (L., p. 1.) and *rṅkā* (XXV); with *ṇa* for *ṅa* and additions, *ṇka* (XXVI; B., Bh.), *rṇka* (XXIV; compare K.), or *pka* (XX, XXI), or *ḫka* (XXIII; B.).

5 = *tṛ* (XIX, XXI, XXV, XXVI; B., Bh., K.); with intentional differentiation, *rtṛ* (Bh., K); with a mistaken interpretation of the top-stroke as *ā*, *rtā* (XXIV); with

[1] Compare J.RAS. 1889, 128.

[2] IA. 6, 44; Kielhorn, Report for 1880-81, X; Peterson, First Report, 57.

[3] Kielhorn, loc. cit.; Bendall, Catalogue, LIII.

[4] Compare facsimile in EI. 3, 133, and see the Additions and Corrections of that volume; the signs have been given in pl. IX, col. XV, under 2, 3, 8 *b*, 100 *a*. For other cases of mixtures, see Fleet, GI (CII. 3), 292, and IA. 14, 351, where the date is, however, 800 4 9 = 849.

[5] Oral information.

[6] IA. 6, 47.

[7] Preparation of Plate IX, A, cols. XIX—XXVI:—

Col. XIX; from facsimiles in Hoernle's "The Bower MS."

Cols. XX—XXIII, and XXVI; cuttings from Bendall's Table of Numerals, Nos. 1049, 1702, 836, 1643, 1683.

Col. XXIV; drawn according to the tables of Bhagvānlāl, Kielhorn, and Leumann.

Col. XXV; drawn from the same sources; but 8, 9, 100, are cuttings from Zachariae's photograph of the Sāhasāṅkacarita of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Col. XXVI; see above, under cols. XX—XXIII.

a misinterpretation of the curved *ta* (compare the sign of B.'s No. 1464), also *hṛ* (compare the sign of B.'s No. 1645 ff.) or *hva* (XXIII).

6 = *phra* (XIX, XXI, XXVI;[1] B., Bh.) or *phu* (K.); and with intentional differentiation, *rphu* or *rphru* (XXIV; K.); with a misinterpretation of an old *pha*, also *ghra* (XXII); and with dialectic softening of the *tenuis*, *bhra* (XXIII; compare B., p. LIV).

7 = *gra* (XIX, XXI, XXVI; Bh.) or *grā* (XXV; B., Bh., K); with intentional differentiation and misinterpretation of the *ra*-stroke, *rggā* (XXIV; P.); with misinterpretation of *ga*, *bhra* (XX; compare B., p. LIV) or *ña* (XXIII; compare B., LIV).

8 = *hra* (XIX, XXI, XXIII, XXVI; B., Bh.; partly with irregular addition of the *ra*-stroke to the hook of *ha*) or *hrā* (XXV; B., Bh., K.); and with intentional differentiation, *rhra* (K.) or *rhrā* (XXIV; K.).

9 = *O* (XIX, XXI, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI; B., Bh.) or *Oṁ* (XXV; K.).

10 = *ṇṛ* (XIX), formed out of the ancient *ṭhū* (cols. IV—VI) through the opening of the circle of *ṭha*; or *ḍā* (XX, XXIII; B., Bh.), the Nepalese representative of older *ḷa* (cols. X, XI; compare IA. 6, 47), which likewise is a derivative from *ṭhū*; or, especially in Nāgarī MSS., *ḷ* (XXI, XXV, XXVI; Bh, K.), through a misinterpretation of *ḷa*; and with intentional differentiation, *rḷ* (XXIV; K.).

20 = *tha*[2] or *thā* (XIX—XXI, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI; B., Bh., K.); or with intentional differentiation, *rtha* and *rthā* (XXV; K.).

30 = *la* or *lā* (XIX—XXI, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI; B., Bh., K., P); or with intentional
[76] differentiation, *rla* and *rlā* (XXV; K.).

40 = *pta* and *ptā* (XX, XXI, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI; B., Bh., K.); or with intentional differentiation, *rpta* and *rptā* (XXV; K.).

50 = Anunāsika (? Bhagvānlāl), but corresponding only in col. XXIV. to an actually traceable form of this nasal (IA. 6, 47); occasionally turned round (XX; B.: XXIII; K.).

60 = *cu*, frequent in Nepalese MSS. (XX, XXI, XXIII,), or *thu*, regular in Nāgarī MSS. (XXV, XXVI; Bh, K); and with intentional differentiation, *rthu*[3] (XXIV; K.).

70 = *cū*, frequent in Nepalese MSS. (XX, XXI, XXIII; B., Bh.) or *thū*, regular in Nāgarī MSS. (XXV, XXVI); and with intentional differentiation, *rthū* (XXIV; K.).

80 = Upadhmānīya with one central bar (XXIII, XXVI; B., Bh.: compare plate IV, 46, III), or later modified forms of that sign (XXI, XXIV; Bh., K.), which appear also in MSS. (K.) and in inscriptions (plate IV, 46, XXIII).

90 = Upadhmānīya with two cross-shaped bars (XXI, XXIII, XXVI; compare plate VII, 46, V, VI), and cursive forms of that sign (XXIV), or perhaps Jihvāmūlīya (XXV; Bh.) derived from the *ma*-like sign of plate VII, 46, III, XIII.

100 = *su* in Nāgarī MSS. (XXIV, XXV; Bh., K.); or *A* in Nepalese MSS., owing to a misinterpretation of *su* (XX, XXIII, B., Bh.); or *lu* in Nepalese and Bengālī MSS., the result of another misinterpretation (XXI, XXVI; B., Bh.).

200 = *sū* in Nāgarī MSS. (XXIV, XXV; Bh., K.), or *Ā* in Nepalese MSS. (XX, XXIII; B., Bh.), or *lū* in Nepalese and Bengālī MSS. (XXVI; Bh., B).

300 = *sū-ā* in Nāgarī MSS. (XXIV, XXV; Bh.: read *stā* by K.), or *Ā-ā* in Nepalese MSS. (XX).

400 = *sū-o* (XXV; read *sto* by K.) in Nāgarī MSS.

1 For this *pha*, compare plate VI, 33, V.

2 Common also in the Bower MS. Peterson's *gha* is due to a misreading of the old *tha*.

3 Peterson's *rghu* is a misreading.

In the inscriptions, the phonetical values of the signs often differ from those in the MSS. and vary very considerably, and almost every one of the vertical and horizontal columns (plate IX, A, I—XVIII)[1] shows at least some, occasionally a great many, cursive or intentionally modified forms, which possess hardly any resemblance to letters :—

4 = *ka* (I), *ki* (III, in 400, 4000; IV, A; V, A; VI, B), *kri* (V, B; IX, A), *pka* (III, A; VI, A; VIII, A; IX, B), *ṅka* (X, A), *lka* (facsimile IA. 5, 154), *yka.*

5 = *tra*, mostly with irregular addition of the *ra*-stroke to the vertical of *ta* (V, A; VIII, A, B; IX, B; X, A; XV, A), *trā* (VII, A), *tu* (IX. A), *nu* (IV, B), *na*, *nā* (XI, A, B), *tṛ* (XIII, A), *hr* (XIII, B; XIV, A; XVII, A), *hra* (XVI, A), together with two cursive signs without phonetic value in V, A, B.

6 = *ja*, *sa*[2] (I, II; compare plate II, 15, III; 39, VII), *phra* (III, in 6000; IV, V), *phrā* (IX, XI), *phā* (XIII), *pha* (XIV), together with four cursive signs (VI—VIII, XV), among which the first is probably derived from *ja*, the second from *sa*, and the other two from *phra.*

7 = *gra* or *gu* (III—VI, IX—XI, XIII, XV), *ga* (VII) with a cursive sign (XII) derived from a *gra* like that in XIII.

8 = *hra* with irregular addition of the *ra*-stroke to the end of *ha* (IV, A, B; VI, A), *ha* (VI, B), *hā* (VII, A; X), *hrā* (XI, XVII, XVIII) or in eastern inscriptions *pu* (VIII, B; XV, A; XVI) probably a cursive derivative from *hra*, together with five cursive signs without phonetic value (V, A; VIII, A; IX, A, B; XV, B), among which the second and the fifth are derived from *pu*, the first from *hra*, the third from *hrā*, and the fourth from *hā.*

9 = *O*; really occurring letter-forms in col. V (compare plate IV, 6, IX), in col. VI (compare *AU*, plate VII, 7, X), in col. IX (compare plate VI, 13, I), in cols. XI, XII (compare plate V, 47, IX), in col. XIV (compare plate V, 9, XV), in col. XVII (compare plate VI, 13, V ff.), different from the most ancient form (III, IV) in cols. VII. and XIII, cursive in cols. X. and XVI.

10 = *ṭhū*[3] (III, in 10000; IV, A, B, V, A; VI, A), hence a cursive sign, derived by the opening of the circle of *ṭha* (V, B; VI, B; VII A; VIII, IX), which later is converted into *a* (X, XI, A, B), or into *rya* (XVI, A), or, as in the MSS., into *ḷ* (XIII, A, B; XVII, A), or into *kha* and *ce* (XV. A, B).

20 = *ṭha* (III, in 20000; XV), or, as in the MSS., *tha*, *thā*, of the type of the period.

30 = *la*, as in the MSS.; occasionally with small modification.

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[1] Preparation of Plate IX, A, cols. I—XVIII :—

Col. I; the 4, cutting from BURGESS' facsimile of the Kālsī edict XIII, EI. 2, 435; the 6, 50, 200, drawn according to facsimiles of the Sahasrām and Rūpnāth edicts, IA. 6, 155 ff.

Col. II; cuttings from facsimile of the Śiddāpura edict, EI. 3, 138.

Col. III; cuttings from facsimiles of Nānāghāṭ inscriptions, B.ASRWI. 5, pl. 51.

Col. IV; cuttings from facsimiles of Nāsik inscriptions, B.ASRWI. 4, pl. 52, Nos. 5, 9, 18, 19, pl. 53, Nos. 12—14: the 70 drawn according to the Girnār Praśasti, B.ASRWI. 2, pl. 14.

Col. V; drawn according to facsimiles of Kṣatrapa coins, J.RAS. 1890, plate at 639.

Col. VI, VII; cuttings from facsimiles at EI. 1, 381 ff.; 2, 201 ff.

Col. VIII; cuttings from facsimiles at B.ASRSI 1, pl. 62, and EI. 1, 2 ff.

Cols. IX, X; cuttings from facsimiles at F.GI (CII. 3), Nos. 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 19, 23, 25, 59, 63, 70, 71.

Col. XI; cuttings from facsimiles at F.GI (CII. 3), Nos. 38, 39; IA. 6, 9 ff, and other Valabhī inscriptions.

Col. XII; drawn according to facsimile at J.BBRAS. 16, 108.

Cols. XIII, XIV; drawn according to facsimiles at IA. 9, 164 ff

Col. XV; drawn according to facsimiles at IA. 13, 120 ff; EI. 3, 127 ff.

Col. XVI, cutting from facsimiles at F.GI(CII.3), Nos. 40, 41, 55, 56, 81.

Col. XVII; cutting from facsimiles at IA. 15, 112, 141

Col. XVIII; drawn according to facsimile at J ASB. 40, pl. 2.

Cuttings reduced by one-third.

[2] Probably to be read thus; not as a modification of *phra* or *phu*.

[3] Thus BAYLEY, doubtfully; for the *ū* of the sign in IV, B, compare *nū*, plate III, 25, 6.

40 = *pta*, as in the MSS., for which occasionally a cursive cross (V, A) or a *sa* through a transposition of the *ta* (V, B; XI, B; XV).

50 = [77] Anunāsika (? Bhagvānlāl), as in the MSS., facing either the right or the left, occasionally with small modification.

60 = *pu* (IX), together with four different cursive signs without phonetic value.

70 = *pū* (IV—VI; IX; XI, A), or *prā* (XII), together with a cursive cross (VII) and another cursive sign (XI, B), both possibly derived from *pū*.

80 = Upadhmānīya with a diagonal bar, and cursive forms of the Upadhmānīya exactly as in the MSS.

90 = Upadhmānīya with the central cross, as in the MSS.

100 = either *su* (I, in 200; III; IX, A, B; X; XIII, in 300; XIII, in 400; XIV, in 400), for which, through a misreading, appears *A* in the Nepāl inscriptions of the 7th and 8th centuries (XIII, A, B; XIV, in 300), and *lu* in eastern inscriptions[1] of the 6th and later centuries (X, in 200; XVIII, in 200), or *śu* (probably owing to the dialectic permutation of *śa* and *sa*) in the western[2] and Kaliṅga inscriptions (IV; V; XI; XII, in 400; XV, A, B), for which, through a misreading, *O* (XVII, A, B) appears in late northern inscriptions.

200 and 300 are formed by the addition of respectively one and two horizontal bars to the right of the *akṣara* for 100; but in the Rūpnāth sign (I) by the prolongation of the vertical of *sa*. A distinct *ū*, as in the MSS., appears only in the 200 of col. XVIII.

400 = *su-ki* (III), or *su-pka* (X; XIII; XIV), but *śu-pka* (XI). 500 = *śu-tra* (IV). 600 = *śu-phra* (XII). 700 = *su-gra* (III).

1,000 = *ro* (III), or *cu* (probable in IV, distinct in XV, in 8,000), or *dhu* (IV, in 2,000: IV, in 70,000). 2,000 and 3,000 = *dhu* with one or two horizontal strokes (IV). 4,000 = *ro-ki* (III), or *dhu-ki* (IV). 6,000 = *ro-phra* (III). 8,000 = *dhu-hra* (IV), or *cu-pu* (XVI).

10,000 = *ro-ṭhū* (III). 20,000 = *ro-ṭha* (III). 70,000 = *dhu* with the cursive sign for 70.

The above details show: — (1) That the inscriptions of all periods, even the Aśoka edicts in the case of 100, differ from the MSS. by offering, side by side with distinct letters, numerous cursive or intentionally modified forms, and that, in the case of 50 and 60, just the older inscriptions show no real Akṣaras.

(2) That, excepting 7, 9, 30, 40, 80, 90, the phonetical value of the letters varies already since the earliest times, and that in many cases, as in those of 6, 10, 60, 70, 100, 1000, the variations are very considerable.

(3) That occasionally, as in the case of 10, 60, 70, the distinct letters, used in the later inscriptions and the MSS., are derived in various ways from cursive signs without a phonetical value.

These facts, as well as the incompleteness of our knowledge of the most ancient forms, make an explanation of the origin of the system for the present very difficult. Bhagvānlāl Indrājī, who first attempted the solution of the problem, conjectured that the numeral symbols of the Brāhmī are of Indian origin, and due to a peculiar use of the Mātṛkās and certain ligatures for numeral notation. But he declared himself unable to find the key of the system.

1 Earliest instance in the inscription of Mahānāman, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 71; 200 in col. X.

2 Compare also the date of the Gujarāt Calukya inscription, Seventh Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, 211 ff.; and the facsimile at J.BBRAS, 16, 1 ff.; and the Valabhī form at EI. 3, 320, l. 14, where a *śa* of the period, mutilated on the left, is used; and the date of the Kota inscription, IA. 14, 351, with a distinct *śa* of the 9th century. The form *su* occurs in a western inscription, lately found at Udepur by G. H. Ojhā, in the numeral *sū-u* or *sū-ā*, = 300.

In 1877, I agreed with him, and KERN[1] likewise concurred, but explained the 4 and 5 as combinations of four and five strokes, arranged in the form of letters. But BURNELL differed entirely. He denied that the older "cave-numerals," with the exception of rare cases, resemble letters, and dwelt strongly on the impossibility of finding a principle, according to which the Aksaras of the MSS. have been converted into numerals. He further pointed out the general agreement of the principles of the Indian system with those of the Demotic notation of the Egyptians. From this fact, as well as from the resemblance [78] of the Demotic signs for 1 to 9 to the corresponding Indian symbols, he inferred that the "cave-numerals" have been borrowed from Egypt, and after further modifications have been converted into Akṣaras. Finally, E. C. BAYLEY tried to show in his lengthy essay, quoted above, that, though the principles of the Indian system have been derived from the hieroglyphic notation of the Egyptians, the majority of the Indian symbols have been borrowed from Phoenician, Bactrian, and Akkadian figures or letters, while for a few a foreign origin is not demonstrable.

BAYLEY's explanation offers great difficulties, *inter alia* by the assumption that the Hindus borrowed from four or five different, partly very ancient and partly more modern, sources. But the comparative table of the Egyptian and Indian signs given in his paper, and his remarks about the agreement of their methods in marking the hundreds, induce me to give up BHAGVĀNLĀL's hypothesis, and to adopt, with certain modifications, the view of BURNELL, with whom also BARTH concurs.[2] It seems to me probable that the Brāhma numeral symbols are derived from the Egyptian Hieratic figures, and that the Hindus effected their transformation into Akṣaras, because they were already accustomed to express numerals by words (compare below, § 35, A).

This derivation, the details of which, however, still present difficulties and cannot be called certain, has been given in Appendix II. to the 2nd edition of my Indian Studies No. III. But two other important points may be considered as certain · — (1) That the varying forms in the Aśoka edicts show these numerals to have had a longer history in the 3rd century B. C.; and (2) that the signs have been developed by Brahmanical schoolmen, since they include two forms of the Upadhmānīya, which without doubt has been invented by the teachers of the Śikṣā.

B. — The decimal notation.

For the decimal notation, now occasionally called *aṅkapalli*, the Hindus used originally the *aṅkas* or the units of the ancient system, together with the cipher or naught,[3] which originally consisted of the *śūnyabindu*, the dot (marking a blank, see below, § 35, E), called by abbreviated names *śūnya* and *bindu* (see BW.). Very likely this system is an invention of the Hindu mathematicians and astronomers, made with the help of the Abacus (BURNELL, BAYLEY). If HOERNLE's very probable estimate of the antiquity of the arithmetical treatise, contained in the Bakhshāli MS., is correct,[4] its invention dates from the beginning of our era or even earlier. For, in that work the decimal notation is used throughout. At all events, it was known to Varāhamihira (6th century A. D.), who employs the word *aṅka*, "the decimal figures," in order to express the numeral 9 (Pañcasiddhāntikā, 18, 33; compare below, § 35, A). Its most important element, the cipher or naught, is mentioned in Subandhu's Vāsavadattā, which Bāṇa (about A. D. 620) praises as a famous book. Subandhu compares the stars with "ciphers (*śūnyabindavaḥ*) which the Creator, while calculating (the value of) the universe, on account of the absolute worthlessness of the Saṃsāra marked with his chalk, the crescent of the moon, all over the firmament which the darkness made similar to a skin blackened with ink."[5] The cipher, known to Subandhu, of course consisted of a dot, like that of the Bakshāli MS (plate IX, B, col. IX.).

[1] IA. 6, 143.
[2] B ESIP, 65, note 1.
[3] Compare HOERNLE's explanation, Seventh Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, 132; IA. 17, 35.
[4] IA. 17, 36.
[5] Vāsavadattā (ed. F. E. HALL), p. 182.

The earliest epigraphic instance of the use of the decimal notation occurs in the Gurjara inscription of the Cedi year 346, or A. D. 595,[1] where the signs (plate IX, B, col. I) are identical with the numeral symbols of the country and of the period (compare the Valabhī column of plate IX, A).[2] The same remark applies to the 2 in the date of the month of the Cicacole plate mentioned on page 78 above, in which document we find also the later circular cipher and [79] a decimal 8 in the shape of a cursive sign derived from *pu*. Another inscription of the 8th century, the Sāmāngad plates of Sakasaṃvat 675, or A. D. 754, offers only strongly modified cursive signs (plate IX, B, col. II.).

In the specimens[3] (plate IX, B, cols. III—VIII, XIII) from inscriptions of the 9th and later centuries, when the use of the decimal figures is the rule, we have likewise only cursive signs, which in the 11th and 12th centuries (compare cols. VII, VIII, and XIII) show local differences in the west, east and south. But all their figures have been derived either directly from the letter-numerals of the older system, or from letters with the same phonetic value. The last remark applies to the 9 of cols. III, V, VI ff., which is identical with the signs for *O* used in later inscriptions in the word *Om* (compare, *e.g.*, IA. 6, 194 ff., Nos. 3—6).

Among the specimens from MSS. (plate IX, B, cols. IX—XII), the decimal figures of the Bakhshāli MS. show the ancient letter-numerals for 4 and 9.

The Tamil numerals, which greatly differ from the usual ones and preserve the old signs for 10, 100 and 1000, have been given by BURNELL, ESIP. plate 23 (compare *id.* page 68). Those from Kābul are contained in the table accompanying E. C. BAYLEY's paper, Numismatic Chronicle, 3rd Series, 2, 128 ff.

§ 35. — Numeral notation by words and letters.

A. — The word-numerals.

[80] In many manuals of astronomy, mathematics and metrics, as well as in the dates of inscriptions and of MSS., the numerals are expressed by the names of things, beings or ideas, which, naturally or in accordance with the teaching of the Śāstras, connote numbers. The earliest traces of this custom have been discovered by A. WEBER in the Srautasūtras of Kātyāyana and Lāṭyāyana.[4] A few examples are found in the Vedic Jyotiṣa and in the arithmetic of the Bakhshāli MS. More numerous instances occur in Piṅgala's manual of metrics, and from about A. D. 500 we find, first in Varāhamihira's Pañcasiddhāntikā, a system of this description, which, gradually becoming more and more perfect, extends to the cipher or naught, and to nearly all the numbers between 1 and 49. During this latter period any synonym may be used for the words expressing numbers, and in some cases the same word may be used for different numbers. If the words are compounds, they may be represented by their first or second part.

[1] Compare facsimiles at EI. 2, 19 ff.; and see FLEET in GI (CII. 3). 209, note 1.

[2] The apparent difference in 6 is due to a fault of the impression.

[3] Preparation of Plate IX, B, cols. III—XIII (for cols. I, II, see the text, above); all hand-drawn: —

Col. III; from facsimiles of Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions at Kaṇheri, Nos. 15, 43 A, B.

Col. IV; from facsimile of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa copper-plate from Torkheḍe, EI. 3, 56.

Col. V; the 3 and 6 from an impression of the Haḍḍālā copper-plate (IA. 12, 190); the 4, 7, 9, 0, from facsimile of the Asni inscription, IA. 16, 174, the 5 and 8 from facsimile of the Morbī copper-plate, IA. 2, 257.

Col. VI; from facsimile of the Sāvantvāḍi copper-plate, IA. 12, 266.

Col. VII; from facsimile of the Chaulukya copper-plate, IA. 12, 202.

Col. VIII; the 1, 3, 8, from the Gayā inscription, IA. 10, 342; the 5 from C.MG. pl. 28, A.

Cols. IX, X; HOERNLE's Bakhshāli figures.

Cols XI, XII; from BENDALL's table of numeral in Catalogue of the Cambridge Sanskrit Buddhist MSS.

Col. XIII; from B.ESIP. pl. 23, Telugu and Kanarese numerals, 11th century.

[4] W.IS, 8, 166 f.

This system of numeral notation, of course, has been invented in order to facilitate the composition of metrical handbooks of astronomy and so forth. The most important words, used to express numbers, are as follows:[1]—

The cipher, 0, is expressed by (*a*) *śūnya* (Var., Ber.), "a void;"[2] (*b*) *ambara, ākāśa*, &c., "the (empty) space of heaven" (Var., Ber., Bro.), *ananta* (Bro.).

1 is expressed by (*a*) *rūpa* (Jyo., Bakh., Piṅg., Var.) "one piece;" (*b*) *indu, śaśin, śītaraśmi*, &c. (Var., Ber., Bro.), or abbreviated into *raśmi* (Ber.), "the moon;" (*c*) *bhū, mahī*, &c. (Var., Ber., Bro., Bur.), "the earth;" (*d*) *ādi* (Ber.), "beginning;" (*e*) *pitāmaha* (Ber.), "Brahman;" (*f*) *nāyaka* (Bro.), "the hero" (of a play); (*g*) *tanu* (Bro.), "the body."

2 is expressed by (*a*) *yama, yamala* (Var., Ber.), "twins:" (*b*) *aśvin, dasra* (Var., Ber.), "the two Aśvins;" (*c*) *pakṣa* (Var., Ber.), "the two wings, or the halves of the body;" (*d*) *kara*, &c. (Var., Bur.), "the hands:" (*e*) *nayana*, &c. (Var., Ber., Bur.), "the eyes;" (*f*) *bāhu* (Bro.), "the arms;" (*g*) *karṇa* (Bro.), "the ears;" (*h*) *kuṭumba* (Bro.), "the family," *i. e.*, husband and wife; (*i*) *ravicandrau* (Ber.), "sun and moon."

3 is expressed by (*a*) *agni, hotṛ*,[3] &c (Var., Ber., Bro., Bur.), "the sacrificial fires;" (*b*) *rāmāḥ* (Var., Bro.), "the three Rāmas" (of epic poetry); (*c*) *guṇa* (Var.), *triguṇa* (Ber.), "the qualities of matter;" (*d*) *trijagat, loka* (Ber.), "the three worlds;" (*e*) *trikāla* (Ber.), "the three times;" (*f*) *trigata*[4] (Ber.), "sounds, &c., with three meanings;" (*g*) *sahodarāḥ* (Bro.), "the three uterine brothers;"[5] (*h*) *trinetra*, &c. (Bro.), "the three eyes of Śiva."

4 is expressed by (*a*) *aya, āya* (Jyo.), *kṛta*[6] (Var., Ber.), "the (four) dice;" (*b*) *veda, śruti* (Piṅg., Var., Ber.), "the Vedas;" (*c*) *abdhi, jaladhi*, &c. (Piṅg., Var., Ber., Bur.), abbreviated *jala* (Var.), *dadhi* (Ber.), "the oceans;" (*d*) *diś* (Ber.), "the cardinal points;" (*e*) *yuga* (Bro.), "the (four) ages of the world;" (*f*) *bandhu* (Bro.), "the (four) brothers;"[7] (*g*) *koṣṭha* (Bro.), (?); (*h*) *varṇa* (manuscript), "the (four) principal castes."

5 is expressed by (*a*) *indriya*, &c. (Piṅg., Var., Bur.), "the organs of sense;" [81] (*b*) *artha, viṣaya*, &c. (Var., Ber.), "the objects of the senses;" (*c*) *bhūta* (Piṅg., Var., Ber.), "the elements;" (*d*) *iṣu*, &c. (Var., Ber., Bur), "the arrows of Kāma;" (*e*) *pāṇḍava* (Ber.), abbreviated (*pāṇḍu*)-*suta, putra* (Bro.), "the (five) Pāṇḍu sons;" (*f*) *prāṇa* (Bro.), "the vital airs;" (*g*) *ratna*[8] (Ber.) "the (five) jewels."

6 is expressed by (*a*) *rasa* (Bakh., Piṅg., Var., Ber.), "the (six) flavours;" (*b*) *ṛtu* (Piṅg., Var., Ber.), "the seasons;" (*c*) *aṅga* (Ber.), "the auxiliary sciences of Vedic studies;" (*d*) *māsārdha* (Ber.), "one half of the (twelve) months;" (*e*) *darśana*, &c. (Bro.), "the (six) philosophical systems;" (*f*) *rāga* (Bro.), "the (six) principal tunes;" (*g*) *ari* (Bro.), "the (internal) foes (of men);" (*h*) *kāya*[9] (inscription), "the bodies" (?).

7 is expressed by (*a*) *ṛṣi, muni* (Piṅg., Var.), "the (seven) seers;" or by *atri*, the first among them (Bro.); (*b*) *svara* (Piṅg., Var., Bro.), "the notes" (of the octave); (*c*) *aśva*

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[1] The abbreviations mark the sources from which the words have been collected, as follows:—

Bakh. = the Bakhshāli MS., HOERNLE, 130.

Ber. = Berūni's India, SACHAU, 1, 178.

Bro = C. P. BROWN's list, as quoted by BURNELL, ESIP. 77 f.

Bur. = BURNELL's additions, ESIP. 77 f.

Jyo. = the Jyotiṣa, WEBER's edition, 6

Piṅg. = Piṅgala, WEBER, Indishe Studien, 8, 167 f.

Var. = Varāhamihira's Pañchasiddhāntikā, THIBAUT's edition.

A few other instances are given from manuscripts and inscriptions.

The numerous synonyms, being unnecessary for Sanskritists, have been mostly omitted; but such omissions have been indicated by "&c."

[2] *Śūnya* may either mean "the empty place on the Abacus," or be an abbreviation of *śūnyabindu* (see above, § 34, B).

[3] See Pañcasiddhāntikā, 8, 6. This is equivalent to *agni*, because Agni is the Hotṛ-priest of the gods.

[4] See BRW. *sub hac voce*.

[5] Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma and Arjuna (CARTELLIERI).

[6] Thus BRW. *sub hac voce*; possibly *kṛta* may stand for *kṛtādi yuga*.

[7] Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, &c.

[8] See APTE, Sanskrit Dictionary, *sub hac voce*.

[9] Compare EI 1, 324, line 48.

(Var., Bro.), "the horses" (of the sun); (*d*) *aga*, &c. (Var., Ber., Bur.), "the (primeval) mountains;" (*e*) *dhātu* (Bro.), "the elements" (of the body); (*f*) *chandas* (Bro.), "the (classes of the) metres;" (*g*) *dhī* (Ber.), (?); (*h*) *kalatra* (Bro.), (?).

8 is expressed by (*a*) *anuṣṭubh* (Piṅg.), a metre with octo-syllabic Pādas or lines; (*b*) *vasu* (Piṅg., Var.), "the Vasu gods;" (*c*) *ahi*, &c. (Ber., Bur.), "the (eight classes of) snakes;" (*d*) *gaja*, &c. (Ber., Bur.), "the elephants (guarding the eight points of the horizon);" (*e*) *maṅgala*, *bhūti* (Ber., Bro.), "the (eight kinds of) auspicious things;"[1] (*f*) *siddhi* (manuscript), "the supernatural powers."

9 is expressed by (*a*) *aṅka* (Var., Bro.), "the decimal figures;" (*b*) *nanda* (Var., Ber.), "the (nine) Nandas;" (*c*) *chidra*, &c. (Ber.), "the cavities of the body;" (*d*) *go*, *graha* (Ber., Bro., Bur.), "the planets;" (*e*) *nidhi* (Bur.), "the treasures (of Kubera);" (*f*) *pavana* (Ber.), (?).

10 is expressed by (*a*) *diśaḥ*, &c. (Piṅg., Var., Ber.), "the (ten) points of the horizon;" (*b*) *rāvaṇaśiras* (Ber.), "the heads of Rāvaṇa;" (*c*) *avatāra* (Bro.), "the incarnations (of Viṣṇu);" (*d*) *karman* (Ber.), "the (ten Gṛhya)-ceremonies;" (*e*) *khendu* (Ber.), cipher (0) and moon (1), *i.e.* 10.[2]

11 is expressed by (*a*) *rudra* (Piṅg., Var., Ber.), "the (eleven) Rudras," or by *īśa*, *śiva*, &c. (Var., Ber.), the first of the eleven Rudras; (*b*, *c*) *akṣauhiṇī*, *lābha* (Bro.), (?).

12 is expressed by (*a*) *āditya*, *arka*, &c. (Piṅg., Var., Ber.), "the (twelve) sun-gods," or "suns;" (*b*) *vyaya* (Bro.), (?).

13 is expressed by (*a*) *viśvedevāḥ*, abbreviated *viśva* (Var., Ber.), "the (thirteen) all-gods;"[3] or by *kāma*, the most famous among them (Bro.); (*b*) *atijagatī* (Var.), a metre with thirteen syllables in each Pāda; (*c*) *aghoṣa* (Jagaḍūcarita),[4] "the surd consonants."

14 is expressed by (*a*) *manu* (Var., Ber.), "the (fourteen) Manus;" (*b*) *indra* (Var., Ber.), "the (fourteen) Indras;" (*c*) *loka* (Bro.), "the (fourteen) worlds."

15 is expressed by (*a*) *tithi* (Var., Ber.), "the lunar days (of a half-month);" (*b*) *ahan* (Bro.), "the solar days (of a half-month);" (*c*) *pakṣa* (Bro.), "half a month (fifteen days)."

16 is expressed by (*a*) *aṣṭi* (Var., Ber.), a metre with sixteen syllables in the Pāda; (*b*) *bhūpa*, &c. (Var., Ber.), "the (famous sixteen) kings;"[5] (*c*) *kalā* (Bro.), "the digits of the moon."

17 to 19 are expressed by *atyaṣṭi* (Ber.), *dhṛti*, *atidhṛti* (Var., Ber.), metres with seventeen to nineteen syllables in the Pāda.

20 is expressed by (*a*) *kṛti* (Var., Ber.), a metre with twenty syllables in the Pāda; (*b*) *nakha* (Var., Ber.), "the nails (of the hands and feet)."

21 is expressed by (*a*) *utkṛti* (Ber.);[6] (*b*) *svarga* (Bro.), "heaven."

22 is expressed by *jāti* (Bro.), (?).

24 is expressed by *jina* (Var., Ber.), "the (twenty-four) Tīrthaṃkaras of the Jainas."

25 is expressed by *tattva* (Ber.), "the principles of the Sāṅkhya philosophy."

26 is expressed by *utkṛti* (Var.), a metre with twenty-six syllables in the Pāda.

27 is expressed by *bhasamūha* (Jyo.), *nakṣatra* (Bro.), "the lunar mansions."

32 is expressed by *danta*, &c. (Var., Bro.), "the teeth."

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1 Compare *aṣṭamaṅgala*.

2 STEN KONOW, Deutsche Litt. Int., 1897.

3 Compare F. E. HALL, Viṣṇupurāṇa, 3, 192.

4 SB.WA. 126, 5, 58.

5 Described in the *ṣoḍaśarājakīya-parvan* of the Mahābhārata, 7, 65—71 (CARTELLIERI).

6 Probably a mistake for *prakṛti*, a metre with twenty-one syllables in the Pāda.

33 is expressed by *sura*, &c. (Var., Bro.), "the gods."

40 is expressed by *naraka* (Var., Pañcasiddhāntikā, 4, 6), "the hells."

49 is expressed by *tāna* (Bro.), "the notes."

[82] In the Jyotiṣa and in the arithmetic of the Bakshāli MS., only single words are used to indicate numbers.

In Piṅgala's and other metrical manuals, the words with numeral meanings often form (sometimes together with ordinary numerals) Dvandva compounds, which must be dissolved by "or." Thus, *vedartusamudrāḥ* means "4 or 6 or 4."

In the works of Varāhamihira and other astronomers, we find, in addition, longer Dvandva compounds, consisting of such word-numerals (be it alone, or associated with ordinary numerals), which have to be dissolved by "and," and then yield long rows of figures to be read from the right to the left.[1] Thus, in the Pañcasiddhāntikā, 4, 44, we have: —

0 0 4 4 1
kha-kha-veda-samudra-śītaraśmayaḥ = 14, 400;

and in 9, 9 of the same work, we have: —

0 0 16 2
kha-kh-āṣṭi-yamāḥ = 21,600.

Such Dvandva compounds, which presuppose the existence of the decimal notation, are used also for the dates of inscriptions. Dates expressed in this manner, are found in the Kamboja and Campā inscriptions of the 7th century.[2] In Java they occur in the 8th century.[3] And about the same time appears the first trace of such a notation in an Indian document, the Cicacole copper-plate inscription mentioned on page 78 above, where *lo*, = 3, is an abbreviation of *loka*. Next follow the dates of the Kadab plates of A. D. 813,[4] and of the Dholpur stone inscription of A. D. 842,[5] which are expressed in word-numerals; and, in the next century, the plates issued by the Eastern Calukya Amma II. in A. D. 945.[6] In later times the epigraphic instances become more frequent, and the ancient palm-leaf MSS. of the Jainas,[7] as well as the later paper MSS., offer a good many. The notations of this kind have been caused sometimes by the vanity of the clerks and copyists, who wished to prove their acquaintance with the methods of the astronomers, and perhaps still more frequently by metrical reasons in the case of dates given in verse.

B. — Numeral notation by letters.

Two systems of numeral notation, according to BURNELL originally South-Indian, which both employ the phonetically arranged characters of the alphabet, have still to be described, as they are not without interest for paleography. In the first system,[8] only the vowelless consonants have any importance, and their numeral values are: —

k	*kh*	*g*	*gh*	*ṅ*	*c*	*ch*	*j*	*jh*	*ñ*	=	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
ṭ	*ṭh*	*ḍ*	*ḍh*	*ṇ*	*t*	*th*	*d*	*dh*	*n*	=	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
p	*ph*	*b*	*bh*	*m*	...	...	...	...	...	=	1	2	3	4	5					
y	*r*	*l*	*v*	*ś*	*ṣ*	*s*	*h*	*ḷ*	...	=	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

[1] According to BURNELL, in some modern inscriptions the word-numerals are placed in the usual order of the decimal figures.

[2] A. BARTH, Inscrs. Sansk. du Cambodge, No. 5 ff.; BERGAIGNE-BARTH, Inscrs. Sansk. de Campā et du Cambodge, No. 22 ff.

[3] IA. 21, 48, No. 2.

[4] IA. 12, 11; declared to be suspicious by FLEET, Kanarese Dynasties, Bombay Gazetteer, i, ii, 399, note 7.

[5] ZDMG. 40, 42, verse 23; pointed out by KIELHORN.

[6] IA. 7, 18.

[7] KIELHORN, Report, 1880-81, No 58; PETERSON, Third Rep., App. I, Nos. 187[6], 251, 253, 256, 270, &c.

[8] Compare B.ESIP. 79; W.IS. 8, 160; IA. 4, 207.

The consonants are, however, not used by themselves, but for the formation of chronograms, containing any vowels and also compound consonants, of which the last element alone has numerical value. In the figures, resulting from those chronograms, the units invariably stand on the left, and the whole sum has to be turned round. An interesting instance of this notation, probably the most ancient hitherto discovered, occurs at the end of Ṣaḍguruśiṣya's commentary on the Sarvānukramaṇī (MACDONELL, page 168), where the chronogram, according to KIELHORN's undoubtedly correct emendation, is :[1] —

2 3 1 5 6 5 1

khago=ntyān=meṣam=āpa.

As the author himself adds, this has the value of 1,565,132. And this figure corresponds, as the author likewise says, to the number of the days elapsed since the beginning of the Kaliyuga, and yields the vernal equinox, 24th March, A. D. 1184, as the date of the completion of the work. The equinox is indicated also by the verbal meaning of the chronogram: — " (Coming) from the last (sign of the Zodiac), the sun reached Aries."

The second system to be considered,[2] which is still used in Ceylon, Siam and Burma for the pagination of MSS., and according to BURNELL formerly also [83] occurred in Southern India, utilises the Brahmanical *Bārākhaḍī* (see page 2 above). According to BURNELL, the Akṣaras *ka* to *ḷa* are equivalent to 1 to 34; *kā* to *ḷā* = 35 to 68 ; *ki* to *ḷi* = 69 to 102; and so on. But in the Pali MSS. of the Viennese Court Library from Burma, I find *ka* to *kaḥ* = 1 to 12; *kha* to *khaḥ* = 13 to 24; and so on: and in those from Ceylon, where the *Bārākhaḍī* includes the vowels *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *ḷ*, and *ḹ*, *ka* to *kaḥ* = 1 to 16, and *kha* to *khaḥ* = 17 to 32, whereby a somewhat different employment of the Akṣaras results.[3] FAUSBÖLL has kindly informed me that the last two methods alone (not that mentioned by BURNELL) are used in the Pali MSS. known to him. And he adds that, after the exhaustion of the whole *Bārākhaḍī*, the Ceylonese MSS. begin again with 2 *ka*, 2 *kā*, and so on, and further that the pagination of Siamese MSS. agrees exactly with those from Burma.

VII. THE EXTERNAL ARRANGEMENT OF INSCRIPTIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS.

§ 36. — The lines, grouping of words, interpunctuation, and other details.

A. — The lines.

Already in the earliest inscriptions incised on smoothed stones, the Hindus have tried to form regular straight lines and to make the upper ends of the Mātṛkās of equal height. Aśoka's masons, however, have rarely succeeded, even in the pillar edicts and in the rock edicts of Girnār, Dhauli and Jaugada, to keep the line in more than a few consecutive words, mostly those of one group (see below, under B). But in other documents of the same period, as in the Ghasundī stone inscription (see page 32 above), the later[4] and still valid principle has been more carefully observed, according to which only the vowel-signs, the superscribed *ra* and similar additions may protrude above the upper line. This regularity probably has been attained by marking the upper line with chalk, as is still done, or by other mechanical appliances.

The lines of the MSS. are always very regular, even in the oldest specimens, such as the Dhammapada from Khotan, and probably have been made with the help of a ruler (see below, § 37, J). In the ancient palm-leaf MSS. and in many later ones on paper, the ends of the lines are marked by vertical double strokes, running across the whole breadth of the leaves.

1 IA. 21, 49 f., No. 4. 2 B.ESIP. 80. 3 Compare Gurupūjākaumudī, 110.

4 Thus already in most of the inscriptions from the western caves, and at Amarāvatī, Mathurā, &c.; compare the facsimiles in B.ASRWI. vols. 4 and 5 ; B.ASRSI. vol. I; EI. 2, 195 ff.; and others.

In the MSS., the lines always run horizontally, and from the top to the bottom; and this is also the case in most inscriptions. But there are a few inscriptions which have to be read from below.[1]

Vertical lines sometimes occur on coins, especially on those of the Kuṣaṇas and the Guptas.[2] The cause of the latter arrangement of the letters was probably the want of space.

B. — The grouping of words.

[84] In addition to the still usual method of writing the words continuously without a break, up to the end of a line, of a verse, half-verse or other division, we find already in some of the oldest documents, such as certain Aśoka edicts,[3] instances of the separation of single words, or of groups of words which belong together, either according to their sense or according to the clerks' manner of reading. A similar grouping of the words occurs also in some prose inscriptions of the Andhras and the Western Kṣatrapas at Nāsik; compare Nos. 5, 11 A, B, and 13. In the carefully written metrical inscriptions of the later times, the Pādas or the half-verses occasionally are separated by blank spaces,[4] and each line contains a half verse or a verse.[5]

Similarly, in the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada from Khotan, each line contains one Gāthā, and the Pādas are divided off by blanks. In other old MSS., as the Bower MS., single words and groups of words are often written separately, apparently without any certain principle.

In inscriptions, the Maṅgala, especially when it is the word *siddham*, often stands by itself on the margin.[6]

C. — Interpunctuation.[7]

Signs of interpunctuation are not found in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. But the Dhammapada from Khotan offers at the end of each verse a circular mark, often made negligently, but resembling the modern cipher.[8] At the end of a Vagga appears a sign, which is found at the end of various inscriptions, *e. g.*, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 71, plate 41 A, and which probably is intended to represent a lotus.

In connection with the Brāhmī, signs of interpunctuation occur since the earliest times, and the signs employed are the following :—

(1) A single vertical stroke (*daṇḍa*) is used (irregularly and sometimes wrongly) in some Aśoka edicts[9] for the separation of single words or of groups. In later times it serves to separate prose from verse,[10] or occurs at the end of portions of sentences,[11] of sentences,[12] of half-verses[13] or verses,[14] and occasionally even marks the end of documents.[15] In the inscriptions of the Eastern Calukyas[16] the *daṇḍa* has occasionally a small horizontal top-bar; thus, ⊤.

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[1] WZKM. 5, 230 f.; add a lately discovered Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Swāt.

[2] J.RAS. 1889, pl. 1; Num. Chron., 1893, pls. 8—10.

[3] Thus in the pillar edicts (excepting Allahabad), and in Kālsī edicts I—XI (see facsimiles EI. 2, 524), and in Nigliva and Paḍeria.

[4] Compare, *e. g*, facsimiles, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 50, pl. 31 B; Ajaṇṭā No. 4; Ghaṭotkaca inscription; &c.

[5] Compare, *e. g.*, facsimiles, F.GI (CII. 3), Nos. 1, 2, 6, pl. 4 A, and 10, pl. 5.

[6] Compare, *e. g.*, facsimiles, F.GI (CII. 3), Nos. 6, pl. 4 A, and 15, pl. 9 A.

[7] Compare, B.ESIP, 82, § 3.

[8] Compare facsimile in S. v. OLDENBURG's Predvaritelnae zamjetkao Buddhiskoi rukopisi, napisannoi pismenami Kharoṣṭhī, St. Petersburg, 1897.

[9] Kālsī edicts XII, XIII, 1; Sahasrām.

[10] See, *e. g.*, facsimile, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 21, line 16.

[11] See, *e. g.*, facsimile, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 80, pl. 44.

[12] See the same facsimile.

[13] See, *e. g.*, facsimile, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 42, pl. 28.

[14] See, *e. g.*, facsimile, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 38, pl. 24, line 35.

[15] See, *e. g.*, facsimile, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 19, pl. 12 A.

[16] See, *e. g.*, facsimiles, IA. 12, 92; 13, 213.

(2) A double vertical stroke, ॥, appears in the Junnar inscriptions Nos. 24—29 after numerals, and once after the name of the donor. Later it occurs at the end of sentences,[1] half-verses,[2] verses,[3] larger prose sections and documents.[4] From the fifth century, a hook is often added to the top of the first stroke; thus, ·ʅ|.[5] Or both strokes receive such additions; thus, ʅʅ.[6] Curves and hooks are added also to the foot of one of the strokes or of both.[7] From the end of the 8th century, a bar is attached on the left, to the middle of the first stroke; thus, ⊣|.[8] In the inscriptions of the Eastern Calukyas, bars stand at the top of the strokes; thus, TT: and a Kaliṅga inscription has similarly ʅT.[9]

(3) A triple vertical stroke marks occasionally the end of inscriptions.[10]

(4) A single short horizontal stroke, placed on the left below the first sign of the last line, marks in the Aśoka edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada the end of an edict. From the 2nd century B. C.[11] to the 7th century A. D., this sign, which is often curved or bears a hook at one of its ends, serves the same purposes as the single vertical stroke.[12]

(5) A double horizontal stroke, often bent, appears from the 1st to the 8th century A. D. in the place of the double vertical.[13] The Kuṣana inscriptions and some later ones offer in its stead a double dot,[14] which looks exactly like a Visarga.

(6) A double vertical, followed by a horizontal stroke, occasionally marks the end of inscriptions.[15]

(7) A crescent-like stroke, ↄ, marks the ends of the Aśoka edicts at Kālsī, Nos. I—XI.

(8) A crescent-like stroke with a bar in the middle, ɘ, stands twice in Kuṣana inscriptions after the Maṅgala *siddham*.[16]

Besides, numeral figures alone occasionally mark the ends of verses, see, *e. g.*, F.GI (CII. 3), Nos. 1, 2, and similarly Maṅgala-symbols (see below, under D) stand at the end of inscriptions or of sections of the text, especially in ancient MSS., such as the Bower MS.

Finally, it is necessary to call attention to the frames surrounding the Aśoka edicts in the Girnār version, the Jaugada separate edicts, and the Dhauli separate edict No. I.

What the inscriptions teach us regarding the history of the Indian interpunctuation may be briefly summed up, as follows. During the earliest period up to the beginning of our era, only single strokes, either straight or curved, are used, and their use is rare. After the beginning of our era, we find more complicated signs. [85] But up to the 5th century their use remains irregular. From that time onwards, we have, especially in the Praśastis on stone, more regular systems of interpunctuation. And the Mandasor Praśasti of A. D. 473-74, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 18, plate 11, first proves the existence of the still valid principle, which

[1] See, *e. g.*, facsimiles, Amarāvatī, No. 28; IA. 6, 23, l. 9 (Kākusthavarman's copper-plate).
[2] See, *e. g.*, facsimile, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 17, pl. 10.
[3] See, *e. g.*, facsimiles, F.GI (CII. 3), Nos. 17, pl. 10, and 18, pl. 11.
[4] See, *e. g.*, facsimiles, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 26, pl. 16, l. 24; No. 33, pl. 21 B, l. 9.
[5] See, *e. g.*, facsimile, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 17, pl. 10, l 32, l. 38; No. 35, pl. 22. last line; Bower MSS., *passim*.
[6] See, *e. g.*, facsimile, Nepāl inscription No. 4, IA. 9, 168, last line.
[7] See, *e. g.*, facsimile, IA. 9, 100, last line.
[8] See, *e. g.*, facsimiles, IA. 12, 202, l. 1 ff.; 13, 68.
[9] See facsimile, EI. 3, 128, last line.
[10] See, *e. g.*, facsimile, IA. 7, 79.
[11] In the Nānāghāṭ inscription, B.ASRWI. 5, pl. 51, line 6, after *vano*.
[12] See, *e g.*, facsimiles Nāsik, No. 11 A, B, after *sidham* and *siddha*; F.GI (CII. 3), No. 1 (end); Nos. 3, pl. 2 B, 9, pl. 4 D, and 10, pl. 5.
[13] See, *e. g.*, facsimiles, EI. 1, 389, No. 14; F.GI (CII. 3), Nos. 3, pl. 2 B, 40, pl. 26, 41, pl. 27, and 55, pl. 34; IA. 6, 17 (after *ādadītā*).
[14] EI. 1, 395, Nos. 28, 29 (after *dānaṃ*); F.GI (CII. 3), No. 38, pl. 24, l. 35; No. 55, pl. 34 (end); IA. 5, 209 (end); in these and other cases the sign has been wrongly read as a Visarga.
[15] See, *e. g.*, facsimiles, IA. 6, 76; EI. 3, 260.
[16] EI. 2, 212, No. 42, and note.

requires one stroke after a half-verse and two strokes at the end of a verse. But up to the 8th century there are various copper-plates and stone inscriptions, especially from Southern India, without any interpunctuation.[1] Its methodical development is due to the Brahmanical schoolmen. In the offices, interpunctuation apparently never became a favourite. As a comparison of the documents of one and the same dynasty easily shows, the degree of regularity with which the signs are used, depends not upon the age of the Śāsanas, but on individual qualities of the writers, their learning and their carefulness.

D. — Maṅgalas and ornamentation.

In accordance with the ancient Brahmanical maxim, which requires a Maṅgala, a benediction or an auspicious word, at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of a composition in order to insure its completion and preservation, sacred symbols of auspicious import are found at the beginning and the end of two Aśoka edicts[2] and of many inscriptions of the next four centuries.[3] The most common Maṅgala-symbols, employed in this way, are the well-known Svastika, the trident or the so-called Triratna symbol resting on the Dharmacakra, and the conventional representation of a Caitya tree.[4] But there are also others, the names of which are as yet unknown. Once[5] the Svastika appears after the word *siddham*.

In later times, we find also Maṅgala-symbols with greatly modified forms, partly in the texts at the end of larger sections and partly at the end of documents or literary works. A very common sign of this description is a large circle with a smaller one, or with one or several dots in the middle.[6] This may be a conventional representation either of the Dharmacakra which is still distinctly visible in front of F.GI (CII. 3), No. 63, plate 39, A, or of the lotus, which likewise occurs. As a circle with a dot, ⊙, corresponds to the ancient *tha*, other signs, closely resembling or identical with later forms of *tha*, are used as substitutes.[7] And the modern MSS. finally offer the well-known छ, which corresponds to one of the medieval forms of *tha*, but is now read *cha*.

Since the 5th century, we find also new symbols, consisting of highly ornamental forms of the ancient *O* of the word *Oṃ* (plate IV, 6, XVIII; plate V, 47, IX), which latter is a great Maṅgala. They are used both at the beginning and at the end of inscriptions and occasionally even on the margin of copper-plates.[8]

Many of the sculptures, found in connection with stone inscriptions, appear to have the same meaning as the Maṅgala-symbols just mentioned. Of this kind are, *e. g.*, several of the relievos above BHAGVĀNLĀL's Nepāl inscriptions,[9] such as the Śaṅkhas (No. 3), the lotuses (Nos. 5, 15), the bull Nandi (Nos. 7, 12), the fish (No. 9), the sun-wheel and the stars (No. 10). It is however possible that the lotus of No. 15 may refer also to the donation of a silver lotus, the dedication of which the inscription records. Again, the sun-wheel and the stars of No. 10

[1] See, *e. g.*, facsimiles, IA, 6, 88; 7, 163; 8, 23; 10, 62—64, 164—171.

[2] See the facsimile of the separate edicts of Jaugada.

[3] See, *e. g.*, facsimiles of the Sohgaura plate; of Bhājā Nos. 2, 3, 7; of Kuḍā Nos. 1, 6, 11, 15, 16, 20, 22, 24, 25; of Mahāḍ; of Beḍsā No. 3; of Kārle Nos. 1—3, 5, 20; of Junnar Nos. 2—15, 17, 19; of Nāsik Nos. 1, 11 A, B, 14, 21, 24, of Kaṇheri Nos. 2, 12, 13; EI. 2, 338, Stūpa I, No. 358, and BHAGVĀNLĀL, Sixth Oriental Congress, 3, 2, 136 ff.

[4] On the non-sectarian national character of these symbols, see BHAGVĀNLĀL, loc. cit.; and EI. 2, 312 ff.

[5] Nāsik No. 6.

[6] See, *e. g.*, "The Bower MS.," pt. 1, pls. 3, 5; pt. 2, pl. 1 ff.; facsimiles, IA. 6, 17; 9, 138, No. 4, 17, 310; 19, 58; EI. 1, 10 ff. In the Siyaḍoṇī inscription, EI. 1, 173 ff., Viṣṇu's Kaustubha seems to be used repeatedly; compare EI. 2, 124.

[7] Compare, *e. g.*, facsimiles, F.GI (CII. 3), No. 71 (end), IA. 6, 67, pl. 2, line 1 (wrongly read as 20); IA. 6, 192, pl. 2, line 10; EI. 1, 77 (end); 3, 273, line 39; 3, 306, Verāwal image inscription (end).

[8] See, *e. g.*, facsimiles, F.GI (CII. 3), Nos. 11, pl. 6 A (also p. 46, note 3), 20, pl. 12 B, 26, pl. 16, &c.; IA. 6, 32 (five times); EI. 3, 52 (end); "The Bower MS.," pt. 1, pl. 1; compare also Berūnī, India, 1, 173 (SACHAU).

[9] IA. 9, 163 ff.

may also be intended to indicate the wish, often expressed explicitly in words. that the donation, to which the inscription refers, may last "as long as sun and stars endure."

Similar illustrations of the contents of the inscriptions and symbolical representations of the wishes[1] and of other matters expressed in them, are not rare. Corresponding engravings on the copper-plates are less common. But on these the royal coat of arms is sometimes engraved below or by the side of the text, instead of on a separate seal, and the stone inscriptions, too, occasionally exhibit such devices.[2] Among the MSS, those of the Nepalese Buddhists and of the Jainas of Gujarāt are often richly ornamented and perfectly illustrated.[3] Specimens of illuminated Brahmanical MSS. are, however, not wanting.

E. — Corrections, omissions, and abbreviations.[4]

In the earliest inscriptions, as in the Aśoka edicts (see, *e. g.*, Kālsī edict XII, line 31) erroneous passages [86] are simply scored out. Later, dots or short strokes above or below the line are used to indicate clerical errors. The same signs occur in MSS., where, however, in late times the *delenda* are covered with turmeric or a yellow paste. On the copper-plates, they are frequently beaten out with a hammer, and the corrections are then engraved on the smoothed spot. We possess even entire palimpsests of this kind.[5]

In the Aśoka edicts and other early inscriptions, letters and words, left out by mistake, are added above or below the line without any indication of the place to which they belong,[6] or they are also entered in the interstices between the letters. In the later inscriptions and the MSS., the spot of the omission is indicated by a small upright or inclined cross, the so-called *kâkapada* or *haṃsapada*, and the addenda are given either in the margin[7] or between the lines.

A Svastika is sometimes put instead of the cross.[8] In South-Indian MSS., the cross is used also to indicate intentional omissions, made in Sūtras with commentaries.[9] Elsewhere, intentional omissions, or such as have been caused by defects in the original of the copy, are marked by dots on the line or by short strokes above the line.[10] The modern sign for the elision of an initial *A*, the so-called Avagraha, has been traced first on the Baroda copper-plate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva, dated A. D. 834-35.[11] A *kuṇḍala*, "ring," or a Svastika, served to mark unintelligible passages; see Kāshmīr Report, 71, and KIELHORN, Mahābhāsya, 2, 10, note.

In Western India, abbreviations are found first in an inscription of the Andhra king Siri-Puḷumāyi (Nāsik, No. 15) of about A. D. 150, and in the nearly contemporaneous one of Sirisena- or Sakasena-Māḍharīputa (Kaṇheri, No. 14). In the north-west, they are very common in the inscriptions of the Kuṣana period. The commonest instances are: — *saṃva*, *sava*, *saṃ* and *sa* for *saṃvatsara*; *gri*, *gṛ* or *gi* for *grīṣmāh* or *gimhānaṃ*; *va* for *varṣāḥ*; *he* for *hemantaḥ*; *pa* for *pakhe*; and *diva* or *di* for *divasa*; and they are only found when the dates are expressed by figures. In this connection, they are used regularly in the later inscriptions and even in our days. But in these later times we find usually *saṃvat*, which

[1] Thus, the wish for the duration of the grant is expressed by representations of the sun and moon.

[2] See, *e. g.*, B.ASRWI. No. 10, "Cave-temple Inscriptions," facsimile at p. 101, and KIELHORN's remarks, EI. 3, 307, coats of arms are found in facsimiles at IA. 6, 49 ff., 192, EI. 3, 14.

[3] See, *e. g.*, WEBER, Verzeichn. d. Berlin Sank. und Prak. Hdschriften, 2, 3, pl. 2; Fifth Oriental Congress, 2, 2, 189 ff., pl. 2; Pal. Soc., Or. Ser., pls. 18, 31; RĀJENDRALĀL MITRA, Notices of Sansk. MSS. 3, pl. 1; compare also B.ESIP. 82, § 4.

[4] Compare B ESIP. 83, § 5.

[5] IA. 7, 251 (No. 47); 13, 84, note 20; EI. 3, 41, note 6.

[6] See, *e. g.*, Kālsī edict XIII, 2, line 11; thus also later, see, *e. g.*, facsimile at EI. 3, 314, line 5.

[7] See, *e. g.*, facsimiles, EI. 3, 52, pl. 2, line 1; EI. 3, 276, line 11.

[8] Facsimile, IA. 6, 32, pl. 3.

[9] Āpastamba Dharmasūtra², p. II (10).

[10] Compare, *e. g.*, IA. 6, 19, note, line 33; 20, note, line 11; very common in Kashmīr MSS.

[11] IA. 14, 193: compare FLEET, EI. 3, 329; and KIELHORN, EI. 4, 244, note 7.

sometimes even is inflected,[1] before the dates of the years; but, before the dates of the month falling in the bright half, *śu* or *su di* for *śuddha-* or *śukla-pakṣa-dina,* or in Kashmīr *śu* or *su ti* (*tithi*), and before those falling in the dark half, *ba* or *va di* for *bahula-* or *vahula-pakṣa-dina,* or in Kashmīr *ba ti.*

From the 6th century, the inscriptions of Western India offer here and there abbreviations of other words, such as *dū* for *dūtaka, dvi* for *dvitīya.*[2]

Later, especially since the 11th century, abbreviations of titles and the names of tribes, castes and so forth become very common. In the MSS. they are noticeable since the earliest times. Thus, the Khotan Dhammapada (Paris fragment) has, at the end of a Vagga, *ga 30* for *gāthā 30*; and in the Bower MS., plate II, *ślo* for *śloka* and *pā* for *pāda* often occur in connection with figures at the end of a section. In the inscriptions and MSS. of the 12th century we find with names, not with dates, the small circle or *bindu,*[3] which is still used to indicate abbreviations; *e. g.,* ठ° for *ṭhakkura.* The same sign is used in Prakrit MSS. to indicate the omission of one or several letters that can be easily supplied; *e. g., a°tabhavaṃ* for *attabhavaṃ, di°ṭhā* for *diṭṭhā.*[4]

F. — Pagination.

The Hindus number only the leaves (*pattra*), not the pages (*pṛṣṭha*), of their MSS.; and in the Dravidian districts the figure stands on the first page of each leaf, in all other parts of India on the second (*sāṅkapṛṣṭha*).[5] The same rule holds good in the case of copper-plates, the sheets of which sometimes (but rarely) are numbered.[6]

G. — Seals.

According to the law-books,[7] all 'Sāsanas [87] must bear the royal seal. Consequently, seals, welded to the plates or to the rings connecting the plates, or attached to them by pins, are found with the majority of the grants. They show the royal coat of arms (mostly the representation of an animal or of a deity), or, in addition to such emblems, a shorter or longer inscription, giving the name of the king or of the founder of the dynasty, or the whole pedigree, and sometimes merely an inscription.[8]

VIII. WRITING MATERIALS, LIBRARIES, AND WRITERS.

§ 37. — Writing materials.[9]

A. — Birch-bark.

[88] The inner bark of the *Bhūrja*-tree (Baetula bhojpattr), which the Himālaya produces in great quantity, probably is alluded to already by Q. Curtius (see above, page 6) as a writing material used by the Hindus at the time of Alexander's invasion, and later it is frequently named as such in Northern Buddhist and Brahmanical Sanskrit works.[10] It is even called *lekhana,* "the writing material," and written documents go by the name of *bhūrja.* According to Berūnī,[11] pieces, one ell in length and one span in breadth, were prepared for use

[1] According to a letter from KIELHORN.

[2] IA. 7, 73, pl. 2, line 20; 13, 84, lines 37, 40; 15, 340, line 57.

[3] See, *e. g.,* IA. 6, 194 ff., No. 4 ff.; EI. 1, 317, line 9.

[4] Compare S. P. PANDIT, Mālavikāgnimitra², p. V, who, as also BURNELL, makes *di°ṭhā* stand for *diṭhṭhā*; see also PISCHEL, Nachr. Gött. Gel. Ges., 1873, 203.

[5] On an apparent exception, see WZKM. 7, 261.

[6] Compare, *e. g.,* B.ESIP. pl. 24; facsimiles at EI, 1, 1 ff.; 3, 156, 300.

[7] JOLLY, Recht und Sitte, Grundriss, II, 8, 114.

[8] See, *e. g.,* the collections of seals in plates at B.ESIP. 106, and EI. 3, 104; 4, 244: see also F.GI (CII. 3), plates 30, 32, 33, 37, 43.

[9] Compare B.ESIP. 84—93; RĀJENDRALĀL MITRA, in Gough's Papers relating to the Collection and Preservation of Ancient Sanskrit MSS., p. 15 ff.; FÜHRER, Zeitshrift f. Bibliothekswesen 1, 429 ff., 2, 41 ff.

[10] BRW., sub voce *bhūrja.*

[11] India, 1, 171 (SACHAU); the description seems to fit the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada from Khotan.

by rubbing them with oil and polishing them. The art of the preparation has however been lost in Kashmīr, when the introduction of paper during the Moghal period furnished a more convenient material.[1] But a not inconsiderable number of old birch-bark MSS. still exist in the libraries of the Kashmīr Pandits. According to a statement made to me by Bhāū Dājī, birch-bark MSS. occur also in Orissa, and amulets, written on Bhūrja, are still used throghout all the Aryan districts of India.[2] The use of the *bhūrjapattra* of course began in the north-west; but it seems to have spread in early times, as the copper-plates of Central, Eastern and Western India appear to have been cut according to the size of the Bhūrja, which in Kashmīr mostly corresponds to our quarto (Burnell). As stated in many classical Sanskrit works and by Berūnī, all letters were written on Bhūrja at least in Northern, Central, Eastern and Western India.

The oldest documents on Bhūrja, which have been found, are the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada from Khotan, and the inscribed "twists," tied up with threads, which Masson discovered in the Stūpas of Afghanistan (see above, page 18, and note 6). Next come the fragments from the Godfrey Collection and the Bower MS., the leaves of which have been cut according to the size of palm-leaves, and, like these, are pierced in the middle in order to pass a string through, intended to hold them together.[3] Next in age is the Bakhshāli MS., and then follow after a considerable interval the birch-bark MSS. from Kashmīr in the libraries of Poona, London, Oxford, Vienna, Berlin, &c., none of which probably date earlier than the 15th century.

B. — Cotton cloth.

The use of well-beaten cotton cloth is mentioned by Nearchos (see above, page 6), and some metrical Smṛtis, as well as some inscriptions of the Andhra period, state that official and private documents were written on *paṭa*, *paṭikā* or *kārpāsika paṭa*.[4] According to Burnell, and Rice (Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer, 1877, 1, 408), the Kanarese traders still use for their books of business a kind of cloth, called *kadatam*, which is covered with a paste of tamarind-seed and afterwards blackened with charcoal. The letters are written with chalk or steatite pencils, and the writing is white or black. In the Bṛhajjñānakoṣa at Jesalmīr, I found a silk band with the list of the Jaina Sūtras, written with ink. Recently Peterson (Fifth Report, 113) has discovered at Aṇhilvāḍ Pāṭaṇ a MS., dated Vikrama-Saṃvat 1418 (A. D. 1361-62), which is written on cloth.

C. — Wooden boards.

The passage of the Vinayapiṭaka (see above, page 5), which forbids "the incising" of precepts for religious suicide, bears witness to a very early use of wooden boards or bamboo chips as writing materials. Equally, the Jātakas, and also later works, mention the writing board, used in the elementary schools. Chips of bamboo (*śalākā*), with the name of the bearers, served as passports for Buddhist monks (Burnouf, Introd. à l'histoire du Bouddhisme, 259, note). An inscription from the time of the Western Kṣatrapa Nahapāna[5] speaks of boards (*phalaka*) in the guildhall, on which agreements regarding loans were placarded, and Kātyāyana prescribes that plaints are to be entered on boards with *pāṇḍulekha*, *i. e.*, with chalk.[6] Daṇdin narrates, in the Daśakumāracarita, that Apahāravarman wrote his declaration, addressed to the sleeping princess, on a varnished board.[7] MSS. on varnished boards, which are common in Burma, have hitherto not been discovered in India proper; but there are indications that the Hindus, too, used boards for literary purposes. Winternitz informs me that the Bodleian

1 Kashmīr Report, J.BBRAS. 12, App., 29 ff.
2 Rājendralāl Mitra, Gough's Papers, 17; Kashmīr Report, 29, note 2.
3 J.ASB. 66, 225 ff ; facsimiles in Hoernle's Bower MS.; WZKM. 5, 104.
4 J. Jolly, Recht und Sitte, Grundriss, II, 8, 114; Nāsik inscription No. 11, A, B, in B.ASRWI. 4, 104 f.
5 Nāsik inscription No. 7, line 4, in B.ASRWI. 4, 102.
6 B.ESIP. 87, note 2.
7 Dáśakumāracarita, Ucchvāsa 2, towards the end.

Library possesses a MS. on wooden boards, which comes from Assam. [89] And Rājendralāl Mitra asserts, in Gough's Papers, p. 18, that in the North-West Provinces poor people copy religious works with chalk on black boards.

D. — Leaves.

According to the canon of the Southern Buddhists (see above, page 5), leaves (*paṇṇa*) were in ancient times the most common writing material. Though the texts[1] do not mention the plants which furnished these leaves, it is not doubtful that they came then, as in later times, chiefly from the large-leaved palm-trees, the *tāḍa* or *tāla* (Borassus flabelliformis) and the *tāḍī* or *tālī* (Corypha umbraculifera, or C. taliera), which, originally indigenous in the Dekhan, are found at present even in the Pañjāb. The earliest witness[2] for the general use of palm-leaves throughout the whole of India is Hiuen Tsiang (7th century). But we possess clear proof that they were used even in north-west India during much earlier times. The Horiuzi palm-leaf MS. certainly goes back to the 6th century, and some fragments in the recently discovered Godfrey Collection from Kashgar belong, as Hoernle has shown on the paleographical evidence, at least to the 4th century, and are older than the Bower MS.[3] Again, the *bhūrjapattra* leaves of the Bower MS. are cut according to the size of palm-leaves, and that is also the case with the Taxila copper-plate (see above, page 25), which certainly is not later than the 1st century A. D. As the coppersmith then chose a palm-leaf for his model, it follows that palm-leaves must have been commonly used for writing, even in the Pañjāb. A Buddhist tradition, preserved in the Life of Hiuen Tsiang,[4] asserts that the Canon was written on palm-leaves at the first Council held immediately after Buddha's death. And the story regarding Saṃghabhadra's "dotted MS. of the Vinaya," published by Takakusu in J.RAS. 1896, 436 f., shows that this tradition is at least two centuries older; one inference, which may be drawn from it, is, that about A. D. 400 the Buddhists believed palm-leaves to have been used for writing since immemorial times.

According to Rājendralāl Mitra,[5] the palm-leaves, to be used for writing, are first dried, next boiled or soaked in water, then again dried, and finally polished with stones or conch-shells and cut to the proper size. It agrees with this statement, that the leaves of the ancient MSS. from Nepāl and Western India frequently show traces of an artificial preparation. Their length varies between one and three feet, and their breadth between one and a quarter and four inches.[6] Against this, Burnell[7] asserts that the people of Southern India take no trouble with the preparation, and mostly even neglect to trim the leaves properly. The last assertion is not borne out by the appearance of the South-Indian MSS. known to me, though it is no doubt true of the leaves used by clerks and men of business in offices and for letters.

The Horiuzi MS., and the fragments in the Godfrey Collection, as well as the numerous palm-leaf MSS. of the 9th and later centuries from Nepāl, Bengal, Rājputāna, Gujarāt and the northern Dekhaṇ, prove that since ancient times the palm-leaves were written on with ink all over Northern, Eastern, Central and Western India. Since the introduction of paper, they are no longer used in these districts, except in Bengal for MSS. of the Caṇḍīpāṭha.[8]

In the Draviḍian districts and in Orissa, the letters were, and still are, incised with a *stilus* and afterwards blackened with soot or charcoal. The oldest MS., found in the south, dates according to Burnell[9] from A. D. 1428.

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[1] B.IS. III[2], 7 ff., 120. [2] Siyuki, 2, 225 (Beal). [3] J.ASB. 66, 225 ff.

[4] Life of Hiuen Tsiang, 117 (Beal). [5] See Rājendralāl Mitra, in Gough's Papers, p. 17.

[6] See Gough's Papers, 102, and the measurements in Kielhorn's Report for 1880-81, and Peterson's Third Report.

[7] B.ESIP. 86. [8] Rājendralāl Mitra, Gough's Papers, 102.

[9] B.ESIP. 87; further researches in Southern India will probably show that older MSS. exist.

All palm-leaf MSS. are pierced either with one hole, usually in the middle, more rarely, in specimens from Kashgar, on the left, or with two holes on the left and the right, through which strings (*sūtra* or *śarayantraka*)[1] are passed in order to keep the leaves together.

In Southern India, raw palm-leaves were, and still are, commonly used for letters, for private and official documents, as well as in the indigenous schools. For the latter purpose they are also employed in Bengal.[2] According to Adams,[3] the pupils of the *tolls* write also with lamp-soot on the large Banānā and Sāl leaves.

E. — Animal substances.

D'Alwis[4] asserts that Buddhist works mention skins among the writing materials, but neglects to quote the passages. It is possible to infer from the passage of the Vāsavadattā, quoted above (page 82, § 34, B) that in Subandhu's time skins were used for writing. But the fact that leather is ritually impure makes the inference hazardous. And hitherto no MS. on leather has turned up in India, though pieces of leather from Kashgar, inscribed with Indian characters, are said to exist in the Petersburg collections. A blank piece of parchment [90] lay among the MSS. of the Jesalmīr Bṛhajjñānakośa.

Manuscripts on thin plates of ivory occur in Burma, and the British Museum possesses two specimens.[5]

F. — Metals.

The Jātakas[6] state repeatedly that the important family records of rich merchants, and verses and moral maxims, were engraved on gold plates, and Burnell[7] mentions that they were used for royal letters and for land-grants. A gold plate with a votive inscription in Kharoṣṭhī has been found in a Stūpa at Gāngu near the ruins of Taxila.[8] Specimens of small MSS. and official documents on silver likewise are preserved,[9] and among them is one from the ancient Stūpa at Bhaṭṭiprolu. In the British Museum there are also MSS. on gilt and silver plated palm-leaves.

It is a matter of course that the precious metals were used only in rare and exceptional cases. But, as the exceedingly numerous finds prove, copper-plates (*tāmrapaṭa*, *tāmrapattra*, *tāmraśāsana*, abbreviated *tāmra*) were since ancient times the favourite material for engraving various kinds of documents which were intended to last, and especially land-grants, to the donees of which they served as title-deeds.

According to Fahian (about A. D. 400), the Buddhist monasteries possessed grants engraved on copper, the oldest of which dated from Buddha's time.[10] Though this statement requires confirmation, the Sohgaura plate (see above, page 32) teaches us that during the Maurya period official decrees were committed to copper. Another Buddhist tradition, preserved by Hiuen Tsiang,[11] asserts that Kaniṣka caused the sacred books to be engraved on sheets of copper. And a similar story, which Burnell declares to be untrustworthy, is told regarding Sāyaṇa's commentaries on the Vedas.[12] But it is undeniable that copper has been used also for the preservation of literary works, as plates with such contents have been found at Tripatty, and specimens from Burma and Ceylon (some of which are gilt) are now in the British Museum.[13] Photographs of quite modern copper-plates with lists of goods in Gurumukhī and Nāgarī, sent from Kashgar to St. Petersburg, have reached me through the kindness of S. von Oldenburg.

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1 Vāsavadattā, 250 (Hall).
2 Burnell, ESIP. 89, 93, Rājendralāl Mitra, Gough's Papers, 17.
3 Reports on Vernacular Education, 20, 98 (ed. Long).
4 Introduction to Kaccāyana, XXVII.
5 J. Pali T. Soc., 1883, 135 f.
6 B.IS. III.2 10 f.
7 B.ESIP. 90, 93.
8 C.ASR. 2, 129, pl. 59.
9 B.ESIP. 87; Rea, Arch. Survey of India, New Imperial Series, No. 15, p. 13, and plate 6, No. 22; J. Pali T. Soc., 1883, p. 134 ff.
10 Siyuki (Beal) 1, xxxviii.
11 See B.ESIP. 86.
12 Ṛ. V. (Max Müller), 1, xvii.
13 J. Pali T. Soc., 1883, 136 ff.

As regards the technical preparation, the oldest *tāmraśāsana* known, the Sohgaura copper-plate (see above, page 32), has been cast in a mould of sand, into which the letters and the emblems above them had been previously scratched with a *stilus* or a pointed piece of wood. Hence both the letters and the emblems appear on the plate in relievo. All other copper-plates have been fashioned with the hammer, and many among them show distinct traces of the blows. Their thickness and size vary very considerably. Some are very thin sheets, which could be bent double and weigh only a few ounces; others are exceedingly massive and are eight or nine pounds in weight or even heavier.[1] Their size is partly determined by the nature of the writing material commonly used in the districts where they were issued, and partly by the extent of the document to be engraved, the size of the clerk's writing, and so forth. The smiths always imitated the originals given them. If these were written on palm-leaves, the plates were made narrow and long. If the material was birch-bark, the plates became much broader, often almost square. Of the first description are all the copper-plates from Southern India, with the exception of those of the Yādavas of Vijayanagara, which imitate stone *stelae*.[2] To the second class belong all the Śāsanas issued further north, with the exception of the Taxila plate, which, as stated already, is the size of a palm-leaf. A comparison of the numerous plates of the Valabhī kings shows very clearly how their size gradually grows with the increasing length of the Praśasti.

If, as is mostly the case, several plates were required for one document, they were usually connected by copper rings passed through round holes in the plates. The single ring is usually found in Śāsanas from Southern India, and then the hole is usually made in the left side of the plate. If there are two rings, the holes go through the lower part of the first plate, the upper part of the second, and so on alternately. The rings correspond to the threads which keep the palm-leaves together, and they make of many *tāmraśāsanas* small volumes,[3] which can be opened quite conveniently. The lines run always, except in the Vijayanagara plates, [91] parallel to the broadest side of the plate. The letters have mostly been incised with a chisel, rarely with a graver (compare above, page 19). In order to protect the writing, the rims of the plates are usually thickened, and slightly raised,[4] and the first side of the first plate, as well as the second side of the last, is left blank. The copper seals attached to the plates seem to have been cast, and their inscriptions and emblems are raised on a countersunk surface. According to Bāṇa,[5] the state seal of king Harṣa was made of gold.

Various copper statues show votive inscriptions on their bases. A single inscription on iron, that on the iron pillar of Meharaulī, near Delhi,[6] has become known. The British Museum possesses a Buddhist MS. on tin.[7]

G. — Stone and brick.

Stones of the most various kinds, rough and artificially smoothed blocks of basalt or trap, as well as artistically carved columns of sandstone, or even prisms of crystal, have been since the most ancient times the most common materials for making documents, as Aśoka expresses himself, *ciraṭhitika*, "such as to endure for a long time." And it is indifferent whether the documents are official or private, whether they contain royal proclamations, treaties between kings, or agreements between private individuals, grants and donations or poetical effusions. There are even some instances of the incision of larger literary works; large fragments of

[1] The Taxila plate weighs 3¾ ounces and was found bent double; the Alinā plates of Śīlāditya VI. of Valabhī weigh together 17 pounds, 8¾ ounces, see F.GI (CII. 3), 172. But there are still heavier plates, see B.ESIP. 92, where however the historical notes require correction.

[2] B.ESIP. 92; compare the facsimiles at EI. 3, 26, 38, &c.

[3] The Kaśākūḍi grant (8th century) is written on eleven plates, the Hirahaḍagalli grant (4th century), EI. 1, 1 ff., on eight.

[4] See FLEET, GI (CII. 3), 68, note 6.

[5] Harṣacarita, 227 (Nirṇayasāgar Press ed.).

[6] F.GI (CII. 3), 139.

[7] See the list, J. Pali T. Soc. 1883, 134 ff.

plays by the Cāhamāna king Vigraha IV., and by his poet-laureate Somadeva, have been found at Ajmīr,[1] and a large Jaina Sthalapurāṇa in a number of Sargas, impressions of which (unpublished) I owe to FÜHRER and G. H. OJHA, exists in Bijholli (Rājputāna).

Bricks, showing single or a few letters, have been known for some time, as specimens have been found by CUNNINGHAM,[2] FÜHRER and others in various parts of India, and even in Burma. But recently a set has been discovered in the North-West Provinces by HOEY, on which Buddhist Sūtras are inscribed, the characters having apparently been scratched on the moist clay, before it was baked.[3]

H. — Paper.

During the period to which this work refers, paper was hardly known or at least little used in India, as its introduction is only due to the Muhammadans. RĀJENDRALĀL MITRA, however, asserts[4] that a "letter-writer" by king Bhoja of Dhārā proves its use in Mālva during the 11th century. The oldest paper MS. in Gujarāt is said to date from A. D. 1223-24.[5]

Paper MSS. dated Vikrama-Saṃvat 1384 and 1394 (A. D. 1327-28 and 1337-38), the leaves of which are cut according to the size of palm-leaves, have been discovered by PETERSON at Aṇhilvād Pāṭan.[6] It is very doubtful if any of the ancient MSS. from Kashgar, which are written on a peculiar paper, covered with a layer of gypsum, are of Indian origin; HOERNLE believes that all of them were written in Central Asia.[7]

I. — Ink.

The oldest undoubtedly Indian term for ink is *masi* or *masī*, frequently spelt *maṣi* or *maṣī*. The word, which occurs as a *varia lectio* already in a Gṛhyasūtra, is derived from the verb *maṣ* (*hiṃsāyām*), and means etymologically "powder."[8] Further, it serves to denote several kinds of pulverised charcoal, which were mixed with water, gum, sugar and so forth, and used for the preparation of ink.[9] BURNELL is mistaken when he asserts that in classical Sanskrit literature *maṣī*, "ink," occurs only in late works; it was known to Bāṇa (about A. D. 620) and to his predecessor Subandhu.[10]

BENFEY, HINCKS and WEBER have derived *melā*, another word for "ink," from the Greek μέλας. But it is, no doubt, the feminine (*viz.*, *maṣī*) of the common Prakrit adjective *maila*, "dirty, black," which cannot have been borrowed from the Greeks.[11] *Melā*, likewise, was known to Subandhu, who uses the denominative *melānandāyate*, "becomes an inkstand."[12] The Koṣas offer for "inkstand" also *melāmandā*, *melāndhu*, *melāndhukā*, and *maṣimaṇi*, and the Purāṇas *maṣīpātra*, *maṣībhāṇḍa* and *maṣīkūpikā*.[13]

The statements of Nearchos and Q. Curtius (see above, page 6), according to which the Hindus wrote on cotton cloth and on the inner bark of trees, *i. e.*, Bhūrja, make it very probable that they used ink already in the 4th century B. C. To the same conclusion points the fact, that in some letters of the Aśoka edicts dots are occasionally substituted for loops.[14] The oldest specimen of writing with ink, on the relic-vase of the Stūpa [92] of Andher (see

[1] IA. 20, 201 ff. — [Now edited by KIELHORN in Göttinger Festschrift, 1901.]
[2] C.ASR. 1, 97; 5, 102.
[3] Proc.ASB. 1896, 99 ff.
[4] Gough's Papers, 16.
[5] See my Catalogue of MSS. from Gujarāt, &c., 1, 238, No. 147.
[6] Fifth Report, 123, 125.
[7] WZKM. 7, 261; J.ASB. 66, 215 ff., 258 f.
[8] BRW. and BW., sub voce *maṣi*.
[9] Indian prescriptions for preparing ink are found in RĀJENDRALĀL MITRA's notes, Gough's Papers, &c., 18 f.; Kashmīr Report, 30.
[10] See, *e. g.*, Vāsavadatta, 187 (HALL); Harsacarita, 95.
[11] See now also ZACHARIAE, Nachrichten Gött. Ges. Wiss., 1896, 265 ff.
[12] BRW., *sub hac voce*.
[13] *Mandā* and *nandā*, 'water-vessel' (compare also *nandikā*, *nāndī*, 'well,' and *nāndīpaṭa*, 'cover of a well'), are derived from *nandayati* and *mandayati*, 'to cause to rejoice, to refresh,'
[14] B.IS. III[2], 61 f. 69.

above, page 5), is certainly not later than the 2nd century B. C. From the first centuries A. D. dates the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada from Khotan, as well as the twists of Bhūrja and the stone vessels with Kharoṣṭhī letters in ink from the Stūpas of Afghanistan. Somewhat later are the ancient Bhūrja and palm-leaf MSS. with Brāhma characters. Painted inscriptions occur still in the caves of Ajaṇṭā.[1]

Coloured ink, which in later times the Jainas especially have used extensively for their MSS.,[2] is mentioned also in Brahmanical works, *e. g.*, in the sections of the Purāṇas on the donation of MSS.[3] Besides chalk (see above, page 82, § 34, B), red lead or minium (*hiṅgula*) was used, already in ancient times, as a substitute for ink.[4]

J. — Pens, pencils, &c.

The general name of "an instrument for writing" is *lekhanī*, which of course includes the *stilus*, pencils, brushes, reed and wooden pens, and is found already in the epics.[5]

The *varṇaka*, mentioned in the Lalitavistara, no doubt refers to the little stick without a slit, with which the school-boys still draw the letters on the writing-board (see above, page 5). The Koṣas offer the variant *varṇikā*. The *varṇavartikā*, which occurs in the passage of the Daśakumāracarita referred to above (see page 93 above, and note 7), must be a brush or coloured pencil, as, according to other passages, the *vartikā* was used for drawing or painting.[6] *Tūlī* or *tūlikā* probably denoted originally "a brush," though it is explained also by the modern *saḷai*, "graver," a *stilus*.[7]

The most usual name of the reed pen is the word *kalama*, κάλαμος, Calamus, which occurs in all eastern languages; the rarer indigenous Indian name is *iṣīkā* or *īṣikā*, literally "reed."[8] Pieces of reed, bamboo or wood, cut after the manner of our pens, are used in all parts of India where the use of ink prevails,[9] and all the existing ancient MSS. on palm-leaves and Bhūrja probably have been written with such pens.[10] The Sanskrit name of the *stilus* used in Southern India is *śalākā*, in Marāṭhī *saḷaī*.

Regarding the now very generally used "ruler," a piece of wood or cardboard with strings fixed at equal distances, and regarding its probable predecessors, see Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, 1, 3, 66, and Anzeiger d. W. Akademie, 1897, No. VIII, where photographs of two specimens have been given. According to a letter from C. Klemm (April 21, 1897), the Ethnological Museum of Berlin possesses two specimens, one from Calcutta with the inscription *nivedanapattra* and one from Madras called *kiḍugu*.

§ 38. — The preservation of manuscripts and copper-plates, and the treatment of letters.

A. — Manuscripts and libraries.

[93] Wooden covers, cut according to the size of the sheets, were placed on the Bhūrja and palm-leaves, which had been drawn on strings, and this is still the custom even with the paper MSS.[11] In Southern India the covers are mostly pierced by holes, through which the long strings are passed. The latter are wound round the covers and knotted. This procedure was usual already in early times[12] and was observed in the case of the old palm-leaf MSS.

1 B.ASRWI. 4, plate 59.

2 See, *e. g.*, the facsimiles in Rājendralāl Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit MSS., 3, pl. 1.

3 Hemādri, Dānakhaṇḍa, 549 ff.

4 D'Alwis, Introd. to Kaccāyana, XVII; Jātaka No. 509 (4, 489), pointed out by S. von Oldenburg.

5 See BRW. and BW., *sub hac voce.*

6 See BRW. and BW., *sub hac voce.*

7 See Maheśvara on Amarakoṣa, p. 246, verse 33 (Bo. Gov. Ed.).

8 See BRW. and BW., *sub hac voce.*

9 This is the case in all the parts of India known to me; compare also Rājendralāl Mitra, in Gough's Papers, 18.

10 Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, 1, 3, 66.

11 Berūnī, India, 1, 171 (Sachau).

12 Compare Harṣacarita, 95, where the *sūtraveṣṭanam* of a MS. is mentioned.

from Western and Northern India. But in Nepāl the covers of particularly valuable MSS. sometimes are made of embossed metal; the MSS. (*pustaka*) which have been prepared in this manner are usually wrapped up in dyed or even embroidered cloth. Only in the Jaina libraries the palm-leaf MSS. sometimes are kept in small sacks of white cotton cloth, which again are fitted into small boxes of white metal. The collections of MSS., which frequently are catalogued, and occasionally, in monasteries and in royal courts, are placed under librarians, generally are preserved in boxes of wood or cardboard. Only in Kashmīr, where in accordance with Muhammadan usage the MSS. are bound in leather, they are put on shelves, like our books.

The ancient Indian name of a library, *bhāratībhāṇḍāgāra*, "treasury of the goddess of speech," occurs frequently in Jaina works; more rarely the modern synonym, *sarasvatībhāṇḍāgāra*. Such Bhāṇḍāgāras were, and still are, found in temples,[1] colleges (*vidyāmaṭha*), monasteries (*maṭha*, *upāśraya*, *vihāra*, *saṅghārāma*),[2] at the courts of princes and in the houses of many private individuals. The Purāṇas declare it to be the sacred duty of the wealthy to make donations of books to temples and so forth.[3] Equally, such donations are obligatory on the Jaina and Bauddha laymen, and the Praśastis of the old MSS. prove that the obligation was fulfilled in the most liberal manner. A famous royal library of the middle ages was that of king Bhoja of Dhārā (11th century); on the conquest of Mālva, about A. D. 1140, Siddharāja-Jayasiṃha transferred it to Aṇhilvāḍ,[4] there it seems to have been amalgamated with the court library of the Caulukyas, which is repeatedly mentioned in works of the 13th century. The *bhāratībhāṇḍāgāra* of the Caulukya Vīsaladeva or Viśvamalla (A. D. 1242—1262) furnished, according to an unpublished Praśasti, the copy of the Naishadhīya, on which Vidyādhara wrote the first commentary of the poem, and the MS. of the Kāmasūtra, according to which Yaśodhara composed his Jayamaṅgalāṭīkā.[5] One of the manuscripts of the Rāmāyaṇa in the library of the University of Bonn has been derived from a copy of Vīsaladeva's collection.[6]

The search for Sanskrit MSS., instituted by the Government of India, has shown that there are still a good many royal libraries in India, and the catalogues of several, such as those of Alwar, Bīkāner, Jammu, Mysore, and Tanjore, has been published. The documents, published in connection with the search, have brought to light also a surprisingly large number of private libraries. And various notes in older Sanskrit works make it apparent that considerable private libraries existed in early times. Thus, Bāṇa (about A. D. 620) tells us that he kept a particular reader (*pustaka-vācaka*), whose manipulation of the MS. of the Vāyupurāṇa he describes in his Harṣacarita.[7] BURNELL's remarks,[8] regarding the bad treatment of the MSS. by the Brahmans, do not hold good for the whole of India, perhaps not even for the whole of Southern India. In Gujarāt, Rājputāna and the Marāṭhā country, as well as in Northern and Central India, I have seen, besides some ill-kept collections, very carefully preserved libraries in the possession of Brahmans and Jaina monks. The treatment of the books usually depends only upon the worldly circumstances of the owner.[9]

B. — Copper-plates.

The way in which private individuals kept their copper-plate grants, seems to have been very peculiar. In many places, *e. g.*, in the ruins of Valabhī, near the modern Valā, they have been found immured in the walls or even in the foundations of the houses of the owners. In

1 Compare the remarks on donations of MSS. in inscriptions; *e. g.*, Inscriptions du Cambodge, 30, 31; HULTZSCH, SII. 1, 154.

2 Compare the remark in a Valabhī inscription of A. D. 568 (IA. 7, 67) regarding a donation in order to enable the monks of the Bauddha monastery of Duḍḍā to buy MSS. (*pustakopakraya*) of the *saddharma*.

3 Hemādri, Dānakhaṇḍa, 544 ff.

4 Compare D. Leben des J.-M. Hemacandra, D.WA. 183, 231.

5 Kāmasūtra, 364, note 4 (ed. DURGĀPRASĀD).

6 WIRTZ, die westl. Rec. des Rāmāyaṇa, 17 f.

7 Nirṇayasāgar edition, 95.

8 B.ESIP., 86.

9 Compare RĀJENDRALĀL MITRA, in Gough's Papers, 21.

many other cases [94] the grants have turned up in those fields to the donation of which they refer, often hidden in small *caches* constructed of bricks.

The finders or poor owners often sell or pledge plates to the Vāṇiās, and this custom explains why they frequently come into the hands of European collectors at great distances from the places of issue. The originals of the grants, according to which the plates were prepared, probably remained in the royal Daftar, the keeper of which, the *akṣapaṭalika*, is frequently mentioned.[1]

C. — The treatment of letters.

The Jātakas already mention the custom of wrapping up important letters in white cloth and sealing the packet.[2] At present, official or ceremonial letters often are sent in bags of silk or brocade. In the case of ordinary letters on palm-leaves, the proceeding is simpler; the leaves are folded, their ends are split and joined, and the whole is tied up with a thread.[3] It is probable that letters on Bhūrja were treated similarly. According to Bāṇa,[4] the postal runner (*dīrghādhvaga, lekhahāraka*) tied each separately to a strip of cloth and wound this round his head.

§ 39. — Writers, engravers, and stone-masons.

Though the oldest Indian alphabet is a creation of the Brahmanical schoolmen (see above, page 17), and though the instruction in writing has remained even in recent times chiefly in the hands of Brahmans, there are yet indications that professional writers, and perhaps even castes of professional writers, existed already at an early period. The oldest name of these men is *lekhaka*, used in the canon of the Southern Buddhists and the epics (see above, page 5). In the Sāñci inscription, Stūpa I, No. 143,[5] it is clearly used to designate the profession of the donor; it may, however, be doubted if it means, as I have translated it, "copyist of MSS." or "writer, clerk." In various later inscriptions,[6] *lekhaka* undoubtedly denotes the person who prepared the documents to be incised on copper or stone. But in the present day a *lekhak* is always a man who copies MSS., and this profession is usually the resource of poor Brahmans, and sometimes of worn-out clerks (Kāyasths, Kārkūns). Such men were, and are, employed also by the Jainas. But many Jaina MSS. have been copied, as their Praśastis show, by monks or novices, and even by nuns. Similarly, we find, among the copyists of the Bauddha MSS. from Nepāl, Bhikṣus, Vajrācāryas and so forth.[7]

Another name of the professional writers, which was used already in the 4th century B.C., is the word *lipikara* or *libikara*, discussed above, page 5. In the Koṣas[8] it is given as a synonym of *lekhaka*, and in the Vāsavadattā[9] it means "writer" in general. Aśoka uses it in the 14th rock edict as a designation of his clerks. Similarly, Paḍa, who copied the Siddāpura edicts, calls himself *lipikara*, and in the Sāñcī inscription, Stūpa I, No. 49,[10] the donor Subāhita-Gotiputa takes the higher title *rājalipikara*, "a writer of the king." In the earlier times, *lipikara* probably was an equivalent for "clerk."

In a number of Valabhī inscriptions of the 7th and 8th centuries, the writer of the documents, who is usually "the minister for alliances and war" (*saṃdhivigrahādhikṛta*),

1 Compare STEIN's translation of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, V, 249, 397, and notes.

2 B.IS. III².8; FAUSBÖLL, Jātaka, 2, 173 f.

3 B.ESIP, 89.

4 Harṣacarita, 58, 137.

5 EI. 2, 369, 372.

6 Compare, e. g., the Pallava grant, EI. 1, 1 ff. (end); F. GI (CII. 3), No. 18 (end), No. 80 (end), and FLEET's remarks in the Index under *lekhaka*.

7 Kashmīr Report, 33; RĀJENDRALĀL MITRA, in Gough's Papers, 22; KIELHORN's and PETERSON's Reports on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., *passim*; and BENDALL's Catalogue of Sanskrit Buddhist MSS. from Nepāl, *passim*.

8 See, e. g., Amarakoṣa, 183, verse 15; Bombay Government edition.

9 HALL's edition, 239.

10 EI. 2, 102.

receives the title *divirapati* or *divīrapati*, and the simple word *divīra* occurs even earlier in a Central-Indian inscription of A. D. 521-22.[1] *Divira* or *divīra* is the Persian *debīr*, "writer," which probably became domesticated in Western India during the time of the Sassanians, when [95] the trade and intercourse between Persia and India was greatly developed. *Divira* appears also in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, and in other Kashmirian works of the 11th and 12th centuries. Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa mentions even various sub-divisions, *gañjadivira*, "bazaar-writers," *grāma-divira*, "village-writers," *nagara-divira*, "town-writers," and *khavāsadivira* (?).[2]

The two works just mentioned, as well as other contemporaneous ones, designate the writers also by the term *kāyastha*, which first occurs in the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti, 1, 335, and even at present is common in Northern and Eastern India. The Kāyasthas, however, form a strictly separate caste, which, though according to the Brahmanical account it is mixed with Śūdra blood, yet claims a high rank,[3] and in reality frequently has possessed a great political influence. In the inscriptions, the Kāyasthas occur since the 8th century, first in the Kaṇasva inscription of A. D. 738-39 from Rājputāna.[4]

Other designations of the writers in the inscriptions are *karaṇa*,[5] *karaṇika*[6] or more rarely *karaṇin*,[7] *śāsanika*[8] and *dharmalekhin*.[9] *Karaṇa* is perhaps only a synonym of *kāyastha*,[10] as the law-books mention the Karaṇas as one of the mixed castes. The other terms, among which *karaṇika* has to be rendered, according to KIELHORN, by "writer of legal documents (*karaṇa*)," appear to be merely official titles without any reference to caste. The development of the Indian alphabets, and the invention of new forms of the letters, no doubt is due partly to the Brahmans and the Jaina and Bauddha monks, but much more to the professional writers and to the writer castes. The opinion, according to which the modifications have been introduced by the stone-masons and the engravers of the copper-plates, is less probable, because these persons were not suited for such work by their education and their occupation.[11]

As the remarks at the end of many inscriptions show, it was customary to make over a Praśasti or Kāvya, which was to be incised on stone, to a professional writer, who prepared a fair copy, and to set the mason (*sūtradhāra*, *śilākūṭa*, *rūpakāra*, *śilpin*) to work according to the latter.[12] This custom was observed also in a case which fell under my personal observation. The mason received a sheet with the fair copy of the document (the Praśasti of a temple) exactly of the size of a stone on which it was to be incised. He first drew the letters on the stone under the supervision of a Pandit, and then incised them. In some exceptional cases, the authors of the poems assert that they have done the work of the masons,[13] and in others the masons say that they have made the fair copies of the inscriptions.[14]

The statements regarding the preparation of the copper-plate Śāsanas are less accurate and explicit. Usually, the inscriptions mention only the person who drew up or wrote the document. And they mostly name as such either a high official (*amātya*, *sāṃdhivigrahika*,

1 F.GI (CII. 3), 122, line 7.
2 IA. 6, 10.
3 COLEBROOKE, Essays, 2, 161, 169 (COWELL); regarding the Kāyastha-Prabhus in Bombay, see Bombay Gazetteer, 13, 1, 87 ff.
4 IA. 19, 55; later, the Kāyasthas occur very often in Gujarāt, IA. 6, 192, No. 1 ff., and in Kaliṅga, EI. 3, 224.
5 Yājñavalkya, 1, 72; Vaijayantī, 73, 17; 137, 23; compare BRW. under *karaṇa*, 3*b*.
6 Compare, *e. g.*, EI. 1, 81, 129, 166; IA. 16, 175; 18, 12.
7 Harṣacarita, 227 (Nirṇayasāgar ed.); IA. 12, 121.
8 IA. 20, 315.
9 IA. 16, 208.
10 Compare the compound *karaṇakāyastha*, IA. 17, 13; BENDALL, Cat. Skt. Buddh. MSS., 70, No. 1364.
11 B.ASRWI. 4, 79 f.; B.IS. III.², 40, note; IA. 12, 190.
12 Compare, *e. g.*, EI. 1, 45, author, Ratnasiṃha; copyist, Kṣatriya-Kumārapāla; stone-mason, *rūpakāra* Sāmpula: EI. 1, 49; author, Devagaṇa; writer and mason as above: EI. 1, 81; author, Nehila; copyist, Karaṇika Gaṇḍa Takṣāditya; mason, Somanātha, *taṅkavijñānaśālin*, "expert in the art of incising (letters)"; also, analogous remarks in EI. 1, 129, 139, 211, 279, &c.
13 This is stated by the poet Kubja in RICE's unpublished Tāḷgund Praśasti — [now edited by RICE, EC. 7, Sk, 176, and by KIELHORN, EI. 8, 31]; — and by Divākarapaṇḍita in the Añjanerī inscription, IA. 12, 127.
14 Compare IA. 11, 103, 107; 17, 140.

rahasika) or a general (*senāpati, balādhikṛta*). Occasionally, they assert that the drafting was done by a stone-mason, a *sūtradhāra*[1] or *tvaṣṭā*,[2] who, however, in reality merely engraved the grant. According to Kalhaṇa,[3] the Kashmirian kings kept a special official for this work; he bore the title *paṭṭopādhyāya*, "the teacher (charged with the preparation) of title-deeds," and belonged to the *akṣapaṭala* office, which STEIN believes to be the Accountant-General's Office, while I take it to be the Record Office or Court of Rolls (Daftar).

The Śāsanas name only rarely, and in late times, the person by whom the plates were engraved (*utkīrṇa, unmīlita*). The engravers mentioned are various artisans, a *pītalahāra*, *lohakāra* or *ayaskāra*,[4] *i. e.*, the Kansār or coppersmith of the present day, a *sūtradhāra*,[5] "stone-mason," a *hemakāra* or *sunara*[6] (probably equivalent to *soṇāra*), "goldsmith," a *śilpin*[7] or *vijñānika*,[8] "an artisan." In the Kaliṅga Śāsanas, we find in their stead an *akṣaśālin*, *ākṣaśālika*, *akhaśālin*, or *akhaśāle*,[9] whereby a member of the goldsmith caste, now called Akṣāle,[10] is meant.

Finally, the existence of manuals for clerks and writers must be mentioned. We still possess several works of this kind, among which the Lekhapañcāśikā gives the rules for drafting not only private letters, but also land-grants and the treaties between kings, while a section of Kṣemendra-Vyāsadāsa's Lokaprakāśa shows how the various kinds of bonds, bills of exchange (*huṇḍī*) and so forth ought to be done.[11]

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

[96] DR. W. CARTELLIERI, whose name appears at the bottom of the Plates, is responsible for the drawing and tracing of the letters for which no cuttings from facsimiles were available, as well as for the arrangement and the *retouche* of the cuttings, except in the case of plates VII—IX, which were finished by a young lithographer, MR. BOHM. I have also to acknowledge DR. CARTELLIERI's assistance in the selection of the signs, which in a few cases he has made independently, and in others has been influenced by a revision of my proposals; and I have to thank him for various ingenious remarks on the Indian alphabets, as well as for a collection of the variants in the Aśoka edicts.

If I have been able to illustrate most of the Indian alphabets by cuttings from facsimiles, instead of by hand-drawn signs, I owe this chiefly to my friend DR. J. BURGESS, who during many years has kindly furnished me with separate copies of his excellent reproductions of Indian inscriptions. Some other donors of facsimiles or photographs, Dr. E. HULTZSCH, PROFESSOR E. LEUMANN, and DR. S. VON OLDENBURG, have already been mentioned in the notes.

1 IA. 19, 248, J.BBRAS. 13, 4.

2 EI. 3, 158, 250, where it is said that the *tvaṣṭā* Vīraṇācārya wrote the grants of Acyutarāya and Veṅkaṭarāya, as well as that of Sadāśivarāya dated A. D. 1556.

3 Rājataraṅgiṇī, V, 397 f. (STEIN).

4 EI. 4, 170, IA. 17, 227, 230, 233.

5 IA. 15, 360.

6 EI. 3, 314; IA. 18, 17.

7 IA. 17, 234.

8 IA. 16, 208; the *lohakāra* Kūke is likewise called *vinānī*, *i. e. vijñānika*, IA 17, 230.

9 IA. 13, 123; 18, 145; EI. 3, 19, 213, and the correction of the translation (p. 21) at the end of the volume.

10 BAINES, Imperial Census Report, 2, 8, where the Akṣāles of Madras are mentioned. They are found, however, also in the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency.

11 BHANDARKAR, Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., 1882-83, 38; Kashmīr Report, 75; regarding letter-writers see also RĀJENDRALĀL MITRA, in Gough's Papers, 16, 133, and BURNELL, in ESIP, 89.